









THE  
(*CALCUTTA REVIEW.*)

(VOLUME XCVIII.)

January 1894.



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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that nation they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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No. CXCIV.

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Acknowledgment .. ...



# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 195.—JANUARY, 1894.

ART. I.—MUHAMMAD HUSAIN KHAN.  
(TUKRIYAH.)

A SKETCH OF ONE OF AKBAR'S HEROES.\*

WHETHER by reason of the excellence of his chroniclers, whose fidelity lets the fact have way ;—whether by the repressible truth of the fact itself, which vanquishes the doubt excited by a tolerance unusual even in our day,—it is certain that acquaintance with the doings of Akbar deepens first impressions of his sympathetic and tolerant appreciation of character. In his dealings with the man whose name heads this biographical sketch, he shows singular consideration and patience towards the vagaries of a nature little in harmony with his own. Muhammad Husain had in him a strong leaven of bigotry and superstition, from this alone, have been uncongenial to the ruler who—like Tennyson's satisfying words—saw in the "furious formations" of erudite Moslems,—

"The clash of tides that meet in narrow seas,

"Not the great Voice ; not the true Deep."

The type of character embodied in Muhammad Husain is one which recurs and awakens interest under every sky ; although reasonably enough, its attraction is felt more by outside observers than by those whose daily life is bound up with its irritating excellencies. He was not one of those great lords whose brilliant state and strong following made them rivals of their sovereign. He might have been such, for his foot was early set in the path of power and riches ;—his heart was staunch and his pertinacity indomitable. Moreover, he entered Akbar's service at advan-

\*The authorities principally used in this sketch are the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Mr. Blochmann and Col. Jarrett)—the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Mr. Lowe and Elliot and Dowson)—and the *Akbarnamah* (mainly from Chalmers' M.S.S.)

In spelling words from the Persian, I have followed Mr. Blochmann, because I cannot pretend to select amongst conflicting forms of transliteration. It is true that this plan places *Lak'hnau* and *Dihli* in my text, but these seem to me the forms which the eye naturally expects in writings which are based on translations from Persian M.S.S. of date antecedent to the British *rāj*.



tage, for he was of the band that had fought well for Humáyún, and he had long followed the mighty Bairám. At Akbar's accession, (1556 A.D.—963 H.) he filled a great command; twenty years of fighting placed him in no higher grade: during most of his service under Akbar, he held lucrative fiefs, yet he died in penury. When, in spite of talent, place, just claim and opportunity, a man fails to rise, the drawback must be his own. The following sketch of Muhammad Husain's life will show that it was, in truth, his own peculiarities which warped him from the line of a grandee's normal development.

Neither Abul Fazl nor Nizámuddín Ahmad gives details of the acts or character of Muhammad Husain; for these, recourse must be had to his almoner and friend, Abdul Qádir Badáoní, who has embalmed his memory in grateful and affectionate words.\*

Of Muhammad's early life and close family connexions, little appears to be recorded. I can find no mention of his tribe or the date of his birth. He was closely linked to the fortunes of the Timurides by the bond of foster relation, inasmuch as his maternal uncle, Mahdí Qásim, was a *Kokah* of 'Askarí Mírzá, Bábar's third son. Muhammad Husain was, moreover, a son-in-law, as well as nephew, of Mahdí Qásim. He had an uncle named Ghazanfar, of whom Badáoní says that he was Muhammad Husain's paternal uncle (*amm*), but whom Mr. Blochmann describes as brother of Mahdí Qásim and designates *Kokah*. Whatever may be the truth in these varied statements, it is clear, from what is told of Ghazanfar in his intimate association with 'Askarí, that he would strengthen the tie between the royal house and his nephew, because he was of the inner circle of milk brethren.† Badáoní names another man as being akin to Muhammad Husain, but without specifying the degree of relationship. This was a staunch adherent of the Timurides, Sa'íd Khán-i-Chagatái, who was, for many years under Akbar, the governor of Multán.

It is recorded that Mahdí Qásim joined the Emperor Humáyún when the latter returned from his Persian exile in 1545 (952 H.) and captured Qandahár from his brother, 'Askarí. With Mahdí Qásim would probably be his nephew, Husain Khán. It is probable—having regard to the foster relation between 'Askarí Mírzá and Mahdí Qásim, that the latter was within Qandahár and bearing arms against Humáyún; but, if

\* Muhammad Husain is usually called Husain Khán by his contemporaries, probably in deference to Akbar's distaste for things Arabian. In the earlier portion of the *Muntakhab ut-tawárikh*, its author gives him the Muhammad.

† One remembers here that, when one of Akbar's foster brothers rebelled, he forgave him with the words: "Between me and 'Azíz, there flows a river of milk which I cannot cross." (Afn. Blochmann, p. 325.)

so, he was also certainly amongst those Chagatái nobles whom Humáyún pardoned and received into favour when the fort had been surrendered to him.

There are several later references in the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawdrikh*, which attest the presence of Husain Khán at Qandahár at this time, and the same source tells us that both Mahdí Qásim and his nephew then attached themselves to Bairám Khán's following, Bairám being then an attractive young chief of little over twenty-one, and in the first flush of the promise of his splendid powers. Led by Bairám, Muhammad Husain must have done his share in the re-conquest of Hindústán for Humáyún and its retention for Akbar.

It is in describing the battle of Pánípat that Badáoní first names Muhammad Husain as serving Akbar. On that fateful November day, (5th November 1556—2nd Muharram 964 H.) Bairám Khán had sent a contingent into the battle under his *vakil*, Pír Muhammad Shirwání, and came up himself, with the young Emperor, only when the day had been won by 'Alí Qulí Shaibání. Mahdí Qásim's muster was with Bairám, and if, as is possible, Muhammad Husain accompanied his uncle and had not fought, he would be the more eager and the fresher for the pursuit in which he now joined, of the fleeing followers of Hemú, who were striving to convey his treasure and his wife to a place of safety.

From Dihlí to near Alwar, the Mughals dogged the steps of the retreating band. Even at this late day one is glad to know that the Hindú woman escaped with her life. The burdened elephants of her convoy were overtaken, and the peasants of Bajwára were enriched with the greater part of the treasure they bore. Even so, however, much loot remained for the Mughals. A glamour of gold, such as recalls the lip-born wealth of Scheherazade, shines from the words which set the scene before us. Much gold—the greater part—fell to the peasants, but still, to the Faithful—the royal troopers—, money could be measured out in shields, and for years afterwards travellers, in the wake of the hurrying elephants, picked up ingots of unwrought gold. What tumult of mighty beasts, what lurching of huge burdens, and dribbling of bags, and treading underfoot of things of price—by enormous feet, into sandy roads—is set before us in the brief narrative.

Those who know Muhammad Husain are certain that, gay and headlong as would be his ride in pursuit, he took no large share of the spoil, for he liked not the touch of gold, nor the cumbering of worldly gear.

Badáoní's next mention of him wins our better liking, for it describes him as doing a worthy part in the building of Akbar's Empire. Mánkot is the scene of the incident,

within whose walls Sher Sikandar Afghán had taken refuge, after a six months' flight before royal *amírs*, from one lurking place to another, amid the northern hills. Mánkot was surrendered to Akbar at the end of June 1557 (24th Ramázan 964 H.), and although, after more than half a year's resistance, it yielded less to Akbar's arms than to Sikandar's conviction of the wane of Afghán power, it had given hard work to the besieging force, and Muhammad Husain, amongst others, had grasped the chance of laying a broad and fast foundation for soldierly renown under Akbar's eye. His daring courage, worthily matched by great stature and strength, called forth the admiration of Sikandar, a judge whose own fighting inches enabled him to take the measure of a man. Badáoní gives it as his opinion that Rustam would have acknowledged the merits of Husain Khán. The siege of Mánkot brought our hero more than fame, for, in its course, he had to mourn the death of a brother whom he loved.

When the great fortress had yielded, the Emperor took his way to Láhor and there spent some four months. This time was divided, we are told, between hunting and an endeavour to become acquainted with the character and promise of loyalty of the accompanying *amírs*. Akbar was but fifteen; so one suspects that Bairám and 'Alí Qulí applied their stronger heads to the more serious duties of the halt, and left the boy-king to enjoy his out-door sports, untroubled by doubts and fears as to the trustworthiness of his followers. The fidelity of Muhammad Husain must have stood the test of examination, for, when the camp at Láhor was broken up and a move made to Dihlí, Akbar crowned previous gifts by appointing him Governor of Láhor. His holding probably consisted of the Panjáb, together with Láhor city and its circumjacent lands. It was a lucrative and responsible fief, and carried with it heavy military obligations. It was the high water mark of Muhammad Husain's revenues.\*

It was now within the power of Muhammad Husain Khán to raise his contingent to the number usually provided by a Commander of Three Thousand and to live as others of his class were wont to live. With his fine presence, soldierly reputation, and well-placed kinsfolk, he could have matched himself with all but a few of Akbar's Court. But he was not the man to live according to tradition, and he now neither added state to his establishment, nor widened the narrow limits of his *harem*, nor even, it would seem, materially improved his contingent.

Of his personal peculiarities we learn a good deal from Badáoní's record of the Láhor appointment. We see that Muhammad Husain had no gift of good ordering, whether in money matters

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\* For details as to revenues and charges, see the *Ain* (Col. Jarrett, pp 110 and 318.

or in the prosaic course of common duties. He was always in extremes ; finish and adjustment were beyond his grasp, and his hand was a sieve through which revenue drained away to benefit anyone but those who had first claim upon it—his family and his sovereign. Láhór brings into prominence his bigotry, asceticism and doctrinal purism. His austerities were in part the outcome of his purism—he went back to the first plain injunctions of the Prophet and guided his life in accordance with these. Here, in Láhór, and when, to quote Badáoní, he was its “ absolute Governor,” he made barley bread his food ;—he abstained from all intoxicants, amongst which he classed nuts (*betel*) ;—when on a journey, he would not use a bedstead (*chúrpaí*) out of deference to the Sayyids who accompanied him : whatever the worldly position of a Sayyid who came into his presence, he always rose in greeting. These deprivations and humiliations were results of his purism, and, of a wish to enjoy nothing which those whom he revered had not enjoyed. During his residence in Láhór, he manifested the bigotry which has given a monotone of odious intolerance to such brief records of his life as are found in modern writings. He had assuredly hearty dislikes and could hate with effect ,—he hated a Shi’ah and he hated a Hindú. Many a man of both creeds must have winced from the keen edge of his emphatic tongue. Badáoní credits him with “ genuine humility,” but his illustrative anecdotes let us see that the Sunní’s lowliness was well hedged about by his exclusive creed. One of the best known stories of Muhammad Husain dates from his incumbency at Láhór. It is that which tells how he was misled by some resemblance in the misbeliever’s dress to a Musalman’s, to rise and greet a Hindú who entered his *darbar*. When he found what he had done, he was both angry and ashamed, and, for the protection of his humility, ordered all Hindús to wear on the sleeve a patch of stuff of a colour differing from the rest of their garments. This patching edict can have taken effect only within a narrow circle of which the Governor was the centre, but it is worth recording, inasmuch as it throws light on the view of his power, taken by a provincial Governor in Akbar’s day. It was published in the second year of the reign when the Emperor’s very supremacy was tottering, and when the law was emphatically not “ of the land,” but of the individual Captain. It had the result of giving to Muhammad Husain the nickname of “ *Tukriyáí* ”—the Patcher—by which he is frequently mentioned by his contemporaries.

Distasteful as a Patcher must have been to the Hindús of his district, he won liking and gratitude from his co-religionists by the more worthy means of lavish expenditure of revenue on shrines, mosques, and places of pilgrimage.

Tukriyah governed Láhor some three years, and his own act ended his rule. It is now 1559 (967 H.), and fifteen years have passed since Bairám drew Husain to his banner. In his early days, youth and the soldier spirit were stronger in Tukriyah than sectarian rancour, and had allowed him to serve under a Shí'ah, while three lustrums of alliance through stress and struggle had forged a link which could be broken neither by bigotry, waxing with age, nor by feudal subordination to Akbar. So that now, in 1559, when Bairám fell from his place of power in the way that is known from the histories, Muhammad Husain stood by him to the end ;—fought for him at Jálíndhar, again at Kanur Phillaur, and, in this final effort, was wounded in the eye and captured by the Imperialists.

Some will see no excuse for a vassal's resistance to his feudal chief. From Muhammad Husain's point of view, much was visible, if he looked backward, to justify fidelity to the General who had been the soul of success in two reigns : if he looked forward, the fall of Bairám must have seemed only the counterpoise to the rise of Máhum Anagah, and he could not know that, in her due and brief time, she too would yield to Akbar's capacity to rule alone. It must have seemed better—both for Empire and Sovereign—that Bairám, the soldier and practised statesman, should be supreme, rather than an ignorant woman. We should not quarrel with the Patcher, if he were less moved by these questions of policy than by the respect, affection and habit of faithfulness which fifteen years had toughened past breaking.

It was reasonable that the insubordinate Governor of Láhor should be superseded, and it is pleasant to find that in dealing with a vassal whose failure in loyalty might, with every appearance of justice, have been visited with severity, the young king showed a kindness which foreshadows the clemency of his manhood. Directly after his capture at Kanur Phillaur, Muhammad Husain was placed under the care of a grandee, 'Abdul Majíd, in no way uncongenial to him, and shortly afterwards made over to the watch and ward of one of his own brothers-in-law, a son of Mahdí Qásim. He was not otherwise punished, and, without long interval, had Patiálí allotted to him, for his maintenance.

Patiálí has one claim to distinction which puts us in touch with Muhammad Husain, by letting us know what must at times have been in his thoughts : it was the birth-place, in 1253, (651 H.) of the " prince of Cúfí\* poets," Amír Khusrau, servant of seven kings, and a centre of charm and poetic radiance. In naming him, the literary leaven of even Badáoní gets the better

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\* See Persian Poets—Ouseley, page 146.

of his spleen, and where he would have cursed the free-thinker, he blesses the poet.

Patiálí \* was a fall from Láhor, and little can have been expected from its holder, but that something efficient was expected from Muhammad Husain, is clear from the following episode. In appreciating it, it must be remembered that, spite of forgiveness proffered and accepted, the ally of Bairám had yet to prove his renewed loyalty to Akbar. The place was the modern North-West, the year 1564 (972 H.), and a formidable rebellion had to be put down. Muhammad Husain, as well as a number of "tried warriors," did not fight well, and were reported to the Emperor, as being "sick of the command" of their superior officers. The rebels were Uzbaks, and, alas for ideal fidelity! their leader was the victor of Pánípat, the Khán Zámán, 'Alí Qulí Shaibání. Husain Khán had a certain bias which doubtless to himself excused slackness; for 'Alí Qulí had long shared the battles of Bairám; his services, position, descent and hereditary claim to tolerance resembled those of Bairám himself, and must have appealed to the sympathy of Bairám's faithful ally. Others besides our Husain were moved by these facts, and in truth no one wished to proceed to extremes except the chief in command, Mír Mu'izzulmulk Músawí. This man was a Shí'ah of the Shí'ahs, who gloried in descent from an Imám not recognised by Sunnis. He was arrogant and boastful, and, over and above all this, was a Sayyid of Mashhad—a fact which, if there be any background of truth in Badáoní's witticisms, connoted as much that is disagreeable as can well be packed into an epithet.

Muhammad Husain's slackness was lightly punished; he was debarred from the presence, rebuked, and then restored to favour. This leniency appears to show capacity in Akbar for putting himself in another's place, and seeing by another's lights.

In 1565, (973 H.), the year following this characteristic little affair, fortune reversed the rôles of Husain and his whilom warder, 'Abdul Majíd, who was now Governor of Gondwanah, wealthy with the spoil of the gallant Durgáwatí, and powerful with a force which Nízámuddin estimates at 20,000. He lapsed into disobedience, and the Emperor commissioned Mahdí Qásim to oust him from his fief and occupy it. 'Abdul Majíd did not wait for punishment, but marched off before his successor's arrival and joined the Uzbaks. Gondwanah was a lucrative appointment, but it had drawbacks

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\* Its feudal obligations were for 100 cavalry and 2,000 infantry, and its revenue was Rs. 11,414. Here, as elsewhere, revenue amounts, taken from Colonel Jarrett's translation of the *Ain*, are given in Akbar's *Jalahah rupís* and 40 *dáms* reckoned to the rupí.

which neutralised this advantage, and Abul Fazl tells us that its wildness and the uncivilised character of its people disgusted Mahdí Qásim. The latter must, by this time, have grown old, and age alone may have turned his thoughts to the pious duty of pilgrimage. If so, the inclination was strengthened by dislike for his new fief, and he was now led to undertake the journey to Arabia. He asked no permission, awaited no successor, but, having partitioned the district amongst the *amirs* of his following, turned his back on Gondwanah and made for the western coast. He was duteously set on his way by Husain, who accompanied him into the Satwás district of Málwah. Here the kinsmen parted, and here Husain found himself in the swirl of rebellious commotion. This time the disturbers were the "Mírzás," who, in great force and under their chief, Ibráhím Husain, were threatening the town of Satwás.

The Governor of Satwás, Muqarrab Khán, shut himself within its walls, and with him went Husain Khán, who, although he had probably some part of his pilgrim uncle's muster with him, was by no means strong enough to cope with Ibráhím. Satwás was closely beleaguered and reduced to the point of starvation, but it held out pluckily until surrender was brutally enforced on Muqarrab by the exhibition to him, on a spear point, of a murdered brother's head, and the exposure, in front of the enemy's lines, of his captive mother. The harassed man yielded, attaching to his capitulation the condition of safe conduct for his comrade in defence, Husain Khán. To both royal *amirs*, Ibráhím Mírzá made pressing offers of advantage if they would join him, and both rejected his offers, brusquely and decisively. There may have seemed some chance of gaining the ally of Bairán and the abandoner of Gondwanah, but Ibráhím had not understood the limits of Husain's insubordination. It is somewhat remarkable that, having staunch opponents in his power, the Mírzá kept his word to both and let them go free, for he was not a man observant of promises: they were in his hands and he held lives of foes at the cheapest. Probably, in the case of Muhammad Husain, the bond of common Sunnism served as an additional safeguard, and probably, too, as on other occasions, Tukriyah's idiosyncracies stood him in good stead: part hero, part fool, as he must have seemed to his fellow nobles, he earned in days before he had acquired the fame of a *Glúsi*, the consideration bestowed on an innocent.

Thus happily escaped from danger in Satwás, Muhammad Husain returned to his home in Patiálí, and thither came now—on a day to be marked with a white stone—the gossip and chronicler, 'Abdul Qádir Badáoní, to whose affection it is due that Tukriyah's character still rises above the mists of oblivion. Now

there was knit up between Husain and Abdul a relation of master and man which was to last nine years, and now was initiated the friendship which speaks out in Badáoní's narrative of the doings of his master, whether he expresses praise, or, by excusing, blames. As followers of the story of Tukriyah, we gain a point of vantage when Badáoní enters his service. We are taken at once into an inner circle of intimacy by perusal of the reasons—creditable to both men—which led the bookman to attach himself to the then scanty fortunes of the soldier. "Since he was a teacher of polite learning, and condescending, and dervish-like, and brave and munificent, and of blameless life, a Sunní and attendant at the mosque;—a patron of science, a friend of virtue, and easy of access, I had no desire to go and pay my respects elsewhere." Whatever a man's shortcomings as a grandee and provider of contingents, he must have been of impressive personality, when his biographer is compelled to an utterance such as this.

From behind every cloud, the sunshine of royal good-will broke forth anew upon Muhammad Husain, and in 1566 (974 H.) he received, in addition to Patiálí, the district of Shamsábád.\*

His capacity in military matters having been thus increased, he was named (1566-974 H.) to a post which, under most circumstances, he would have coveted, that, namely of leader of the van of an army which was just about to take the field. But he failed to have his contingent ready by the appointed time and lost the command. Whether his defaulting was again due to his unwillingness to fight against 'Alí Qulí Khán, or whether to the cause named by Badáoní—the poverty-stricken and deplorable state of his troop after the misfortunes at Satwás—is not certain. He had gone to Shamsábád to refit, and his delay aroused royal displeasure. It cannot be denied that Muhammad Husain's plan of life always allowed a presumption of neglect to weigh against him. He was a "poor man with rich subjects," to whom money was as an "arrow or javelin which pierced his side," and who had no rest until he had given it away. He cast his revenues away from the bag's mouth, lavishly and petulantly, keeping no reserve for the decent ordering of his house or his troops, and he left daily needs unprovided for. One wishes Badáoní had told us what was thought of the wastrel in his home circle. Did his bravery, austerities and virtue compensate those who saw no battles and profited nothing by the open hand? Pinched and fretted by the disorder of domestic finance, did not his wives and children sometimes murmur their version of "*Joie de rue, douleur de maison?*"†

\* This appears to be the Shamsábád which lies north of Farruckábád. Its capital was Ráthor; it had a fort on the Ganges and a revenue of Rs. 1,784,608. It was charged with a levy of 400 Cavalry and 2,000 Infantry.

† Numa Rowmestau.—A. Daudet.



Perhaps Akbar accepted it as a fact that Patialí and Shamsá-bád were not sufficient to support any considerable muster of men for such an economist as Tukriyah ; at any rate he supplemented these fiefs by the gift, in the early part of 1567, (975 H.) of Lak'hnaú. \*

Some three years have now passed since Mahdí Qásim's unlicensed departure for Makkah, and the pilgrim has set his face homewards. He travelled by way of Persia and Qandahár, and, on his arrival in Hindústán, found the Emperor engaged in the siege of Rantanbhúr, (1567-975 H.) Thither he journeyed, and, having asked for pardon and presented a gift of Chaldaean horses, was appointed to Lak'hnaú, in supersession of his son-in-law. Badáoní gives no reason for this transfer—possibly because the truth may not have been complimentary to his master. Whatever was Akbar's motive, it was not one which convinced Tukriyah of its justice, and he became violently angry with both the Emperor and his uncle. One infers that Mahdí had asked for the fief, or, at the least, had not pressed his kinsman's claims to retain it, for, if the gift had been an arbitrary act of the Emperor's, Husain Khán would hardly have been so incensed against Mahdí Qásim as his words show him. He used words expressive of lasting breach—quoting from the Qoran : " This shall be a separation between thee and me," (cap. 18, 77.) and other passages indicating that he looked to the day of judgment to be righted. From angry word he went on to unjust deed, and avenged himself by injuring an innocent person. He put away Mahdí Qásim's daughter, who was the wife of his youth, and inferentially the mother of some of his children. He put her away " in disgust," and although he loved her, for the purpose of spiting his uncle, her father. He had long had a second wife, of whom we know only the fact of her existence, and he now married a third ; another cousin and a daughter of Ghazanfar Beg. He thus effected a curious *quid pro quo*,—avenging one supersession by another—and, in so gratifying his anger, certainly showed himself regardless of the claims of wifely service, and also of an affection towards his wife which was sufficiently well known to find mention by Badáoní. †

A union dictated by spite could hardly turn out well, and

\* The revenue of Lak'hnaú was Rs. 43,669, and its military obligation was for 200 Cavalry and 3,000 Infantry. These numbers are for the city and circumjacent lands only, and it may be that the fief bestowed on Muhammad Husain included more of the *sarkar* than these.

† Sometimes the variations of translators are entertaining, especially when they are immaterial. At this point translators do not agree which of the two concerned—Husain and Husain's wife—offered the cheek and which bestowed the kiss. Sir Henry Elliot thinks he loved her ; Mr. Lowe that she loved him !

this one proved disastrous to the bride, for, after a brief space, she was deserted. The household chronicler tells us that his master left Mahdí Qásim's daughter with her brothers, but that he left Ghazanfar's daughter "in helplessness." The close relationship of all parties might have afforded protection to the bride also, but one guesses that her marriage had angered her kinsfolk, inasmuch as it had made her an instrument of annoyance to Mahdí Qásim and his daughter.

When Akbar deprived Husain Khán of Lak'hnaú, he offered him Kant-o-Golah, but it was not accepted, and the angry man took a departure all his own, by initiating the first of his guerilla expeditions which have made his name odious in history. These incursions were directed against the Hindús of the outer Himáláyás—subjects of Akbar against whom there was, at this time, no justification for a royal *amir* to take action. "Nevertheless," says Tukriyah's almoner, "he left Lak'hnaú "with the intention of carrying on a religious war, and of breaking the idols and destroying the idol temples. He had heard "that the bricks of these were of silver and gold, and, conceiving "a desire for this and all the other abundant and unguarded "treasures of which he had heard a lying report, set out by "way of Audh towards the Sewalik Mountains."\*

On the approach of the invaders, the Rájputs withdrew further into the hills and left their country to do its very efficient part in its own defence. Crossing the Dotí *terai*, Muhammad Husain followed the track into Kumáon which had been taken in the first year of Akbar's reign, by Pír Muhammad Shirwání (Bairám's *vakíl*), and came to a spot where some of the men of that earlier expedition had fallen and been buried. Here he halted, and here he read, over the graves, the *fatilah* "for the pure spirits of the martyrs."

"Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures; the most merciful, the king of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship, "and of thee do we entreat help. Direct us in the right way, in "the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious, not of those "against whom thou art incensed nor those that go astray."†

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\* It will be seen that Badáoní uses the name Sewaliks in a more extended sense than we moderns give to it; the present expedition of Husain Khán took him into Kumáon, and he did not cross the Ganges, which is, I believe, the modern eastern boundary of the Sewaliks. Referring to the Gazetteer of the N-W. Provinces for guidance as to the locality of this raid, I find Mr. Atkinson of opinion, that, of places named by Badáoní—Wajrail is Jwail or Diphail—the cold weather residence of the Dotí Rájahs, as being one of whom, Mr. Atkinson regards the Rájah Ranká, of the chronicle. Ajmír, named by Badáoní, as the capital of Rájah Ranká, Mr. Atkinson thinks is Ajmírgarh, near Dandaodhura, where the governor still has his residence.

† If we, too, read this, we touch the mind of Husain, as he knelt by those wayside tombs, and if we mentally add to the solemnity of the prayer, the reverence it inspires in devout Musalmans, we can realize a pious mood with which sympathy is spontaneous.

Muhammad Husain did further honor to those whom his creed taught him to call martyrs—men who had fallen in an infidel land and by the hands of unbelievers. He repaired their tombs and set up a seat (*cuffah*) close by, on which wayfarers might rest and recreate themselves with talk, and doubtless, too, with that amusement which crops up, in and out of season, in the chronicles—the composition and recitation of verses. These sociable and humane little observances go far to show that the Patcher was an example of the truth, that men are better than their creeds, and that his cruelty to Hindús was not of the heart, but of the doctrine. His duty to the faithful dead accomplished, he returned to the persecution of the no less faithful living—the Rájput Hindús. He raided as far as Wajrail, a district belonging to a certain Rájah Ranká, and came to within two days' march of the Rájah's capital of Ajmír (Ajmígarh) a town which Badáoní describes as a very mine of gold and silver, and musk and silk, and all the productions of Tibet.\*

Happily for the lightening of the guilt which might otherwise have been Muhammad Husain's, it was not given to him to clutch the spoils of Ajmígarh. His advance was checked by a natural phenomenon which the Hindús may well have thought a divine interposition in their behalf. Clouds gathered and rain fell in such masses, that neither food nor fodder could be procured, and famine loomed over the little band of invaders. Tukriyah's zeal was unquenchable, but that of his men was less proof; they grew so disheartened, that their leader's golden promises seemed but as a prating of trifles, and, whether he would or not, they dragged him to retreat. Their backward march made the opportunity for the Rájputs, who issued from their hiding places, and taking up commanding positions above Muhammad Husain's line of retreat, showered down on his devoted band, stones and poisoned arrows. Most of the party fell by the way, and of the few who emerged again into the plains, many died later from the effects of the envenomed weapons. Badáoní was an eye-witness of the affair, and may well have had it in mind when he spoke later on, of having shared with Husain Khán many jungle wars and comfortless journeyings.

The raid into Kumáon had allowed Muhammad Husain's anger against Akbar to exhale, and he now betook himself to Court. The reception accorded to him there sufficiently shows that the Emperor looked on his escapade with other eyes than ours. Many considerations may have inclined him to treat the matter

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\* Mr. Atkinson regards this mention of Tibet as referrible to the mart of Barmdeo, close to the Nipál frontier, and a centre of Tibetan trade.

lightly; he was certainly always tolerant of the vagaries of the Patcher, and in this case, the punishment due to his unauthorised crescentade had been inflicted by the injured Rájputés themselves, aided by the fierce storms native to their hills. Rájputés have ever been stiff-necked, and, from the point of view of a foreign ruler, generally deserved more punishment than he could well inflict; besides all these considerations, there were those personal to the *Glázi* himself, and arising out of the circumstances under which he fared forth, in anger and humiliated pride—from his fief of Lak'hnau. So now, when asked for Kant-o-Golah,\* Akbar gave it, and he did this, knowing well that it was sought because its position would afford Husain Khán a good *point d'appui* from which to start on other and avenging raids into Kumáon. It looks as though Akbar felt that it was desirable that victory over the Imperial arms, for whatever cause or by whomsoever borne, must be punished by defeat.

Muhammad Husain had now again a lucrative *jágír*, for, together with his new district, he still held Shamsábád and Patiálí. It is probable that he made Kant his head-quarters, a town of which the fine buildings still attest its former importance. From his new starting point he made several other incursions upon the skirts of the hills, but seems never to have succeeded in penetrating into the interior of Kumáon. He lost many men from the ill-effects of the then, as now, notoriously bad water of the Doti *t'rai*. In all his raids against infidels, he made more martyrs than victims, and his men suffered more at his hands for their fidelity, than the Hindús for their misbelieving.

In 1568 (976 H) Badáoní took leave on private affairs, and was absent from his duties in Husain's household for more than a year. He returned in the sorriest plight, sick and wounded, and records that he was treated with the kindness of the kindest of fathers or brothers. The good Khán concocted remedies of tamarisk, but he could not successfully treat a broken skull, and Badáoní was compelled to quit Kant and seek elsewhere the skilled assistance of a surgeon.

An interesting part of Tukiyah's story is reached in 1572 (980 H.), when he desists from following after infidels and turns his arms against rebels. The Mírzás were still in arms and had recently sided against Akbar, with others of their insurgent kidney in Gujrát, and been defeated at Sarnál. Ibráhím Husain fled from Sarnál, to do what mischief he might in the north, and now threatened Dihlí. The Jágírdárs of its

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\* This fief appears to be approximately the modern Sháhjahánpúr, and included a stretch of the submontane tract bordering on Kumáon. It does not appear in Col. Jarrett's translation of the *Ain*, as one holding, and I am unable to state its revenue or obligations.

neighbourhood were summoned for its defence, and amongst them, Husain Khán. He set out at once and was well on his way—at the village of Audh, in Jalesar, some 30 miles N. E. of Agra—when word was brought to him that a certain Rájah Awesar was committing depredations close to his line of march. This Rájah was one of those Rájputs who could not accustom themselves to the new order of Mughal supremacy;—he had been a source of trouble during the whole of Akbar's reign, had beaten many a royal captain, and had done to death many "excellent soldiers." Now, when Ibráhím's approach had drawn Muhammad Husain into Jalesar, the rebel Rájah was reported as lying in ambush for the Mughal leader,—by the connivance of the country people—in the jungle of the village of Nouráhí, in Jalesar.

If England had not had her gentlemen of the road robbing travellers and defying authority much later than the day of Elizabeth and 1572, Englishmen might think little of a foreign government which, in eighteen years, had not put down Awesar: but Hounslow Heath softens judgment on Nouráhí!

During the conflict which occurred between Muhammad Husain—the representative of order—and the Rájah—its foe—Badáoní was with his master, and he gives an account of the affair so graphic and realistic that it must be quoted.

"At midday on the 15th of the blessed month of Ramzán "in the aforesaid year, when the men were off their guard "and marching in loose order, and most of them were fasting,— "suddenly the rattle of musketry and arrows burst upon them, "and they found themselves engaged in a hot skirmish. The "Rajah, with the help of the villagers, had erected crows nests "in the trees, and from that vantage-ground many useful men "became marks for arrows and musket balls, and some were "martyred and others were wounded. At the very beginning "of the battle-moil, a musket ball struck Husain Khán below "the knee, glanced off and struck his saddle, but with great "presence of mind, he grasped the pommel and kept his seat. "I threw water on his face. Those who were around him and "in front, thought that it was perhaps weakness caused by "fasting, but I seized his bridle, wishing to draw him under "the shelter of a tree where he might be safe from the shower "of arrows. When there, he opened his eyes, and, contrary "to his usual custom, shot a glance of anger at me and "querulously made signs, as much as to say, 'What are you "holding my reins for? You had better go down into the "battle.' So they left him in that state and went down and "joined the fray. Such confusion then raged, and so many "men were killed on both sides, that imagination were too "weak to number them." It must be parenthetically observed

that there is no time recorded at which the living of Tukriyah's force could not easily be numbered, and this without aid from any imagination. "Eventually, in accordance with the promise, " 'Al-Islam shall conquer and not be conquered,' towards " evening the breeze of victory blew to the side of the small " handful of religious warriors; and the infidels, company by " company and crowd by crowd, took to flight, but not before our " soldiers were so tired that they could scarcely wield a sword or " shoot an arrow. In that thick forest they became so " commingled, that friend could not be distinguished from foe, " and yet, through weakness, they could not make an end of " one another. Some of the servants of God showed such " fortitude as to merit the excellence both of waging a holy " war and also of maintaining a strict fast. But I, on the " contrary, was so weak, that I took a single draught of water " to moisten my throat, for want of which some gave up the " ghost, and several excellent friends of mine became martyrs."

Muhammad Husain was in no case to pursue the Mírzá, and now returned to Kant, where, while awaiting the healing of his wound, he occupied himself in strengthening his defences. Before he was able to sit his horse, news reached him that Ibráhím Mírzá was in his paternal district of Sambhal, with a force which Nizámuddín estimates at 300. Hereupon Tukriyah had himself carried in a litter by forced marches to the town of Sambhal. The roll of his midnight drums caused some alarm to the *amírs* who were gathered within its walls to oppose the Mírzá. Badáonf—in his character of retainer of a dare-all, fear-nothing—comments with laughing malice on the fear of the garrison, and on their relief of mind when they knew that a friend had come to their assistance.

On the next day, there was held a conference of all the assembled Mughul *amírs*, but no plan of action was agreed on, because Husain Khán could by no means concur with the scheme which approved itself to his colleagues. Their suggestion was that all but Husain himself should go to Ahár, where were other *amírs*—there wait till Husain's arrival, and *then* discuss a plan of action. The scheme does not seem one likely to serve for the defence of Dihlí, because Ahár is south of the capital, and the Mírzá was to its north and moving west. Muhammad Husain's disapproval was expressed in no uncertain terms.

" 'Good God,' he exclaimed, 'the Mírzá came here with a " small party of horse, and, although your numbers more than " doubled his, you took refuge in the fort of Sambhal, and you, " twenty or thirty *amírs*, all old soldiers too, with a large force, " are so dismayed, that you would shut yourselves up in the " fortress of Ahár, which is a regular rat-hole. This will en-

"courage the Mírzá to make further attacks on the Imperial territories. Now there are two courses open, one of which we must follow. Either you must cross the Ganges and must intercept the Mírzá and prevent his getting over the Ganges. I will follow up his rear and we shall see what will happen. Or I will hasten and cross the Ganges and head the Mírzá while you pursue him. This is our duty as loyal subjects.' But " continues Badáoní, " they could not agree upon any course until Husain Khán, driven by necessity, went off in haste with the horsemen he had to Ahár, and inveighed loudly against their shutting themselves up in that fortress. He brought them out and repeated the same counsel to them. 'The enemy,' he said, 'is enclosed in the heart of the country, and is just like a hare appearing in the midst of a camp; if you move briskly, we shall be able to make a fine *coup* and take him alive, and the glory of the victory will be yours!'"

Meantime the upshot of the limited responsibility of the *amírs* of Ahár and Sambhal was, that the Mírzá had the country at his mercy. He had left A'zarnpore, on Husain Khán's approach, and had gone to Amrohah, a place not far from Luk'hnor on the Ramganga. With a following augmented by disloyal scamps from far and wide, he 'sprang like a rook on a cleared chessboard' into the heart of the country—plundering and ravaging with a brutal lawlessness which even now—when all the actors in the play have long since passed away—makes one indignant with the men who could have crushed him, if they had cared for the helpless peasantry. That Ibráhím could have been crushed, seems certain from examination of the forces which Ahár and Shambal could have furnished. However much below the nominal rank of the respective commanders their contingents may have been, their combined muster would greatly outnumber Ibráhím's 300. The Commandant of Shambhal was a Commander of One Thousand and had with him twenty—probably lesser—*amírs* in Ahár, there were, of the men named by Badáoní, Commanders of One Thousand, of Nine Hundred, of Two Hundred and Fifty, etc. Husain Khán, it is true, appeared with 200 to support his dignity of a Commander of Three Thousand, but he was always exceptionally faulty in the maintenance of balance between his rank and his muster.

Ibráhím left Amrohah, and having crossed the Ganges by the ford of Choubálah, turned westward along the great highway to Láhor. In his wake, and plundered and desolated in hearth and field, he left Pánípat, Sónpat and Karnál. Let us rejoice, be we of what race we may, that in our time the peasantry of Hindústán sleep secure from such demon work as Ibráhím's under the shadow of a flag which is stronger to save than even the great Akbar's.

Two *amírs*—Turk Subhán Qulí and Farrukh Díwánah—joined their small followings to Muhammad Husain's, and the three, after taking hasty, and, doubtless, scornful leave of the *amírs* who elected to remain behind, set out in pursuit of Ibráhím. They first made for Gadha Mukteswar, a town on the Ganges and north of Ahár, at which they would strike into the highway travelled by the rebels. At this place evidence was forthcoming that the reproaches of Tukriyah had not been ineffectual, for here, a letter overtook him which urged, "Do not be in a hurry, for we will join you. Eleven are better than nine." The writers followed their letter, coming, says Badáoní, "more by compulsion than free will, and the verse of the glorious word, 'Thou thinkest them to be united but their hearts are divided.'"<sup>\*</sup>

Husain did not wait for their arrival, but, hurrying on, gathered as he went, tidings of the misery wrought by the Mírzá such as would add wings to his speed. The Ahár *amírs* marched at some distance in his rear, and so continued to march to Sarhind, and beyond it they refused to budge. They had strenuously objected to quit Ahár;—well might they become refractory when, in Sarhind, they had followed their magnet more than two hundred miles. They halted, and Muhammad Husain, with his faithful captains, went on in their long stern chase to Lúdhíánah.

In Lúdhíánah came authentic news as to the whereabouts of the Mírzá;—he had drawn near to Láhor, she had closed her gates against him, and he had passed on to Sher Gadha and Jhanní.

In or near Lúdhíánah, other news reached Tukriyah which stirred him to characteristic action. It came from Bairám's nephew, Husain Kulí Khán (the later *Khán Jáhán*), and was to the effect that he was himself on the way to oppose Ibráhím, and marching south from Kangrah and Nagarkot.

These two Husains were old comrades—their association dating from at least as early as the siege of Qandahár, (1545). Both had long fought under Bairám, and both had together done their part in the battles which based the empire of Humáyún and Akbar. In their young days, there had surely been many a friendly tussle for renown between them, but of late years, their roads had lain apart:—now, when Husain Khán knew that the eyes of both looked once more to the same goal, memory quickened the old spirit of rivalry, and he vowed a vow,—"in that madness which a thousand times had got the "better of his judgment," interjects his almoner,—that he would eat no food until he had joined Husain Qulí. It was a fatuous vow, for how could hard work be done by a fasting man? But if Tukriyah could have put together these two elements—the work and the means—he would have not been our man of unwisdom, nor have been distinguished from the mass of brave and daring soldiers of Akbar.

<sup>\*</sup> (*Qorán* LIX, 425. Sale.) exactly fits the case.  
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Probably he desired to set himself before his old comrade as still able to bear the privations they had borne in company :— who knows but that they had made some such vow and kept it in earlier days? Hardness and privation they must have shared in their youth, and many a night of weariness and probable hunger, when life was full of watchful journeyings and unremitting effort to prevail in Hindústán. Such a background of common experience would prompt Tukriyah to prove that pluck and persistence were still alight in him. He made his vow somewhere near Lúdhíánah, so that he had time to reach a very uncomfortable degree of starvation before (as will be told) relief came—over 100 miles further on—at Sher Gadha, in Jhanní.

Husain Khán crossed the Biáh (Bias), a little above its junction with the Satlaj and by the ford of Talwandí. Thence he made speed to Sher Gadha, where he sought quarters at the monastery of a noted Shaikh, Dáúd Qádírí, surnamed Jhanínwal, who welcomed him with gracious words and proffer of generous hospitality. "The monastery," says Badáoní, "provided entertainment for all the party, and the Shaikh's private fields furnished grass and corn for the horses." These words guide one's eye across the fields of Sher Gadha to the background of sandy roads, scant provision, and still more scanty pasture which had been the portion of the wearied troop since it left the fertile lands of Gunga.

Dáúd Qádírí offered food to his guest, and the latter declined it on the ground of his oath. The Shaikh replied that it was easy to atone for a vow, but foolish to distress one's friends. Herein one catches the echo of argument which the dry good sense of an intimate had already urged on the march from Lúdhíánah. It is indeed probable that the first impulse of self-immolation satisfied by the utterance of the vow, Muhammad Husain had himself reached a repentant stage. Now, without demur, he sent for a slave, and with one manumission freed the neck \* of a true believer from captivity and himself from his folly. If one had forgotten a modern war of which the root was slavery, one might smile at this exhibition of crude thought as to human brotherhood. There stood a slave :—here is a free man :—freed for no better reason than to lift from another man the burden of a hasty word.

One night only was spent by Tukriyah at the monastery, then he refreshed himself, and with men and horses full of the content with which well-enjoyed hospitality had soothed their long-suffering frames, he flung himself once more on his quest. Marching down the Barí Duab, he learned that both friend and foe were near Tulambah, a town on the Ravía, and a little to the

north-east of Multan. He heard this when he was within one stage of the place, and, burning to have his share in the coming fray, hurried off a note to Husain Qulí: "Since I have come 400 *kos*" (some 800 miles) "by forced marches—if you would let me have a share in the victory, and put off the fight for one "day, it would be only friendly." The answer was an acquiescent, "All right!"

Nevertheless Husain Qulí fought without Tukriyah; not for the bad reason insinuated by Badáoní's clannishness, but because the Mírzá—with curious *insouciance* in a man who had a foe at his heels—had chosen to go hunting and his troops could be attacked at advantage. Husain Qulí seized the moment and, after a stubborn tussle, came off victorious.

On the day following the fight, Muhammad Husain, with drums gallantly beating, came up—his force dwindled to eighty. Badáoní was not with him, for he had remained a few days in Sher Gadha, coquetting with the temptation of becoming a dervish, and of retiring to sweep the monastery of the "Pole Star of Saints"—Shaikh Dáúd Jhanníwal. But his narrative reads like one had at first hand, and little stretch of fancy is needed to let us see him, rejected by the saint and returned to the soldier, listening to the tale of interim adventure. It is a taking little picture, that of the way-worn, shabby band, drumming itself into the well-found camp of the grandee;—its tall leader alert in eye and ear, as to the fight he hopes he yet may share, his hearty greeting to his friend, too genial to be clouded by more than a bluff word of discontent at his luck in coming late;—then out go the two together to the field, and the victor describes the struggle, and sets forth, to a sympathetic listener, the gallant exploits of his men.\*

When the fray had thus been fought again, the baulked activity of Tukriyah leaped up;—the business was not complete, he said, so long as the rebel, who had fled northwards, was at liberty. Husain Qulí was content with his success and declared himself willing to let other friends have their share of glory;—he had come far and his men were weary, and had suffered hardships amongst the Rájpúts and their stubborn hills. This was enough for Tukriyah;—it was true his men had come far, a much longer journey than from Nagarkot;—they, too, were weary; they were few and ill-provisioned;—but what of this, or any detriment? They had had no reward of fighting. Some of the eighty were at the end of their endurance; these

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\* To give Husain Qulí's victory its due value, it should be said that it was not gained from Ibráhim only. The latter had—probably at Tulambah,—joined his brother, Mas'ud Husain Mízá and others of the rebel crew, who had come up from Gujíat. Their numbers must have been considerable, because we find that 100 men of rank placed themselves under the protection of our Husain, when the Mírzás had been defeated.

betook themselves for rest to Láhor, and with them went Husain's few elephants and his historic drums.

In his pursuit of the Mírzá, Muhammad Husain was indisputably desirous of doing loyal service to Akbar; he loved the rapid and adventurous nature of the work; and it is also possible, that both these motives to activity were strengthened by a third, namely, desire to hold his own benefactor at his mercy and repay his debt. But no success crowned his efforts throughout the whole affair with Ibráhím.

When Ibráhím Mírzá returned from his sport to Tulambah, he found that he could effect nothing against the victorious Mughals, and turned his bridle in flight towards the north. Husain Khán followed and had come to within measurable distance of the fugitive party, when it halted for a night, not far from Sobraon—at the junction of the Satlaj and Biáh. Here the peasants of the district attacked Ibráhím, and in the fray he received his death wound. It is not for us to follow his story except where it touched our Husain's, and as we do this, it is pleasant that we find Tukriyah again sound and straightforward of heart.

Balked once again of his quarry, Tukriyah retraced his steps southwards, and, following the wounded prince—who as a prisoner was being conveyed to Multán—betook himself to his kinsman Sa'íd Khán-i-Chagatái, the then Governor of Multán. He desired to have an interview with the fallen Mírzá, but felt it difficult to reconcile his duty to the Emperor and that to the man who had spared his life at Satwás. He discussed the point with his host. "If," he said, "when I see 'him, I salute him, it will be inconsistent with my duty 'to the Emperor, and, if I do not salute him, it will be discourteous, and the Mírzá will say to himself—' See this uncircumcised fellow who, when he received quarter at Satwás, made 'obeisances without end, and, now that evil days have fallen 'on me, treats me cavalierly.'"

The difficulty was laid before the Mírzá, who invited the Khán to visit him without making obeisance. Having thus set his loyalty above doubt, Muhammad Husain paid his visit, and, it is pleasant to know, satisfied his chivalrous sense of duty to a benefactor, by making the salutation due to a prince.

One point in the conversation which ensued brings out the fact that Ibráhím—evil as had been his life and full of cruel act or connivance—shared Muhammad Husain's devotion to their common tenets. At this supreme crisis of his career, the wounded man could spare thought for sectarian consistency and regret to his fellow-Sunní, that he had been defeated by the Shí'ah, Husain Qulí. "Would to God!" he cried, "I had 'received this defeat (at Tulambah) at your hands, that it 'might have been a cause of advancement to you who are

"my co-religionist, and not from Husain Qulí Khán, who is "an alien in sect and religion." If things had fallen out as he wished, it is probable that he might have lived to trouble Akbar's peace again, for assuredly Husain Khán would have done all in his power to give a life where he had received one and to save a Sunní.

His farewells said, Tukriyah turned his face towards his distant home. If one follows his journeyings on a map, one sees what Ibráhm had cost him in travel. Badáoní describes the journey from Kant to Tulambah as one of hardships and of more than 500 *kos* (1,000 miles)—add to this what was traversed later and the return march;—recall the sand, glare, barrenness of much of the route, and the expedition may well be reckoned an achievement of the first magnitude.

Husain's own return party must have been small, and it says a good deal for his reputation, both as a man whose intercession would weigh with the Emperor, and as one who might be expected to use his influence for clement aims, that "100 Kháns," followers of the fallen Mírzá, took refuge with him after their defeat at Tulambah and now accompanied him to Kant. With him, too, were certain prisoners of the Mírzá's troops. While the Kháns tarried with Muhammad Husain, they heard what must have made them rejoice, that they had elected to surrender to Tukriyah and not to Husain Qulí, for it is sad to have to say that the gallant victor of Tulambah was guilty of horrible cruelty, and had indelibly stained his name by studied brutality to his prisoners. He had taken these to Court, and, while there, made mention to the Emperor of those others who were with Husain Khán. On inquiry being made concerning them, the Khán replied that, having received no orders to put them to death, he had set them free, and, in so doing, had performed an act of clemency in the royal name. He had, indeed, simply given all leave to depart, when he heard of the cruelties practised by Husain Qulí. By this act he discharged his debt to Ibráhm Mírzá in the way within his scope. The Emperor forgave the act of mercy and imposed no penalty.

Brief notices in the *Akbarnamah* and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawárikh* let us know that in 1573 (981 H.) Muhammad Husain accompanied Akbar to Gujrát, and Badáoní mentions that he was distinguished for his bravery in the forefront of the battle of Kari, by the royal gift of a scimitar—a "crescent scimitar" which was Akbar's most renowned of scimitars. Towards the end of this same year, the household association of Husain Khán and Abdul Qádir came to an end. From the reticence with which Badáoní speaks of the matter, one infers that the parting was due to a series of impressions and occurrences which had, for some time, suggested to him, that better fortune might

be in store for him elsewhere than under Muhammad Husain. Certainly he had contemplated change for some time before the final breach. He does not name the cause of the rupture, but he assumes the blame, and asks his mother to intercede for him with Muhammad Husain. Even with this statement before us, we feel sure that he had no real desire that her intercession should succeed. We may well leave the matter where Badáoní does, and not attempt to saddle either of the men concerned with blame or incompatibility. Writing subsequently, and when Muhammad Husain was dead, Badáoní calls his change of service "a trick of fortune" and "a strange matter." He adds, "but one piece of opposition, though to use such a strong" term in connection with him, were a shame and a dire injustice, did I meet with from him, and that was in military "matters and the affairs of the world!" Possibly Badáoní had laid before the old soldier, the desire which he nourished of becoming a military commander. If to this he added that he wished to make money by changing his pen for the sword—a reason urged upon Badáoní himself by a friend who advised him to ask the Emperor for a command—it is easy to infer that he would hear some unpleasant truths in opposition to his scheme. The quarrel—if so it may be called—may well rest in obscurity. It is for our greater edification that the two friends should part, for now Badáoní placed his services—his erudition, his voice "ravishing with the tones of the parrot"—and all his admirable qualities as chronicler, observer, and gossip at the feet of the Emperor.

One result of the rupture between Husain and 'Abdul is that Badáoní's narrative as to his old patron's doings becomes briefer. It is difficult to see the import of what is next recorded of the Khán, but it is indisputable that he ought to have been fighting in Bengal and was not there. A messenger from the field reported to the Emperor that, although Muhammad Husain's brother was doing his duty, the former was not with the army, but was harrying the *banjárs* near Lak'hnaú and Audh. Badáoní discredits the accusation because there was ill-blood between the informant and the accused, arising out of the contiguity of their respective fiefs. Whether Muhammad Husain was injuring the grain-purveyors or not, the Emperor was displeased with his neglect of duty, and on the next occasion of his visit to Court, ordered Sháhbaz Khán, the *Mir Bakshi*, to exclude him from the roped enclosure of the royal tent, and also deprived him of his *jágír*.

Taken together with what follows, there is ground for thinking that the root of this unsatisfactory episode, as well as of other and later acts of insubordination, was anger against the rules for regulating contingents (*ddgh-o-mahall*)\* If this

\* See 'Ain. (Blochmann) p. 233 and 235.

supposition is right, it must have caused still greater bitterness to the defaulter, that his punishment should have appertained officially to Sháhbaz Khán, in whose hands was the enforcement of the branding rules. The Emperor's anger, working with his own and his bias to asceticism, determined Muhammad Husain to become a *kalandar*. If he could have divested himself of his love of battle, the status of a religious mendicant was the one best fitted to his taste. Life from hand to mouth, in an atmosphere of devotional fervour, disorder, and personal restriction, was the true vocation of his middle age.

Now he stripped himself of possessions till he was as bare as *Alif*; he gave away everything—elephants, horses and military stores—and reduced himself to destitution. Not, be it observed, that he restored these things to the person who had best claim to them—the Emperor, as giver of the fiefs from which they were derived—quite the reverse;—they were bestowed on “students and worthy people” and the attendants at Humáyún's shrine—in the neighbourhood of which the incident occurred. Akbar did not wish to drive his old vassal to desperation, and, being tolerant of his vagaries, proffered forgiveness, gave back his *jáگیر*s for another and probationary season, and made a promise which appears to elucidate the whole episode;—namely, that tax-gatherers should not interfere with him, and that, when he had put his troops on the footing required by the *dágh-o-mahallí*, he should receive a suitable *jáگیر*. An inference from these two promises may be, that pressure had been applied to bring about some reasonable balance between the Khán's means and his muster, and that the latter had fretted, fumed, resisted, and, as an upshot, had not gone to Bengal.

To the pardon of the defaulter, Akbar added pleasantness by the gift of a shawl and of one of his own quivers of arrows. This is the second time that a gift has been made to Tukriyah of something which was the Emperor's personal property; if these gifts may be read in our fashion, they indicate intimacy bordering on affection. Doubtless, cheered by royal kindness and promises, Muhammad Husain returned to Kant. In ending the recital of this episode in his old master's career, 'Abdul Qádir remarks, “So he, who through his *extreme liberality and boundless extravagance, and though exceeding all limits of reasonable power and the exhibition of it*, was not “able to muster 10 horsemen, procrastinating through force of “circumstances, at length arrived at his *jáگیر* and kept close “to the northern mountains.” The words italicised, no doubt, reflect views current at Court and must be admitted justifiable.

Royal clemency did not have the result of taking Muhammad Husain to Bengal. It is now 1575 (983 H.), and he once more sets forth upon a crescentade to the Sewálíks. We are

told that he left his *jāgír* and began to plunder in the Duab. Whom he plundered is not clear ;—Badáoní, fumbling for any excuse for his old patron, says the victims were the “disaffected of the neighbourhood who, deeming the payment of rent unnecessary, never used to return any answer to their feudal lord, so that you may guess what happened to the helpless, duped, non-plussed, dishonoured tax-collectors !” The excuse does more credit to the writer’s heart than to his head, and is not borne out by the acts of the tax-collectors, who close the gates of their towns and cry loudly to the Emperor for help against their supposed friend. Tukriyah moves on from the Duab to the Eastern Dún and Basantpúr, a thriving town of that district. “Then,” continues the chronicle, “the tax-collector of T’háneswar shut the gates of the fort and the other tax collectors, in like manner, in a fright, having run into their holes, spread a false report that Husain Khán was in rebellion, and sent a petition to that effect to the Emperor.” It looks as though the plundering in the Duab had been a commissariat raid, and that tax-collectors who shut town gates were royal officers in fiscal charge of Hindú resorts which, as such, tempted the Ghází spirit of Tukriyah. Obscure as the matter is, however, the past career of the chief actor allows no suspicion of disloyalty,\* although both bygone and present difficulties fully justify accusations of “exceeding all limits of reasonable power and the exhibition of it.”

Thanks to the presence of Abdul Qádir at Court, we know something of the reception accorded to the cry of the tax-collectors. It chanced that, at the time, Sa’íd Khán-i-Chagatai had come up from Multán and was with the Emperor. As he was both a kinsman and friend of the accused, he was asked to give an opinion on the accusation of rebellion. He repudiated it utterly, while at the same time declining to accede to a request one can hardly believe serious, that he should give a bond of indemnification for the cattle carried off in the Duab by Husain Khán’s men. Badáoní is scornful over a friendship which would not back its word by a bond, but he does not appear to have flung his own resources into the breach to recoup the cattle-lifting of hungry troopers.

Something had to be done to mend the evil case of the tax-collectors, and Akbar’s course of action again shows kindly

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\*Badáoní excuses Muhammad Husain here, and evidently thinks excuse is needed, by attributing this latest aberration from right, to the infirmity of age. The excuse may be accepted as explaining weakened judgment and the stronger sway of fanaticism. At this time, (1575-983 H.) Muhammad Husain had served Akbar twenty years ; he had been a grown man at Qandahár in 1545. Here is a minimum of adult life of thirty years, and impressions gleaned along his story convey the impression that he had already left goodly years behind him in 1545. But it matters little whether age added to fanatical mania, or the latter alone, led to the expeditions against Basantpúr.

feeling. Three *amirs* were commissioned to coerce Tukriyah to the right way; every one of whom was well-disposed to the offender. But the *Ghazis*' fate had been decided before they could bring their persuasion to bear on him: his investment of Basantpúr had failed, and many a man of his troop had paid a death penalty for his leader's unrighteous attempt on the liberties and property of Rájput subjects. Muhammad Husain was used to wounds and carried many a scar, but, at Basantpúr, a musket shot which struck him under the shoulder blade dealt him the blow which was to be his last. He turned from the scene of his discomfiture, and making for the Ganges, dropped down its stream towards his home. At Gadha Mukteswar, he was met by the three *amirs* commissioned to him by the Emperor, who conveyed him to Agrah and lodged him in the house of Cadiq Khán—once spur-holder of Bairám, a fellow Sunní and friend of thirty years standing. Akbar despatched a surgeon, Shaikh Bíná, to him, and, when the Shaikh declared that the wound was of a frightful nature, sent a second in consultation. With the latter, Hakím-ul-Mulk Gilání, went Abdul Qádir.

The wound was examined in the presence of Abdul Qádir, who can therefore testify that his hero was a hero to the end, and smiled under the horrible agony of the probe. This was the last meeting of the Khán and his old almoner, and in a few days news was brought to the latter, to Fathpúr, that Muhammad Husain was dead. The holder of four fiefs died in penury, and the cost of his burial was borne by a friend, who laid him with honour and respect in the strangers' resting place of Agrah. Subsequently his body was taken to Patiáli, and the date of entombment yielded to Badáoní's ingenuity the appropriate chronogram, "Bestower of Treasure."

Thus ended the turmoils and jarrings and inconsistencies which had fretted the unbalanced mind of Tukriyah. Sayyid Muhammad, a former Sunní judge of Amrohah, spoke of him as a man rich in heart and poor in purse, and, amid the tears called forth by the news of his death, declared that, if "any" one wished to practise walking unspotted from the world, "he ought to act and walk just as Husain Khán had walked "and acted." Abdul Qádir pays his dead friend a tribute which is eloquent of the real worth and sincerity of both men. It shows that the bond which held them together, was fitness ripened to affection, and it sets Badáoní in a more likeable mood before us than any other of the many in which he had represented himself. Here is an overflow of genuine feeling in one man for another whom he mourns.

"Let it not be forgotten," he cries, "that the author enjoyed "the society of that unique one of the age for the space of "about nine years . . . And among the many venerable per-



“sons and spiritual directors of the age, I do not find a tithe of a tenth part of that I found in him, who was in the Sunnī section, pure in faith, and in purity of conduct, perfectly sincere and upright in spirit, without an equal, in valour peerless, in courtesy alike in his behaviour both to great and small, and in disinterestedness without an equal in the age, in detachment from worldly objects, stainless, in active service untiring, in dependence on God without compare, in asceticism worthy of a hundred praises ;—”

If Muhammad Husain had not been born a Musalman *amir* of good family, he would have made a *kalandar* of *kalandars*. The interest of his character lies in its blending two types—the austere and the martial—and this, too, accounts, in part, for the respectful consideration which was shown him by his contemporaries. Certainly he was a blot on the brilliance of his peers ; certainly he declassed himself to live in squalor and confusion ; and certainly very few would see, in his poverty and waste, the signs, which they nevertheless were, of devotion to a fixed standard of conduct. For to be—as he was—temperate and virtuous in ways uncommon to a Musalman grandee, and—thus self-governed—to have the physique of a fine man of action ;—to tower amongst the strongest and tallest ;—to be staunch, enduring, and pertinacious in the field ;—to be dashing and fearless ;—all this lights an unsullied radiance round our Husain, for, all the world over, it is the strong man self-subjected to virtue who wins the heart's worship.

We have often seen Husain Khān dealing with his fellow soldiers on equal terms and common ground. Then the martial spirit was in the ascendant. We have seen him, too, when the parallel motive of his conduct was uppermost—his monkish withdrawal from his actual rank. It is an excellent illustration of the first motive of his actions—his soldierly spirit—that his battle cry should have been “Martydom or victory” ; and of the second, that, when told he ought to reverse the alternatives and give victory the lead, he should say that he desired rather to see the glorious dead than the lords of earth. The reply was natural from a man who could not live like his peers !

One of Muhammad Husain's best defined characteristics is his purism in creed. He obeyed the Prophet's law as it stands in the strict and narrow rules of its inception, and not in the brodered form wrought by time, and the interpretations of wealthy and erudite '*ulama*, still less as it was followed by his military colleagues. One of the '*ulama* was once greatly exercised by the “voluntary poverty, expenditure, squandering of property, unnecessary presents and extreme extravagance in the distribution of pensions and grants,” which friends lamented in Tukriyah. The theologian endeavoured to persuade

the Khán to change his habits, but naturally his advice fell dead, and the wastrel certainly came off best in the encounter, for he could ask effectively a question to which there was no answer. "It is," said he, "simply a question between "obeying your order in the matter and following the tradition "of the Prophet ; what choice can there be?" He turned the attack by reminding his assailant that men look to spiritual leaders for guidance in uprooting avarice, and not that these "should lend a false glitter to the accessories of transient trifles "and should make us avaricious, so as to sink among the lowest "of the low, in the unworthy pursuit of greed and avarice." Excellently said, if there were no middle path between avarice and waste ! But there is no such middle path for a zealot ; he sees one side of the road only—the side on which his eyes rest —on your opium, and not on his beer :—on your differing creed, and not the inefficiency of his own ;—on your expenditure, and not his waste. Want of perception and balance sum this phase of Muhammad Husain's character—defects which caused him to overlook the fact, that the straight outcome of his theories was the non-acceptance of fiefs.

Badáoní has recorded several of the oaths and vows of the impetuous Khán. Amongst them is one which second thoughts would commend, namely, that every slave who came into his possession should have the first day for himself. Granting the existence of slavery, this was a considerate ruling. Another of his vows would sound wise enough in the mouth of an economist who could spend with sense, namely, that he would amass no treasure. Badáoní tells us, apropos of a vow, that his master's madness had a thousand times got the better of his judgment, and thus suggests a cloud of hasty oaths sufficient to have emancipated an army of slaves. What surprises and reticences and evasions must have been the portion of the followers of a man so apt to make new and startling resolutions and to back them by an oath ! Much in the Khán's minor traits justifies the assertion that he was *gay ill to live wi.*

Badáoní's flood of commentary on his dead master, tempts to quotation, by its stamp of direct issue from the heart, and out of a full reserve of feeling. He observed in his hero a "resolution and courage such as perhaps those renowned "heroes who have left their names emblazoned on the pages of "history, may not have possessed, and, not to mention his immense physical strength and prowess—they might have boasted of the same courage as that lion-like warrior."

Again ;—speaking of Husain's open-handedness, he cries, "If by any possible supposition, the treasures of the world "and the Sultanate of the whole face of the earth could have "become accessible to him and have been delivered over to "him, the very first day he would have become a borrower."

Quite a delightful little specimen of Muhammad Husain's mystical views in money matters is embodied in 'Abdul Qádir's story, that it sometimes happened that his master would buy a number of horses at the price first named by the dealer, and would then say, "You and God know that a true merchant never demands too much." Possibly chaffer would have left the merchant the more honest man!

As a matter of course, Husain Khán died deeply in debt. His creditors, however, had their hearts so softened to his memory that we are told they tore up their bonds and brought no claim against his children. This is a story difficult of simple credence, but at least one may admit that there was generosity in foregoing claims for which vouchers were held. One must also admit that the unexpected may have happened when, as now, business relations issued in the departure from Husain's house of his creditors with prayers for the peace, pardon and acceptance of their dead debtor.

Mr. Blochmann has called Husain Khán the Bayard and Don Quixote of Akbar's reign, thus striking a guiding light for more detailed criticism by those whose work rests on his broad foundation labours. The comparison is delightfully suggestive, both where closer examination of Muhammad Husain's life shows that it holds, and where it serves but as a rough outline of the facts. The dreams of the oriental were not the gracious follies of the Knight of La Mancha, and his rough tilting against Hindúism clashes with the Don's gentler fantasies. Husain's courage rivalled Bayard's, but that it flowed from a source of lesser purity and light, one thought is sufficient to prove;—Bayard lived and moved on the narrow royal road of justice, and of justice Husain knew nothing.

Circumstances, rather than character, make another rift in the comparison. In the chivalry of Europe, the dreams of the Don and the devotion of Bayard, woman played an inwoven part. All which gave the glow of romance to feats of arms in Europe is missing from the Hindústán of the Mughals. What man of Akbar's day wore his lady's favour, under her eyes, at jousts and tourneys? Naturally one does not count eyes that may have been bright behind the *purdah*! Nor speak of Rájputnís whose very *jauhar* ranks them above Musalmanís. It is not the fault of the man, but of the creed and the custom of his race, that in Muhammad Husain's story there is no gleam of the "fancy linked with love," which is the step to happier Western marriage. One regrets this now that one knows Husain better, because he would have made a true knight and dutiful lover of the sunniest days of chivalry. He missed this charm because he ran his course under the rule of social theories which crawl from beneath the *purdah*, and which forbid the equal ranking of even a sober

and temperate Musalman—such as Husain was—with a knight, sworn in terms of respect to honor his lady. In Husain Khán's day, as with rare exceptions, it is sad to remember in our own also, Hindústán had none of the vivacity and brilliance of free girlhood, or of the duteous independence of women on whose honor is cast no stigma of seclusion.

Although his youth lacked the charm and grace of romance, Muhammad Husain's manhood approached more nearly to the European standard of domestic excellence than was at all common in his day. Up to within six years of his death, he was faithful to his two wives, and they might have kept their dual sway within his house to the end, but for a freak of his temper.

"Without fear" was Tukriyah, and as the blame of not "without reproach" would pass into speech, it is barred on the lip by more than the thought that, in this, he was as are all men;—it is barred too by the remembrance of the worthy acts of his life. Along the unbroken thread of his self-restraint, there slip the studded deeds that do him honour:—his mercy to Ibráhim's men:—his courtesy to Ibráhím himself: his compassion on the repentant Badáoní:—his vehement pleadings for right at Ahár:—his weary journeyings in his sovereign's service:—his honourable wounds, borne for faithfulness sake, whether to Akbar or Bairám:—his dauntlessness and independence:—and finally, evil as was its working, his steadfastness to the faith that was in him. These are bars to reproach, and we close his story with the thought that what lay behind Husain and fitted him to be but a drop in those "tides of faith that meet in narrow seas," was his heritage of creed and custom, just as other influences, baffling creed and custom, set Husain's sovereign—a spectator—on the heights above the turmoil, and let him think and say—as he might have said, if to his other gifts he had added that of the Laureate's song—the words which, marking the contrast between him and a Tukriyah, restfully close this little record of a jangling life:—

"I can but lift the torch  
Of reason in the dusky cave of life,  
And gaze on this great miracle, the world,  
Adoring that who made, and makes, and is,  
And is not, what I gaze on:—all else Form,  
Ritual, varying with the tribes of men."

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

## ART. II.—THE ADMINISTRATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE LAW OF ITALY.

(Continued from No. 194, October 1893.)

### 3. MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY.

**E**XTRACTIVE and agricultural industry furnish man with the prime materials necessary for his needs ; manufacturing industry transforms those materials into an infinite variety of products. The administration ought not to neglect this industry, as on its development and prosperity depends the well-being of the population.

*Manufacture of weights and measures.*—With the view of preserving the public confidence in contracts, the manufacture of weights and measures is subjected to certain restrictions. No one is allowed to manufacture them without first making a declaration to the Sub-Prefect, stating the place where he intends to exercise his art, and the kind of weights and measures he proposes to make ; and he must, moreover, produce a certificate of good conduct from the Sindaco of the place where he resides, and an impress of the mark he intends to use. All weights and measures must bear the mark of some manufacturer exercising his calling within the kingdom. Manufacturers must be provided with a complete set of model weights regarding the exercise of their art, stamped with the stamp of first verification, and they cannot keep in their shops or workshops different weights, even though they do not use them.

*Goldsmith.*—An industry, which in many countries is still subject to restrictive regulations, is the goldsmith's art. In Italy an obligatory hall-marking system used to prevail, but this was found inconvenient, especially after the abolition of the internal customs barriers. Experience showed that the responsibility assumed by the Government was too heavy, and that the guarantee often proved illusory, while State interference proved injurious to the development and diffusion of the industry. By the law of the 2nd May 1872 a voluntary was substituted for the obligatory system.

Gold and silver manufactures presented for assay and marking must be finished, all but the last polish. Fees are levied at the rate of 50 lira for every kilogramme of gold, and 5 lira for every kilogramme of silver or silver gilt.

*Patents.*—Although the name of property cannot be applied to the products of genius, still it is just that a reward should be given to the author of a work, whatever it be, a literary work, an industrial invention or discovery, or a manufacturing design

or model, he having rendered a service to society, and very often at considerable expense to himself. This reward consists in guaranteeing to him for a time the exclusive application and fruit of his work. This is done by the grant of patents (*brevetti*).

A patent cannot be claimed except for an invention or discovery, which is new, lawful, and of an industrial character. Hence are excluded the discoveries of a purely scientific principle, or those which have not for their object the production of material objects. There is a difference between invention and discovery : that is, invented, which has never existed : that is discovered, which had already existed, but which had hitherto escaped observation.

Inventions of things made in foreign countries can also be patented in Italy, although they have been patented elsewhere, if the demand is made before the expiry of the period of the foreign patent.

A patent of improvement, or a modification of a privileged discovery, can also be accorded to the same inventor or to others. The period of privilege cannot be less than a year or more than 15 years.

Applications for patents are made to the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, and must be accompanied by the payment of the tax and a description of the invention or discovery with corresponding designs and models of such a nature as to permit of an expert putting them into practice. The application can be made direct to the Minister or at the local Prefecture or Sub-Prefecture.

The grantee of a patent can make over to another the exercise or license to manufacture, and can also transfer the patent ; but, in order to have effect against third persons, the transfer must be registered at the office of the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, and published in the official Gazette.

*Merchandise Marks.*—Merchandise marks are a guarantee for the purchaser, and still more for the manufacturer ; for the former, because they afford him the means of knowing the quality and origin of the goods ; for the latter, because the trade-mark is the indication of his fame, of the speciality of his industry, or the beginning of his business. The absence of any mark diminishes the price of the goods, while its presence raises a presumption that the goods possess all those qualities which are attributed to them by commercial and public opinion. Therefore the law secures to the manufacturer the use of the mark, and prohibits counterfeits or fraudulent imitations of it.

A person who wants to use a certain mark or sign must make a special declaration before a Prefect that it is distinct from any mark or sign already legally used by any other

person, and must file two copies of it, and pay the tax of 40 lira. One of the copies is deposited with the Chamber of Commerce.

Those who rear cattle also sometimes brand their own breeds with a particular mark, both to get a better sale, and to distinguish them from the cattle of other persons kept in the vast natural prairies or mountains. In such cases it is evidently necessary that the animal should carry with it, so to speak, its own civil state, and the proof of its origin.

Infringements of the law relating to patents and merchandise marks are punishable with a fine, which may extend to 2,000 lira, and even double in cases of a second or subsequent offence, in addition to compensation for damage sustained and the confiscation of the articles in respect of which the law has been infringed.

*Copyright.*—As the inventor of an industrial process is protected, the public administration will also protect the author of a scientific or literary work, or of an artistic work, whether of a musician, or of a painter or sculptor. The law of the 19th September 1882 guarantees, in fact, to the author, editor or grantee the exclusive right of publishing the work of genius, of permitting translation or representation, and of reproducing and selling copies for a given time. Any one may acquire and apply, as suits him, the ideas and fancies which are the essential part of the work, but they may not utilise the extrinsic or auditive form in which the author has clothed the fancies of his mind, by any sort of signs or purely artificial methods, such as printing, galvano-plastics, oleographs or photographs. The exclusive right of the author to permit the translation of his work, and the right of the translator last for ten years ; on the other hand, the right in the production and sale of the work lasts the whole life of the author. And if the author dies before the lapse of forty years from the date of publication, the right continues to the heirs or representatives until the expiry of such term. At the end of the first period a second period of forty years commences, during which the work can be reproduced and sold without the consent of the person who has the rights of the author, on condition of paying five per cent. on the gross price, which must be specified on each copy.

The exclusive right of performance of a work adapted for public representation, such as a choreographic spectacle or an operatic composition, runs for eighty years from the date of the first representation or composition ; and any representation of it is forbidden without the author's written permission consigned to the Prefect. On the lapse of this term the work becomes public property.

In the case of the publications of corporate bodies (communes, provinces, scientific and similar institutions) the duration of the author's rights is limited to twenty years.

He who wishes to maintain the copyright in his work must, within three months from publication, present to the Prefect of the province, and if he is abroad, to the Italian Consul, a proper declaration in duplicate with a copy of the work and payment of the tax of two lira for the declaration and ten lira for the work.

If a work be inserted in a daily paper or other periodical, the writer must declare that he intends to reserve the rights of the author; otherwise, his work can be produced in other papers, provided that the author's name be specified, and that there be no separate publication. The prohibition does not extend to discussions on politics and the events of the day.

The author of a work adapted for public spectacle, who wishes to reserve his rights, must make a declaration to the Prefect, who exercises a censorship over the stage, that he intends to prohibit any representation of his work without his written consent.

Wrongful publication and infringement of copyright are punishable with fine which may extend to 5,000 lira, in addition to compensation for loss and without prejudice to heavier punishment where theft or fraud is proved. In the matter of copyright, foreigners are generally put on the same footing as Italians, provided they have complied with the legal formalities required in their own country for the acquisition of copyright. There is an International Union at Berne constituted for the express protection of literary and artistic works.

In order to make known and to protect more effectually the rights of inventors and authors, a special Bulletin in two parts is published by the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce. The first part comprises a list of patents, their extensions, transfers, &c., and another list of registered merchandise marks and signs: the second contains a list of extracts from the declarations regarding the rights of authors, works adapted for public representation, with modifications, and transfers. In the same Bulletin is published a synopsis of the judicial and administrative jurisprudence (decisions) national and foreign, regarding industrial, literary and artistic rights. This Bulletin is gratuitously supplied to Prefects, Sub-Prefects, Public Prosecutors, Courts, and Chambers of Commerce.

#### 4. COMMERCIAL INDUSTRY.

Commerce demands the maximum of liberty; prohibitions and restrictions injure its development. But this truth was not



always recognized, the free growth of commerce having been hampered until comparatively recent times by monopolies, corporations of arts and trades, personal privileges, transit-duties, tolls and customs. Commerce in grain and eatables has been especially subjected to restrictive legislation. The purchase of grain in order to resell at a profit was forbidden in almost all the Italian States up to the end of the last century ; while in the southern provinces those who made such profit were put in prison even as late as 1853.

*Restrictions on the liberty of Commerce.*—Though commerce is no longer hampered by its former barriers, still there are certain branches of it which cannot be exercised without special license. Before a man can establish a public agency office, an office where writings are copied, a pawn-broker's business, or a Loan Office, he must make a declaration in writing, and obtain the consent of the political authority of the circle, an appeal being allowed to the Prefect in case of refusal.

Jewellers, goldsmiths, watch-makers, and all persons who are engaged in the buying and selling of jewellery, gold and silver, are bound, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, to make to the Sindaco of the commune a distinct and detailed declaration of the articles purchased by them or received in pledge, payment, or exchange or for sale, shewing their number and quality with the full names, residence, and particulars of the persons, who have sold or entrusted the articles to them.

*Uniform standard of money, weights, and measures.*—Time is money, and diversity of standard causes error and waste of precious time in making calculations. By the convention of the 6th November 1885, between France, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland (to which also the principality of Monaco, Servia, Greece, and Spain consented), the franc and the lira were equalized. But the lira is regarded only as a unit for calculation and exchange, and is legal tender as regards private persons only up to the extent of 50 lira. Public banks, however, receive lira without limitation of amount, except in payment of customs import duties, in which case payment in lira is limited to 100 lira.

The abovementioned States follow the metric-decimal system of weights and measures, the unit of which is the metre for linear measure, the square metre and *ara* (10 square metres) for superficial measure, the cubic metre for solids, the litre for capacity, and the *gramma* (kilogramme) for weights. The metric-decimal system is generally followed, under varying names, in all countries of Europe, except Russia and England.

*Verification of weights and measures.*—Verification is of two kinds, *primary* and *periodical* ; the first, before they are put in circulation by comparison with Government standards, while

the second is annually carried out every year by Government officers known as verifiers (*verificatori*). Those who use weights and measures for buying and selling goods, and also measurers of gas, are liable to periodical verification. A list of these persons is annually compiled in every commune by the municipal committee in December, and published during the first fifteen days of the year, the list being open to the public up to the 15th of February. Contraventions of the rules are punishable by fine and forfeiture of the weights and measures; but before a competent Court pronounces judgment, the offender can, by a written application, demand that the punishment, within the maximum and minimum limits prescribed by the law, be applied by the Prefect or Sub-Prefect.

Particular vigilance is exercised with the object of protecting purchasers of provisions. According to an ancient statute of Milan, the baker who gave short measure was whipped naked through the streets of the city with a trumpeter in front; and in some German cities he was placed on a sort of net raised above a dirty place, and left there till he was obliged to leap out into the mud, from which he emerged a sorry spectacle amid the jeers of the crowd. Model weights were kept in public places, and the correct dimensions were written up on the walls of every public place, so that the public might easily know them.\*

*Post and Telegraph.*—The State absolutely reserves to itself the transport of epistolary correspondence: it shares with private enterprise the transport of periodical newspapers, of money, of small packets, and samples of goods; and it shares with Savings Banks the receipt of money deposits.

Following the example of Belgium, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland and France, the postal administration charges itself also with the recovery of commercial bills of exchange, promissory notes, and bills of lading coming from foreign countries in accordance with the second article of the international convention signed at Lisbon on the 31st March 1885.

Letters can be registered and insured. In the case of loss of a registered letter, not caused by *vis major*, the postal department gives a compensation of 50 lira; if an insured letter be lost, it is responsible to the extent of the declared value. But claims are not entertained after the lapse of two years, nor unless accompanied by a statement from the addressee that he has not received the registered or insured letter.

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\* The methods of cheating in India by false weights, measures and scales are Protean in their variety and exceedingly ingenious. Act XXXI of 1871 empowers the Governor-General in Council by notification to fix standard weights and measures of capacity. But it is a matter for regret that no notifications have as yet been issued under the Act.

The law guarantees the secrecy of letters : and they can only be sized by postal officials in the case of the death or bankruptcy of the addressee, or under the orders of a criminal Court. In England, under a statute of Queen Anne, letters can be stopped and read under the orders of a Secretary of State.

In Italy the telegraph service is considered to be equal in importance with the post office, and it was enacted by the law of the 28th June 1885, that within six years a telegraph office should be established in all communes which were the chief towns of a *mandamentum*. There are international conventions relating both to the Post and the Telegraph. The principal object of these Unions is to insure and to render more speedy and regular the Postal and Telegraph Services, to guarantee the secrecy of correspondence, and to make the tariff moderate and uniform.

*Fairs and markets.*—Markets are held weekly or monthly, and are only frequented by buyers and sellers of agricultural produce. On the other hand fairs (so-called from *forum*) are held more rarely, but last longer ; they are visited by merchants from distant countries, and all sorts of goods are sold in them. Formerly it was a right of the crown to permit the establishment of a fair or market ; but the law of the 17th May 1866 gives the right to communal councils, subject to the intervention of the Provincial Deputation in the case of any claim by a bordering commune.\*

*Commercial Exchanges.*—These institutions enable commercial men, without loss of time, to find one another at a fixed hour of the day ; to learn all news relating to commerce, to ascertain personal credit, to learn all about the money market and shares of companies, and to attract capital towards important industrial enterprises. All large commercial cities have special buildings, some on a very sumptuous scale, for these meetings.

Attached to some of the exchanges are "*offices of compensation*," intended to obviate the inconveniences caused to commerce by the fluctuations in the relative values of gold and silver. The

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\* In Italy, as in England, only a public body can establish a fair or market. The Calcutta High Court have actually ruled that any private person can establish a fair on his own land. This ruling seems to take no account of the abolition of sayer duties, and is a typical instance of the way in which the Indian High Courts are prone to exaggerate and amplify private rights, while they jealously curtail those of the administration. In the Bombay Presidency no person can establish a new market or fair without the permission of the District Magistrate, Bom. Act IV of 1852. In Bengal towns a license from the Municipal Commissioners is required. In England a market can be established by an urban authority, being a Local Board or Improvement Commissioners, Section 166, Public Health Act, 1875. See also Markets and Fairs Clauses Act, 1847, which does not, however, affect the rights of the Crown.

merchants of Leghorn opened a special office, where the cashiers of banks met three times a week to fix the exchange between gold and silver. A law of the 7th April 1881 gave power to establish similar institutions in other cities under the name of "offices of compensation" (*stanze di compensazione*.)

*Chambers of Commerce and Arts.*—The Chambers of Commerce and Arts and the Consulates are institutions for promoting, representing, and guarding commercial and industrial interests. The Chambers of Commerce submit to Government information and proposals which they consider useful for trade, arts, and manufactures; they compile every year statistics for their district; draw up the list of persons whom they consider eligible for the post of curators in bankruptcy; supervise the offices of compensation; propose the establishment of commercial exchanges, and nominate members; prepare the register of arbitrators, with power to cancel or suspend; determine the proportion in which exchange agents and brokers must compose the syndicate attached to the stock exchange; and perform other duties. The Chambers can also provide, by themselves or with the aid of Provinces and Communes, for the institution and maintenance of schools for teaching sciences applicable to commerce and arts, and for the formation of industrial and commercial exhibitions in their district. They can also unite with other Chambers in the kingdom in general assemblies to examine commercial and industrial questions of common interest.

*Composition of the Chambers of Commerce and Arts*—The Chambers of Commerce and Arts are composed of not more than 21 nor less than 9 merchants, chosen by vote by those engaged in art, commerce or industry, and inscribed on the political electoral list of the communes comprised in the district of the Chamber. Naturalized foreigners also, who have been engaged in commerce in the country for at least five years, may vote. They remain in office two years, half going out every year by rotation, and adopt a President and Vice-President, who hold office for two years.

*Consuls and their privileges.*—Consuls are delegates appointed by a State in foreign cities of commerce, in order to protect its countrymen living there, to watch over their rights and privileges, and exercise in regard to them certain functions of administration and jurisdiction. They may also be invested with diplomatic functions. There are two classes of consuls, agents sent from another country, and local agents. Consuls differ from ambassadors, who are charged with essentially political functions, and enjoy the privilege of extra-territoriality.

*Administrative duties of Consuls.*—Consuls are empowered to grant passports to their countrymen who present themselves, after being assured of their personal identity. They may countersign travellers' passports, health certificates, and affidavits and other documents of the local authority. They see that treaties are observed, and respect maintained for the national flag; and they keep their Government informed of all that can be of public interest, with especial reference to navigation, commerce, industry and health.

*Judicial functions of Consuls.*—In Christian countries the jurisdiction of consuls is somewhat restricted. With the exception of simple infractions of discipline, and desertion of persons serving in the mercantile navy under the Italian flag, consuls have no authority over their countrymen for the repression of offences. But they can insist that they be treated humanely, and impartially defended and tried. In civil matters, consuls exercise a sort of guardianship over their countrymen, by force of which they can place seals on and make inventories of the property of a deceased person, and take such measures as usage and treaties permit, to preserve the integrity of the succession for an absent or minor heir.

The exceptional jurisdiction of Consuls in Italy, Egypt, and Asiatic non-Christian countries, belongs rather to the domain of international law. The Italians are regarded as a colony, and are exempt from local taxes and jurisdictions; they are only bound to respect the public authority and the peace of the country. Consuls are invested with civil and penal judicial functions as regards their own countrymen, and apply their own laws where not otherwise provided by usage or treaties. At the end of every year they send a list of cases they have decided to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

*Industrial and Commercial education.*—The scientific progress of industries is kept in view by the different schools of arts and trades, which of late years have sprung up in the country, and are being continually multiplied with the aid of the State, the Provinces and the Communes. The development of industry and commerce is also furthered by the technical and polytechnic institutions, and especially the industrial museum at Turin, the high schools of commerce at Venice, Genoa and Bari, and model exhibitions and shows. These exhibitions, besides being a means of instruction and culture, serve to excite the emulation of producers and the desire of consumers.

In order to preserve the character of instruction, these exhibitions are being made permanent, under the name of industrial and commercial museums. The object of these institutions is to preserve the descriptions and designs of special

industries, and to collect specimens of foreign and national productions. Industrial museums are a means of instruction for the industrial classes ; commercial museums a means for the facilitation and combination of occupations. Both tend to make known our national products to the nations, to promote and expand exports, to collect specimens of foreign materials, which may be utilized in our own industries, and to the manufacture of samples for sending abroad. In addition to this, industrial and commercial museums and repositories afford an excellent means of information, by which our merchants and manufacturers can profit.

## V. COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT.

*Importance of communications.*—Communications and the means of easy and cheap transport are of the utmost importance for agriculture industry and commerce, because the value of many sorts of goods, especially agricultural products, does not correspond to their volume and weight. Where means of transport are absent, industries languish for want of a market, and lands lie uncultivated. It is the duty, then, of legislators to provide for a good system of communications, calculated to promote every sort of industry. Communications may be by water or by land.

*Water communications.*—Waters are either public or private. "Public waters" include every permanent watercourse of such size and importance as to serve as a means of communication, or to excite the reasonable speculations of industry or agriculture, without distinction in the latter case of whether it is or is not navigable. It follows that we should consider as "private waters" all other streams of small volume and little importance. But even a public water can lose its public nature when once it has been drawn away in canals and channels by private persons for private use for more than thirty years.

Public waters form part of the public domain (art 458, Civil Code). As regards private waters and that portion of public waters, which exceeds public requirements, the law gives up the property or rather the use to private persons, on condition, however, of their not abusing the privilege or causing loss to others. Hence the owner of higher land, after using the water which rises therein and runs through it, must restore it to its ordinary course ; he can neither divert nor waste the water to the detriment of others who may use it.

It should be remarked that the public character (*demanialità*) of the water only attaches to the water itself ; the banks and, according to some, the bed belong to the riparian proprietors, who consequently have a right to alluvial accretions, and to

islands forming in non-navigable rivers.\* But in the case of navigable rivers, the rights of the State extend also to the bed and banks. Even the banks and beds of public non-navigable rivers, belonging to private persons, are public *quoad* the reasonable use of the water which runs through them: and therefore owners cannot, as a rule, make any change in them without the permission of the administrative authority.

*Administration of Public Waters.*—It is a duty of the Government to look after public waters and the works connected with them.† These works are of several kinds. The first class, in the exclusive charge of the State, are those necessary for the navigation of rivers, lakes and large canals connected in one system; the second class are in the charge of provinces, communes, and others interested with the help of the State, and comprise navigable canals, not connected with other water communications, and works of embankment, excavation, and straightening, such works being of great importance. The third and fourth classes are exclusively in the charge of those interested, and concern the protection of private property contiguous to rivers and torrents.

*Navigation of Lakes, Rivers, and Canals.*—The administration looks after lakes, rivers, and canals. All other objects are subordinated to the principal object of navigation. For this reason, no person is allowed to divert the water, nor to establish his own mills or other buildings, unless he has a legitimate title, or has obtained a concession from the public administration. Such a concession is not granted if the works are likely to be prejudicial to navigation; and in any case such restrictions and conditions are imposed as will prevent any impediment to free and safe navigation.

The banks of navigable rivers are subject to the servitudes of mooring (*alsaja*), towing (*attiraglio*) and foot-way (*marciapiede*), the width of which, in the absence of any regulation or custom, is presumed to be five metres. Without the special permission of the public administration,‡ landing stages and jetties cannot be erected on the banks of lakes or seas; neither can steamers ply, nor wood be transported in dug-outs or rafts. It is forbidden to make any plantation in the beds of rivers, or to do anything or erect anything which will alter the condition of the banks, injuriously affect them, or lessen their power of resistance.

The transport of passengers is subject to special regulations.

\* Civil Code, arts, 453, 454, 458.

† Civil Code, art. 457.

‡ See page 275 of article on District Boards and County Councils, No. CXc., *Calcutta Review* for October 1892? It was there remarked that the State seems to have abdicated its administration of public waters.

There are rules regarding the number of passengers which can be carried, the internal management of the vessel, the supply of provisions, &c.

*Harbours and Lighthouses.*—Harbours and lighthouses are of two classes: those which concern the security of general navigation, and serve solely or chiefly for the military defence and security of the State; and those which serve principally for commerce. The latter are subdivided into four classes according to their commercial importance. The ports which come within the first category, together with their lighthouses and jetties, are under the care of the State. The cost of works coming within the first, second, and third classes of the second category is shared by the State with the provinces and communes interested, while the fourth class is entirely under the charge of communes. At the same time communes are exclusively charged with the cost of any works which have for their object the convenience or adornment of a particular locality.

*Diversion of public waters.*—With a view to promote agricultural or manufacturing industry, the public administration can permit the use of public waters on payment, provided that free navigation be not injuriously affected. Such concessions are made without prejudice to the rights of private persons, or to the provisions of articles 602, 603, 605 and 615 of the Civil Code. They can only be given permanently by law, and temporarily by royal decree. Temporary concessions cannot be given for more than 30 years, but they may be renewed. Those who draw off the water of rivers or streams are obliged to strengthen or embank the mouths, so as to regulate the rush of water and prevent its exceeding the capacity of the channel. The annual rent payable for new concessions of public waters is 50 lira for every water-channel, without the obligation of repairing the same, or 25 lira with such obligation. This rent is reduced by one-half for the concession of hibernal waters only for irrigation. If the water is required for any motive power, a rent of three lira is paid for every nominal single horse power. The concession is gratuitous for communes and charitable institutions, which require drinking water for gratuitous distribution among the inhabitants of the commune. Associations exist for the drawing off and use of waters for industrial purposes. These associations are regulated by the Civil Code (see articles 657 and 659) and by the law of the 2nd February 1888. The execution of all works is supervised by the Government Civil Engineer.

The concession of a public water is not an unconditional transfer of a State right. Such concessions are by their nature revocable.



Contraventions of the law on this subject are punishable with police punishment and with fine up to 500 lira. The Prefects can order the restoration of the former state of the waters at the cost of the offender, and in case of urgency, may do the work themselves. In every province a list is made of the public waters and published in all provinces which are interested in the course of the water. The lists are approved by a royal decree, after hearing the Provincial Councils, the Council of Public Works and the Council of State, and published in the official gazette. Lists of diversions and rights of user are also drawn up. Any person who has exercised a right for 30 years before the promulgation of the law of 10th August 1884 will have, as regards the public, a good title.

*Public ways.*—Public ways comprise ordinary roads, railways and steam tramways. Ordinary roads are (1) National, if maintained by the State; (2) Provincial, if maintained by Provinces; (3) Communal, if maintained by communes; and (4) Vicinal, if maintained by those who use them. In the first class come the principal military and commercial lines, which unite the largest cities and principal ports, or are connected with the principal trade routes of neighbouring states. If a railway is constructed along the route of one of these main roads, the latter becomes a Provincial road.

Provincial roads serve to connect the capitals of provinces with the capitals of the districts in them and of neighbouring provinces. As, however, the Provincial Councils were lukewarm in carrying out the law, the Parliament compiled a list of the roads considered most important, and made their construction obligatory, imposing half the cost on the State. All other public roads are *communal* or *vicinal*, that is, private roads subject to public easements, and therefore under the communal authorities.

*Communal Roads.*—The law of the 30th August 1868 made it obligatory on communes to construct roads which are necessary to connect the larger centres of population with the capital of the district, or with neighbouring communes or with railways and ports. To facilitate the construction of these roads there is a special fund formed by a tax on capital not exceeding 5 per cent. of the royal tax; by a special tax to be in force for not more than 20 years on proprietors of lands, mines, quarries, and manufactories; by tolls imposed on new roads for a period of not more than 20 years; by the State and Provincial subsidies; by loans at light interest from the Bank of Deposits and Loans and Postal Savings Banks; and finally by gifts of labour among the inhabitants of the commune.

Every head of a family, resident and owning property in the commune, can be compelled, if not exempted by the Communal

Council on the ground of poverty, to furnish annually up to four days of labour for himself, and for each male between the ages of 18 and 60 fit for work and for each beast of burden.\* A list of all who are subject to this tax is prepared every year, but the obligation may be converted into a money payment or specified works. Every year, at the request of the Communal Council, the Prefect fixes the time within which the works to be done by contributions of labour must be commenced and finished, excluding the time required for the more important agricultural operations. The State every year sets apart a sum of not less than three million lira for distribution among those communes which have the fewest roads, and least resources. In substitution for this money payment, the Minister of War may, with the approval of the Minister of Public Works, employ in the construction of obligatory roads such portion of the troops as may be available, the arrangements being made by the Prefect in concert with the general commanding the troops stationed in the Province.

The approval by the Prefect of the construction of a new road is equivalent to a declaration that the road is required for public purposes (*dichiarazione di pubblica utilità*). The Commune is not bound to deposit the price of the lands which have to be acquired; but it has the option of postponing payment for ten years, paying interest at 5 per cent.

*Police supervision over ordinary public roads.*—Roads have the character of public property (*demanialità*), and no length of prescription can deprive them of this character.† No one can do any act which will in any way injure them or impede the free flow of water in the side drains. It is forbidden to drag loads of wood along the road, or graze cattle along the ridges, slopes, and side ditches; also, within a certain distance, to open channels or pits, to make excavations, build houses, or plant trees or hedges; to discharge waters into the side ditches; and, without the permission of the public administration, to make any structure or deposit anything even temporarily. If any proprietor wishes to cut down trees along any mountain road, he must give 30 days notice to the Prefect, who is empowered to prevent such cutting, if likely to cause an avalanche or landslide, and in any case to compel such precautions as will prevent danger. A good many obligations also are imposed on the lateral owners of ordinary roads. There are special rules for the regulation of wheeled traffic. For instance, it is forbidden to use wheels with nails projecting beyond the surface of the tires.

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\* In the Madras Presidency Act I of 1858 legalizes compulsory labour for the prevention of mischief by inundation, and provides for the enforcement of customary labour on works of irrigation.

† Art. 430, Cod. Civ.

All vehicles, without any exception, must have a metal ticket affixed in front, showing the name and title of the owner ; must be provided with suitable drags, must carry a light at night and so on.

*Public and private Railways.*—Private railways are those which are made in the interests of private persons for some commerce, industry, or other private purpose. The duty of the public administration as regards these is limited to what concerns the public health and security. But the plan of any private railway is subject to the approval of the administration, if the railway touches the property of others, public roads, water courses, habitations, or any public works.

Public railways are divided into four categories by the law of the 29th July 1879. But they really fall under two heads, *principal* railways, or those constructed for general, commercial, military or strategic purposes, and *subsidiary* railways, or those constructed for local interests. The first are generally made at the expense of the State : the second are made by provinces, communes, companies or interested private persons ; and the Government only bears a portion of the expense.

The construction and use of a railway of the first class can only be granted by a law ; but as regards subsidiary railways, the king was authorized by Parliament to make concessions by royal decree on the proposal of the Ministers of Public Works and Finance, in consultation with the Superior Council of Public Works and of the Council of State. The concession or grant is for a fixed time, generally 90 years, at the end of which the State becomes the owner. The Government of the King is authorized to give subsidies to these railways of so much per mile, provided they join large and populous areas ; centres conspicuous for their industries and wealth of agricultural products ; mineral regions ; tracts hitherto devoid of any railway ; capitals of departments or districts ; or frontier communes with main arterial lines or with ports.

*Construction and use of railways*—The construction and use of railways is subject to rules and regulations. Public railways and private railways of the second class, that is, those which touch the property of others, public ways, &c., must be separated from the lands on either side by lining hedges or walls or other kind of strong fence. The ordinary roads must be crossed in such a way as not to interfere with their use or endanger the public safety ; and bridges or subways must in particular be preferred to level crossings. The constructors must restore interrupted communications, and allow full waterway.

Every railway must have a telegraph line along it.

The concessionaires of public railways are obliged to carry passengers and goods with punctuality and promptitude, and

without giving preference to any person ; and they are prohibited from making any special agreement with any particular persons to carry at lower rates. They are also bound to conduct the telegraphic service along their lines free or at reduced rates, to carry on the postal service for all letters, postal packets, newspapers, the Indian mails ; to transport troops, other classes of public servants, prisoners, stores and telegraph material for the Government. Rates of transport are fixed by a special tariff, which is in general accord with Government rates. The rate once fixed may be lowered, but cannot be increased.

There are police regulations relating to railways, such as that cattle may not be grazed in the vicinity except in charge of some person.

*Steam tramways.*—Steam tramways are especially suitable for passenger traffic. The plant being less costly, they are generally laid down on communal roads. They precede or prepare the way for railways. The drivers and firemen must be licensed as on railways : the speed must not exceed 18 kilometres ( 10 miles ) an hour ; and must be slowed down when passing through habitations to the pace of a man, and preceded by a servant of the company. A guard must always be on duty where the tramway crosses another road. The carriages must not exceed 20 metres in length, must not have more than six wheels, or carry more than a ton weight.

*Acquisition of Land for Public Purposes.*—Works of a public character, and especially the construction of railways, necessitate the taking of private property. Such works may be undertaken by the State, by Provinces, by Communes, by corporate bodies and private societies, and lastly by private persons. Immoveable property is ordinarily the subject of acquisition, as moveables can be easily and freely acquired in the market.

The State is authorized to demand the abandonment of property which has become necessary for the public good ; individual interests are made to yield to general interests. There is, however, one difference between taxation and land acquisition. The citizen who pays the first satisfies a common obligation ; whereas he whose land is acquired undergoes a special burden. It follows that three conditions are required for acquisition : (1) that there should be a declaration of public utility ; (2) that the acquisition should not be greater in extent than is required for the public work ; (3) that the person whose land is acquired be paid a fair compensation.\*

*Declaration of public utility*—When the work to be done is of general interest, and its execution must be approved by

\* Art. 438, Cod. Civ.

law (as the construction of railways and navigable canals, and the reclamation of lakes), or when it is necessary to impose a contribution on the owners of adjacent lands,—a contribution being a tax, and under the constitutional law only Parliament having the power to levy a tax—the public utility must be declared by law. It can be declared by a royal decree, when the work concerns reforestation, military fortifications or workshops, historical monuments or national antiquities, or plans for the enlargement or sanitation of communes. The order of the Minister of Public Works or of any Prefect is sufficient, if it refers to works of minor importance concerning the interests of a province or a commune.

*Compensation for the acquisition of immoveable property.*—

When it is necessary to acquire immoveable property, a notice must be posted up in the commune for 15 days. The person or body desirous of acquiring must make a plan of the work, must specify exactly the land he wishes to acquire, and also state the price he proposes to give. The plan is similarly published in the commune for 15 days; and the Prefect decides the matter after hearing the parties interested.

If the person acquiring (*l'espropriante*) and the person whose land is acquired (*l'espropriato*) agree as to the price, a writing is drawn up and given to the Sindac, who sends it to the Prefect. The Prefect directs the amount to be placed in the Bank of Deposits and Loans, and authorizes, according to circumstances, the payment in whole or in part to the owner, and permits the immediate occupation of the land. If there are other owners who do not agree, the Prefect makes a list of them and transmits it to the court, which nominates one or three experts with a view to fix the price, which the lands acquired would fetch according to the general conditions of the market, if the parties were free, the one to sell and the other to buy. Any increase or decrease in the value of the rest of the land, resulting from the execution of the work, is taken into consideration, either to diminish or enhance the compensation. But all erections and improvements made with the intention of enhancing the compensation must be excluded from consideration. Either party has the right to impugn the decision of the expert valuers before competent judicial authority. The transfer duty and other expenses are borne by the acquiror, unless it be otherwise agreed.\*

*Temporary occupation of private property.*—Every private citizen is liable to have his lands occupied temporarily by the contractor of public works in all cases in which such occupation is indispensable for the execution of the work: such as, for deposit of materials, stores, or offices; for making new

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\* Arts. 1455 and 1947, Cod. Civ.

paths where present communications have been interrupted ; and for making channels for the diversion of water. Such occupation may last as long as the works are in progress.

Those who carry out public works have also the right to take from the adjoining lands, if not enclosed with walls, materials necessary for construction or repairs, such as stones, gravel, earth or sand for making or repairing roads. The public interest, which demands the rapid and economical completion of the work, justifies the imposition of such an obligation on private property.\* This, indeed, is a restriction on the right of private property or a public easement ; in fine, an acquisition (*espropriazione*).

*Occupation in cases of vis major.*—In the case of breaking of river banks, the destruction of bridges by the rush of water and other cases of *vis major* and absolute urgency, Prefects and sub-Prefects can authorize immediate occupation ; and even the Sindaco can do so where a delay would be caused by a reference to the former. The Prefect fixes the compensation, saving recourse to the Courts. Railway companies are not liable to pay anything for the occupation of the banks of public waters, lakes and sea-coasts.

*Acquisition for the purpose of the better arrangement and extension of communes.*—Communes, containing a population of not less than 10,000 inhabitants, can, when it is necessary for the public good to provide for health and necessary communications, make a plan for the reconstruction of any part of the inhabited portion, in which the buildings are badly arranged. The plans must be deposited for 15 days in the office of the commune, and must be approved by the Council, with an appeal to the Provincial Council. Similarly, communes, in which the necessity for extending houses is demonstrated, can present a plan for extension, with a view to provide for health, and also to make the houses more secure, roomy, and beautiful.

*Acquisition of part of a Commune for purposes of sanitation.*—When bad conditions of sanitation and drainage render the necessity clear, communes can get special assistance by a royal order, passed after hearing the Council of State. For instance, they can get loans on favourable terms, and the Sindaco is given larger powers for the removal of the causes of bad water and unhealthiness of sites. Moreover, the compensation to the owner of the lands acquired is based on the average of the market value and the rents collected during the preceding ten years.

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\* In some districts in Bengal difficulty has been caused owing to the zemindars of adjacent lands not permitting earth to be cut for the repair of roads.

*The difference between acquisition and confiscation.*—Acquisition must not be confused with confiscation. False weights and measures are confiscated; also treacherous weapons, tools of convicted persons, nets and implements for poaching, minerals extracted in defiance of the law relating to mines.

Between acquisition and confiscation there are the following differences: (1) confiscation is always the result of the violation of some law; not so acquisition; (2) in the case of acquisition the owner receives compensation, whereas none is given in the case of confiscation; (3) confiscation applies only to moveables, whereas acquisition for a public object generally affects immoveable property and the rights incidental thereto.

It is only in very rare cases that recourse is had to the acquisition of moveables, as of the rights of a deceased author in a work formerly published or which has never been published; of provisions or means of transport in time of war, siege, mobilisation of troops or sea voyages.

## VI. STATE SUPERVISION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

*Duties of the State with regard to property.*—It is the duty of the State to protect the property of its citizens. Such property must be protected not only against deliberate usurpations, such as theft and malicious damage, but also against losses, purely accidental, with a view to their prevention or mitigation, or to promote and watch over institutions which have this object, such as insurance companies.

*Preventive Police.*—With a view to protect property, and especially agricultural property, the law gives a right to every citizen, and imposes an obligation on the agents of public security, carbineers, rural, forestal and village guards, to denounce before the Prætor of the mandamentum, persons suspected of thefts from the fields, of abuse of pasturage, or offences against property. If the information is supported by sufficient proof, and even in the absence of any specific charge, when it refers to persons whom the public voice accuses of such offences, or are notoriously considered guilty of them, the Prætor proceeds summarily. He calls the person indicated before him, and if he finds the accusation or suspicion to be justified, he warns him to behave better; and if he is in the habit of keeping a number of cattle, which notoriously he cannot maintain,\* he fixes a date within which they must be reduced to such a number as is in conformity with his means. If, after such a warning, there are grave reasons to suspect

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\* This is common in India. Owners of cattle purposely turn them out to graze to get a feed at the expense of other people's crops or grass. This habit led to the amendment of Section 26 of the Cattle Trespass Act of 1871 by Section 8 of Act I of 1891.

that the person warned keeps wood, corn, or other products of the fields which he has come by dishonestly, the Prætor or official of public security proceeds without other formality to a domiciliary visit. If then the person warned does not reduce his cattle, as he was ordered, the judge forthwith attaches the excess number, and proceeds to sell them by auction, the price realized, however, being paid to the owner. If a person, who has been warned as above, is surprised in the fields, the woods, or on the roads with wood, grain, or other agricultural products, and cannot show that he honestly came by them, he is forthwith arrested and placed at the disposal of the judicial authority. If the person charged or denounced by general repute is a minor under 16 years of age, the Prætor calls before him the father, grandfather, mother or guardian, and severely reprimands them, warning them that the law makes them responsible for the acts of minors under their charge.

The officers of public security in every commune, except the Sindac, are obliged to keep a register of all idlers, vagabonds, able-bodied beggars, field thieves and suspected persons. Every month a copy of entries is sent to the sub-Prefect, who directs the preparation of a register for the whole district, divided into communes. Similarly the sub-Prefect sends extracts to the Prefect, who orders the preparation of a general Register for the whole Provinces.

*Repressive Police.*—The Penal Code prescribes severe penalties for offences against property, such as theft in general and, in particular, theft of animals, agricultural implements, produce of the soil, beehives, plants in nurseries, fish in fishponds, and things exposed for sale in fields, at fairs and markets. It also punishes every sort of damage to property, especially rural property.

*Precautions against cattle-disease.*—In order to prevent the spread of cattle-disease, it is provided that any person owning or in charge of cattle, as well as veterinary doctors, must give immediate information to the Sindac of any disease of an epizootic nature, or suspected to be such. The Sindac charges one of the members of the municipal health committee and a veterinary surgeon or the Government doctor to verify the nature and character of the disease, and take such steps as will prevent any spread of the disease. If the disease is epizootic, the Sindac gives immediate information to the Prefect; who, after hearing the Provincial Council of Health, will summon the veterinary adviser to examine the diseased animal on the spot, and take such measures as may be considered necessary. In grave cases, the Prefect refers to the Minister.

*Precautions against the phylloxera.*—With a view to prevent



and check the great damage which the invasion of the phylloxera threatens to the vines, there has been constituted in Rome a special consultative commission, composed of 30 members, chosen by royal decree from among the most famous naturalists, vine-growers and wine-dealers, who remain in office for five years. The commission is consulted regarding proposed legislation dealing with the phylloxera. It annually co-opts a committee to assist the Minister of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce in following deliberations of the same commission.

In order to keep the scourge at a distance, it is forbidden under penalty of fine, to import from abroad shoots, spigs, leaves or any other portion of the vine, and even plants and vegetable and mixed manures.

When the presence of the insect has been ascertained, the Minister, after hearing the Phylloxera Committee, determines the measures to be adopted to prevent its spreading. The methods are two, curative and destructive. In the former case, a subsidy, not exceeding 100 lira per hectare is given to the owner of the vines on the condition of his adopting such measures as may be indicated by the Minister, after consulting the Phylloxera Committee. If, on the other hand, the infected vines are destroyed, an indemnity is given to the owner, half of which is paid by the State, and the other half is at the charge of the compulsory provincial association, unless it be proved that the owner had imported the phylloxera in his own estate by contravening the law, or that, being cognizant of an unwonted deterioration of the vines, he had failed to inform the *Sindac*. The importation of prohibited products is punished with fine, without prejudice to heavier punishment in cases of fraud by the sale of plants infected with the phylloxera.

On the 3rd November 1881, an international convention was signed at Berlin, in which Italy also joined,\* with the object of protecting vines against the phylloxera.

*Insurance against accidents.*—Citizens can insure their property and the products of agriculture and industry against fires, hailstorms, phylloxera, epizooty and other disasters. But Government does not interfere with the contracting parties, and restricts itself to the exercise of a certain amount of supervision over insurance societies in the interests of the persons insured, and prescribes stated methods for the compilation of their balances.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

*Providential Institutions.*—In these times of political equality and social inequality, providential institutions, which tend to

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\* Art 177, Cod. Comm.

prevent misery among the less well-to-do classes, are the safety-valve of our citizenship; and for this reason the public administration is careful to found and encourage beneficent institutions, such as mutual help and co-operative societies, Pension and Savings Banks, the national bank for accidents to workmen, life insurance offices and the like.

*National Bank of Insurance against accidents to workmen.*—This insurance may be individual or collective. It relates only to accidents during work. But ordinary illnesses, and those which arise from the exercise of the particular industry, are excluded from the insurance; as also infirmities caused by the imperfection and physical state of the person insured, and which are not the direct result of accident; self-caused injuries; infirmities of a date prior to the contract of assurance. Deaf, dumb, and blind persons, epileptics and lunatics are generally excluded from insurance.

The insurance money can be paid in case of accident resulting in death; in case of accident followed by permanent incapacity to work, permanent or partial; in case of accident causing temporary incapacity for work, which must, however, exceed a month. In case of death the entire sum is paid to the heirs, or the persons in whose favour the insurance is made. In case of incapacity for work, the sum paid varies with the degree of incapacity, varying from 20 per cent. to 80 per cent. for absolute incapacity. In case of temporary incapacity, the payment used to begin from the 31st day of the incapacity up to a maximum of 360 days; but by a decree of the 24th July 1887, it was ordained that it should commence from the sixth day of the infirmity.

Every change in the profession of the person insured, which increases the risk or substantially alters the basis of the policy, must be made known to the Bank as early as possible, and in no case later than the 15th day after the change, under penalty of the suspension of the indemnity and even of refusal of payment. Especially favourable conditions are given to the Society of Mutual Help for collective insurance by reason of the number of its members and of the sums insured.

*Privileges accorded to the Bank.*—Divers privileges are accorded to the Bank. They enjoy the gratuitous services of the Post office for receiving applications for insurance, drawing præmia, sending the monies collected to their respective destinations, paying indemnities, and giving information called for; while their correspondence and remittances of money are sent free. They are also exempt from the stamp and registration duties on the deeds constituting the Bank, or modifying its statutes, rules, &c. Donations and largesses in favour of the Bank are also exempt from all stamp, registration, or mortgage duties.

Similar privileges are enjoyed by the Workmen's Associations of Mutual Help.

### INSTITUTIONS OF PUBLIC BENEVOLENCE.

*The duty of Charity*—Not content with preventing misery, the public administration is concerned with its mitigation when it is not possible to prevent it. Assistance to poor sick persons, and to those who for any reason are unable to provide themselves with the means of subsistence is not merely an individual, but a social duty. The question is whether it should be fulfilled by the State or the Commune. It seems better to entrust the duty to the Commune, because it is in a better position to distinguish real from pretended poverty; because its succour will be more prompt and better adapted to the need; because being more interested it will know how to exercise a greater vigilance; and because, in fine, legacies and donations which benefit one's fellow-townsmen are more frequent and larger, the feeling of attachment to the Commune being livelier than that to the State. The system is generally followed by Italian legislation; the maintenance of poor lunatics only being assigned to the Province.

*Charitable Institutions.*—In the administrative laws of Italy the general term of "*opere pie*" is applied to those institutions of charity and benevolence, which have for their sole or partial object, the relief of the poorer classes. Charitable institutions are divided into two classes; those for the relief of infirmities, as hospitals, lunatic asylums, refuges for deaf-mutes and blind persons; and those for the relief of poverty, as refuges for beggars, and pauper asylums. On the 31st December 1880 there were 21,726 charitable institutions, with a net capital of 1,271,582,260 lira, a gross income of 134,380,504 lira, and a net income of 62,517,543 lira.

*Administration of Charitable Institutions.*—The administration of charitable institutions is confided to corporate bodies, councils, colleges, &c.; and in default of any such institution, the Provincial Deputation is appointed by Royal Decree. There are certain rules as to the qualifications which must be possessed by those who administer such institutions. For instance, they must not take part in deliberations which concern themselves or their relatives up to the fourth degree. An exact record must be kept of all the acts, documents, registers and other papers of such institutions, and of their moveable and immoveable property. Two copies must be made, one to be kept with the Prefect, the other with the Minister of the Interior. Contracts of a value exceeding 500 lira must be made by public auction with all the forms prescribed for contracts made by State institutions.

*Supervision of Charitable Institutions.*—Charitable institutions cannot acquire immoveable property without being authorized by a royal decree after the Council of State has been consulted ; but their immediate supervision is entrusted to the respective provincial deputations, against whose decisions an appeal lies to the King. Even the communal councils have the right to examine the proceedings and to see the accounts and registers of local charitable institutions. They can also demand their reform, when they fail or fall short of the statutes constituting them.

It is the duty of the Minister of the Interior to watch over all charitable institutions ; and when part of their cost is borne by the State, the audits and accounts of the institutions must be approved by him. When an institution, after warning, fails to conform to the statutes and rules, and does not fulfil the obligations imposed on it by the laws and regulations, it can be abolished by a royal decree, after hearing the Provincial Deputation and Council of State.

*Charitable Congregations.*—Under the term of charitable congregations are meant the corporate bodies instituted in each commune for the purpose of administering all property left generally to the poor, and not assigned to a special charitable institution, or to some management indicated by the testator or donor. These congregations are composed of a President and four members in communes, the population of which does not exceed 10,000 inhabitants ; and of eight members in addition to the President, in larger communes. Their nomination is made by the communal council ; and within the eight following days must be published and communicated to the Prefect. The Prefect can also take part in a charitable congregation, whenever it receives a gift or legacy.

The above is a sketch of the main provisions of the administrative law of Italy, and the writer ventures to think that some valuable hints may be derived therefrom, hints which may prove of use to the Legislative Councils of the Indian Empire, when they have to deal with matters falling within the domain of Public or Administrative Law.

H. A. D. PHILLIPS,

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### ART. III.—MOROCCO AND THE FRENCH AFRICAN EMPIRE.

The writer of this article craves the indulgence of the readers of the *Calcutta Review*, should he appear to have exclusively drawn his information from a foreign source, which, however, he hopes may interest them by its greater novelty.

#### I.

THE treaty of Frankfort inaugurated a new era of international politics. It was no longer possible for a French army to cross the Rhine, fight a great battle, and rend a rival in twain. French arms and influence were not in the future to be all powerful in Europe.

As is the case with men, nations must either advance or decline, must gain or lose. But henceforth France could hope to acquire new dominions only beyond the sea, and so some of her most capable and energetic politicians, including M. Waddington and M. Ferry—it has even been reported that the new movement owed its origin to the present ambassador of the French Republic in England—encouraged their countrymen to greater activity in colonial enterprise; and soon a period of colonial conquests was commenced, which almost equalled in importance those that were effected in the 17th century.

Pretexts for acquiring fresh territory were soon found and eagerly seized. A quarrel with a tribe on the Algerian frontier offered an excuse for the permanent occupation of Tunis. The mere enforcement of a claim in Tonkin induced a war of aggression, which led to the annexation of half the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Old and superannuated treaties were pleaded, in order to establish a protectorate over Madagascar. Such have been the first steps towards the formation, beyond the ocean, of an Empire that the French can now scarcely hope to conquer beyond the Rhine and the Alps.

Within the last decade, Europe has seriously undertaken the task of administering Africa, where France has possessed, for more than half a century, one of the most magnificent domains in the world. This domain, it need hardly be said, is Algeria, and, with Tunis, has already become the nucleus of a new and vast Empire, to which Morocco stands much in the same relation as Turkey does to Russia. Like Turkey, too, Morocco resembles a sick man, who is jealously watched by rival doctors, of whom each proposes to cure the patient, were the latter confined to his sole charge.

The history of modern France has rendered Algeria familiar to the world; and hence, if Morocco be described as an Algeria

on a grander scale, a fair, though rough idea, may be formed of the external aspect of the more Western country. The same lofty chain of mountains—the Atlas—divides Morocco into two parts, of which the Northern portion slopes to the Mediterranean, and the Southern to the Sahara ; but so elevated are the Moroccan peaks that the littoral is protected from the sirocco, and the rain clouds are arrested and discharged. The climate of Morocco is superior and better adapted to Europeans, the soil is richer, the productions are more varied, the natives, who belong to the same races as those who inhabit Algeria, are braver, better workmen, and of greater ingenuity, and its mercantile and strategic position is superior.

Like her neighbour, Morocco consists of the Tell, or country between the mountains and the coast, the mountains of the Atlas and the Sahara. Of its five zones, which consist of the littoral, of inferior mountains, of intermediary plains, of the Atlas, and of the desert, the two first are perfectly adapted to Europeans, and the Sahara abounds in fertile oases that are fairly populous. The natural riches of Morocco are immense, but undeveloped, and it would need only good Government to become one of the most flourishing countries in the world, as it is unsurpassed in its situation and varied character.

But, in proportion to its great attraction, the position of Morocco as an independent power is precarious. For ages European neighbours have contended for its fairest sites. During, and since the Middle Ages, Spain and even Portugal have often been engaged in sanguinary wars in Moroccan territory, and we may recollect that Tangiers, its most ancient city, remained for a long time a Portuguese possession, till Catharine of Braganza bestowed it as a marriage dowry on Charles II, when she married that king in 1662. Spain formerly conquered important possessions on the coast of Morocco, and still retains valuable ports on the Mediterranean coast. These ports, of which some are called *presidios*, or places where prisoners are guarded, are eight in number ; they are composed of the port and territory of Ceuta, the island of Peregil, Penon de Velez, Albucemas, Neker, Melilla, the island of Jaffarine, and latterly she has added Igny on the Atlantic Coast. At present no other power has any recognized possessions within Moroccan territory, for Cape Juby, which was acquired by an English subject, a few years ago, can scarcely be considered to have belonged to the Sultan.

With regard to the government of Morocco we cannot fail to be struck by its many defects and discrepancies. The monarchy is absolute, but the Sultan only rules a third part of his nominal dominions ; the remaining two-thirds are occupied by tribes which either only partially obey him, or know

and in the expectation that she might have a son."\* By this marriage the issue of the union becomes for all practical purposes the son of the maternal grand-father, and till he is born the son-in-law holds the property as a trustee to the son ready to hand it back to the *illom* in the event of a failure of such issue.† The right to make such a marriage is often exercised by Nambudri widows and unmarried females.‡

About *Kypidichuvakkal* marriage much need not be said. It has not the sanction of the Shastras and as such is of slight significance. It is resorted to only in cases where the father of the girl is too poor to give a dowry, or where the girls to be given in marriage are either several in number or deformed or sick. As to its incidents, opinion is not uniform. In a suit brought for maintenance by the daughter whose mother was married in this form, the defendant, her deceased father's brother, pleaded that she was not entitled to be maintained by him as she was the heir of her mother's *illom* and not of her father's. But the evidence on this point was hopelessly conflicting and vague, and consequently the alleged custom was held not to be proved.§ In this, there is no dowry and the wife generally lives in her own house.

Considering the peculiar law of marriage, and the vigorous exactness with which it is followed, one may feel surprised at the extremely few instances of immoral conduct found among the community. But this pleasing though surprising phenomenon is to be chiefly ascribed to a safety-valve in the system—I refer to the practice of polygamy||—no less than to the very severe penalty meted out to the delinquent. Whenever a Nambudri lady is suspected of immoral conduct, strangely enough, it is her own people that publish her shame. The head of her *illom* calls an assembly of kinemen and friends and institutes a private enquiry of a searching nature by examining the *Vrishali* (maid servant) of the suspected woman. Where evidence sufficient to constitute what lawyers call "moral certainty" is not forthcoming, the enquiry is at once stopped and the matter dropped as groundless. Otherwise it is carried to the ears of the local chief, who, after satisfying himself of the reasonableness of the charge, issues a writ to the *Smarthen* and deposes as his agent 'a Vedic scholar of the court.' All of them go to the *Smarthen's* house and laying down a sum of money as a present, place the case before him.

\* I. L. R., 11 Mad., 163.

† Mayne 'On Hindu Law and Usages,' page 78.

‡ Ramchandra Iyer's 'Malabar Law,' page 23.

§ Malabar Law Reports, Vol. I. K. N. Nambudri vs. T. M. A. Bhattacharipad.

|| Surgeon-Major Cornish thus writes in his Madras Census Report 1871: "The Nambudri-Brahmins may marry as many as seven wives."

no other law than the command of their chiefs. In consequence internal wars are frequent, and the Sultan is perpetually engaged in expeditions against aggressive and unruly tribes. When the present ruler, Moulej Hassan, commenced his reign, in 1873, his discontented subjects profited by the confusion which generally inaugurates a new reign at Fez, to excite a revolt that became a bloody civil war. As the laws of succession do not secure the crown to the eldest son of a deceased monarch, and it is a matter of agreement whether the latter's son or uncle should succeed him, such a war was easily fomented, and it was not terminated before several years had elapsed. Besides the frequent revolts of tribes against the rule of the Sultan, the former often wage war between themselves, and maintain hereditary feuds, resembling in this respect the Scotch clans of former times.

Of the immense territory which is called the Empire of Morocco, only two small strips are under the immediate authority of the Sultan ; one of these extends from Fez to Tangiers and Cape Spartel, leaving outside the Riff, a country adjacent to the Mediterranean, and enjoying almost complete independence ; while the other stretches from the town of Morocco to the Atlantic coast. Apparently some 60,000 out of 314,000 square miles only are directly governed by the Sultan.

As in Algeria, the majority of the Moroccan population are Berbers or Kabyles, who chiefly inhabit the mountains : the Arabs are next in importance, and inhabit for the most part the plains, while the Moors whose exact blend of race has not been clearly defined, but who appear to be descended from Negroes, as well as Arabs or Kabyles, inhabit the towns. The number of pure blooded Negroes is considerable, and is yearly increased by means of caravans that cross the desert, coming from the interior of Africa. There are also many Jews in the large towns on the coast, and a certain number of Spanish immigrants, and Europeans, chiefly engaged in trade.

Almost the sole bond of union between the various races inhabiting Morocco is the Koran, and the Sultan's prestige is great only through his importance as a religious chief. He occupies, in the West, much the same position that the Khalif fills in the East, for Morocco is one of the chief centres of Musulman power and fanaticism, and perhaps takes the lead in the propagation of the faith of Mahommed. It possesses many religious congregations, sects and universities, which despatch their emissaries throughout Africa to convert the heathen and kindle the zeal of the faithful. It has many towns, that have a special reputation for sanctity, of which the principal are Fez, Ouezzan, Tetuan and Fignig. Through its holy reputa-



frontier, as it was only a few years ago, and as it continues to be at the present time. Referring to Fleincen, an important town and commercial centre in the department of Oran, and distant but a few miles from the border, he writes: "The neighbourhood of Morocco, which offers a refuge to every fugitive, stimulates the instinct of depredation among the natives. Along their frontier there is a band of marauders who live entirely by rapine at our expense. A few years before the arrival of the deputation, two soldiers belonging to the military train had been assassinated near Sebdon, a village in the vicinity. Hence one of the principal wishes which the inhabitants expressed, was that measures might be taken against Morocco. 'If that country cannot maintain a proper police, let us take this duty on ourselves there,' said an orator, who was the mouthpiece of the inhabitants. And M. Bourde continues afterwards: "it appears to me that far too much consideration is paid to a State where the sovereign possesses direct authority only over a few towns, and cannot go beyond his capital, unless he is escorted by an army of 10,000 men. Every time a grave offence is committed, he transmits his excuses and pays an indemnity, as he has just done for this affair of Sebdon. It is right for him to make amends for an injury by payment, but it would be preferable to prevent it." And further: "It is a notorious fact that at Ouchda (in Morocco), which is only a few hours distant from the frontier, there are two or three hundred Algerians who gain their entire livelihood by the booty they obtain in the French Province." Since the book of M. Bourde appeared there have been some changes, and certain tribes have submitted themselves to French rule, but the state of affairs on the frontier still remains nearly what it was at the time this author wrote. \* M. A. Burdeau, the present French Minister of the Marine and of the Colonies, writes that the security of Algeria is compromised by the clandestine commerce of arms and by the excursions of the emissaries of religious fraternities, charged to stir up the fanaticism of French subjects against French rule; and these fraternities have their home in Morocco.

Some thirty miles from the frontier of Algeria is the district of Fignig, inhabited by the powerful tribe of the Amours, who enjoy a semi-independence. This tribe believes that it still continues the war in which Moulei Abd el Rahman was defeated by the French at Isly in 1844, and as it has not met with actual defeat, concludes, through its own method of reasoning, that it is victorious. Fignig has a population of more than 10,000 souls and consists of 11 villages or *ksours*,

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\* L'Algerie en 1891—by A. Burdeau. 1 Hachette et Cie. Paris 1892.

that are surmounted by a clay or *pisé* wall possessing a circumference of about 11 miles and an altitude of two yards. It is both the seat of a university and the centre of a vast Musulman propaganda, whose missionaries are indefatigable in their efforts to excite revolt against Christian rule, and who are also supposed at the present time, to be preparing a general insurrection which doubtless would immediately break out in Algeria at the news of serious reverses to a French army in Europe. We may recollect that the formidable insurrection of 1871 broke out soon after the defeat of 1870.

The present state of affairs on the borderland according to recent accounts, will scarcely justify us in condemning, *a priori*, the desire of the French Government to rectify their unsatisfactory frontier; but the disadvantages that Algeria at present suffers, owing to the neighbourhood of Morocco, would scarcely be remedied, even if the French Government attained its wish; and, though the Algerian boundaries were forced far back on Moroccan soil, the empire of the Sultan would still remain the home of Musulman fanaticism and would still offer a shelter to conspirators, marauders and criminals. All that the French could possibly ask at present, where it was a question of the territories on their Western frontier, could not exceed a demand for this rectification of the frontier; but the question of Morocco is so involved, and the country is so jealously watched by rival powers, that, even were the Sultan disposed to surrender Fignig to France, he would soon be compelled to make concessions to other European powers, which have all some reasons for complaint against the proceedings of the Moroccan Government. Besides, one concession would induce another, and, were a frontier that gave Fignig to the French once conceded, it would not be long before a delimitation that gave them Fez would be demanded, while further claims of several European powers would be so hotly pressed, that within a brief interval no trace of Morocco would be discovered on the map. Already the conflicting interests of foreign nations in this country have conjured up a Western question that may imperil as well the maintenance of European peace, in only a less degree than the Eastern question does.

To understand adequately the present state of Morocco, and its reason, it may not be disadvantageous to glance at some of the most important phases of her past history.

In the third Moroccan dynasty, that of the Almohades, the Sultans of Morocco exercised authority, not only over the whole of Northern Africa, as far East as the confines of Egypt, but over the greater part of Spain. Under this dynasty Moroccan power reached its maximum. In the 15th century the Moorish Government was extirpated in Spain, the Spanish Moors were subdued,

and millions of the latter are said to have then crossed the Straits of Gibraltar. In their turn Spaniards and Portuguese became aggressors, and conquered in Morocco certain ports and islands of which a few are still possessed by the former people. In the sixth Moroccan dynasty of the Daraonides (1550—1648) the return flood of Iberian invasion was checked, and at the battle of Ksar el Kebir (August 4th, 1648) Sebastian, King of Portugal, was completely defeated; but since this battle European Powers have scarcely made any progress in the way of conquest, within the real limits of the Moroccan Empire.

Under the rule of the Daraonides, Morocco recovered somewhat from the severe treatment she had received from the Spaniards, and the population was again increased, through the expulsion of about 900,000 Moors from Spanish soil by Philip III, between the years 1598 and 1610, when they found a refuge across the Straits of Gibraltar. The present dynasty of the Filalides succeeded the preceding in 1642, and its founder, as was the case with many previous dynasties, claimed descent from the Prophet, a fact which, though apparently trivial, is of considerable importance, if we would justly appraise the present influence of Moroccan Sultans. Before the Filalides became imperial, their family was settled at Tafilet, an oasis of the Moroccan Sahara, and here, according to Loti, who, in addition to his celebrated romances, it may not be perhaps so widely known, is the author of an interesting work on Morocco. Moulei Hassan, the present ruler, has prepared a retreat for himself and his family, as well as a place of concealment for his immense treasures, in case the pressure of European Powers should render his position as ruler of Morocco untenable.

In 1684 Moulei Ismael, the brother of the founder of the present dynasty, recovered Tangiers from the English. He was the first Moroccan prince to cultivate friendly relations with a foreign Power, and he even despatched an ambassador to the Court of Louis XIV, to demand the hand of the Princess de Conti, the natural daughter of the French Monarch and of Mademoiselle de Valière. Moulei Soliman, one of the successors of the Princess de Conti's wooer, decreed the abolition of piracy in 1814, and sent an embassy to Napoleon I. Towards the end of the war that Abd el Kadir, the great Arab chief, waged during many years in Algeria against the French Government, Moulei Abd el Rahman, the Emperor of Morocco at that period, allied himself with Abd el Kadir; but the Moroccan army was completely defeated at the battle of Isly, by Marshal Buglaud in 1844, in which year both Tangiers and Mogadore were successfully bombarded by the Prince de Joinville.

The treaty of Tangiers in 1844 terminated the war, and on March 14th, 1845, General de la Rue, representing France, and Sidi Ahmid, as the representative of Morocco, by the treaty of Salla Maghnia, fixed the Eastern frontier of Morocco. It was then agreed that the new limit should commence at a point somewhat to the east of the river Molonia, and leaving Oudscha and Fignig in the possession of the Sultan, should be prolonged to the Hauts Plateaux as far as *Tennet* (pass) *el Sarsi*. The French negotiator did not concern himself about the territory to the south of this point, as French rule had no sway below *Tennet el Sarsi*, and it was supposed that there were only deserts beyond the Hauts Plateaux. In the 6th article of the treaty of Salla Maghnia (or Maghonia) it is stated "as regards the country to the south of the \*Ksours or villages, it has no water and is uninhabitable,—to speak properly, it is the desert, and hence its delimitation is superfluous." Unfortunately for French interests, Fignig was not included in French territory, and, as we have said, it is precisely from this desert frontier town that "Algeria is harassed by raids and that rebellion is fostered." In 1847 Abd el Kadir remarked to General Lamoriciere, "You would only be able to preserve peace in the Sahara by the possession of Fignig." At that time Algeria included a very small part of the Sahara, and it has only been realised in recent years that French interests are most important there, and that there is something besides sand in the desert.

Since the treaties of Tangiers and Salla Maghnia, the relations of Morocco with foreign Powers have been far from smooth. In 1857, Salé, an important sea port of the Atlantic coast, was bombarded by a French fleet, in punishment for pillage of a French brig. In 1849 the Spaniards forestalled the French and occupied the Jaffarines islands of the Moroccan coast, which are situated some thirty miles to the west of Mellila. In 1860 Spain declared war against Morocco, as the latter refused to make amends for piratical acts committed by Moroccans, of which Spaniards complained. The war ended triumphantly for Spain, and, in return for the evacuation of Spanish troops from Tetuan, Morocco agreed to pay 4,000,000*l.*, and to surrender permanently a seaport on the Atlantic coast, and here it may be remembered that English diplomacy not only sought to prevent this war, but tried to terminate it as soon as possible, for even at that time the English Government was unwilling that Morocco should be weakened for the profit of a neighbour.

In 1867 a formidable revolt broke out among the Moroccans, who were discontented at the concessions made to Europeans,

\* Referring to the Ksours or villages of Fignig.

and soon after a severe famine desolated the country. Sidi Mahommed is said to have placed his Empire under English protection in 1873, in which year his son, the present ruler of Morocco, Moulei Hossan the 14th prince of his dynasty, was proclaimed Sultan. The commencement of the latter's reign was troubled by a disturbance. After the lapse of a few years, he triumphed over his enemies, and has since shown himself more disposed, *volens volens*, to make concessions to European powers than most of his predecessors. By the treaties of 1844 and 1845 with France and England, the Moroccan Government had consented to grant strangers the right of trafficking and residing in certain ports, of building and constructing houses, and of occupying buildings and warehouses, though the Sultans reserved to themselves the right of prohibiting what exports they chose to prevent leaving the country, as well as to tax imports. Moulei Hossan has received the ministers of European Powers in his capital, where a French envoy was first accorded this favour, and, within the last few weeks, it has been rumoured that Count d'Aubigné has secured more important concessions than any previous foreign envoy.

Like other Mahomedan States, Morocco is, of course, a country of capitulations, that alone can legally regulate the relations of believers and infidels. Through these capitulations the natives who place themselves under consular protection, enjoy the exceptional position of European subjects. But many of these privileged Moroccans make use of their advantages to perpetrate crimes, and, by pleading their immunity from trial by ordinary native tribunals, generally succeed in escaping the punishment that their misdeeds merit. At last the abuses occasioned by this system became so flagrant, as to necessitate a Conference of the Powers, which met at Madrid in 1880. It was then proposed to abolish the protection accorded to the agents of the few Europeans who reside in Moroccan ports; but the French Government rejected the Anglo-Moroccan proposition, and further negotiations produced no result.

Hence this most important question of consular protection still remains unsettled, and must continue to offer a facile means of interference in Moroccan internal affairs; and it may prove the immediate occasion of the fall of Morocco as a nominally independent Power, should a serious riot, like that which took place at Alexandria in 1882, result from the abuses the present system entails.

The germs of disaggregation are indeed strong in Morocco, intertribal wars continue, and scarcely is one revolt suppressed, than another breaks out. The Moroccan Government is

still indisposed to introduce reforms, which the rivalry of European powers does not contribute to promote. English and French influence compete for predominacy, and now, other Powers are almost able to put as strong a pressure on Moroccan rulers as the former.

The mission of Sir Euan Smith has, however, failed, where it is said that that of Count d'Aubigné has secured a certain success. Sir Euan Smith was credited by the French with designs which, if they could be executed, would reduce Morocco to exactly the same position as that at present occupied by several semi-civilized countries on the confines of English possessions. It was said to have been a brutal attempt to frighten a weak ruler and to make a diplomatic *coup de main*, which would have obtained the most important advantages for the English Government. The organ of Madame Adam, the gifted editor of the "*Nouvelle Revue*," has paid great attention to English policy in Morocco, and thus expresses herself about the late events in that country: "It is held that Sir Euan Smith's check has altogether arrested English aggression. But this opinion is an error. Sir Euan plucked the fruit before it was ripe, and the English agents will soon return to the attack. Morocco is not yet disposed to accept English government; but the position of England still continues very strong in that country. The former country has had ground assigned it, for the ostensible purpose of building a semaphore, and the English propose to construct a fortification in order to command both shores of the Straits of Gibraltar. They have taken possession of Cape Juby, and the late ambassador, Sir Kirby Green, has compelled the payment of 1,200,000 francs in requital for a pretended aggression against the fortress, where the English have placed cannons. Nearly all the towns on the littoral are English: Saffi, Mogador, and Cassa Bianca are almost under their thumbs, through the English having acquired houses and marts in these places. At Saffi two or three English houses are in agreement with the Moorish authorities to practise smuggling. The sole way of saving Morocco from an English protectorate, is to revise the Convention of Madrid of 1881 by another Conference which would have reform for its object, and place Morocco in a position to resist a conquest." Madame Adam proposes that the Straits of Gibraltar should be neutralized as well as Morocco, and that the contracting Powers should guarantee the independence of the latter country, but at the same time permit a rectification of the frontier should France and Spain demand it. She also advocates some excellent measures, such as the

abolition of usury, the reform of consular jurisdiction, and, above all, the suppression of slavery.

With regard to the open sore of Africa, it must, however, be admitted that it will probably continue to exist in Morocco as long as that country retains its independence. Algeria and Tunis are no longer markets for slaves, and slavery is an institution which it will be difficult to eradicate from a great part of Central Africa, where caravans of slaves wend their way across the desert to Morocco, the sole market, with the exception of Tripoli, which is open to them on the Mediterranean coast. Slavery is a domestic institution of the greatest popularity in Morocco, and it would need the common pressure of all the Powers to prevent the traffic of slaves, not to speak of the suppression of the institution.

So dangerous to the tranquillity of the Algerian colonists is the presence of disaffected tribes and criminals on the borders of Morocco, that it is certain that France would not recoil before an attempt that promised any chance of success, of securing an improved frontier. Besides, the Arab population of Algeria is, as a rule, thoroughly disaffected, and in any rising, would find a most important *point d'appui* in Morocco. And though the territory of the latter country is not inviolate, even in times of peace, as French columns have repeatedly crossed its frontier, while they were pursuing disaffected and revolted tribes in 1852-1853, 1856, 1859, and 1870, yet Morocco offers, in general, a tolerably sure refuge for the hard pressed Mussulman.

But were France resolved to put an end to a state of things that she thought inconsistent with the maintenance of her rule in Algeria, not only would she be involved in disputes with the Native government and English diplomatists, but her present amiable relations with Spain would be imperilled. The latter Power regards her African neighbour as her rightful heritage, and her present weakness alone prevents her from taking the foremost part in the disposal of the fate of Morocco. She cannot hope now to create another Spain under shelter of the Atlas, but her influence may still thwart French designs.

To the acquisition of Tunis in 1880, France soon after joined that of the Congo, a province that is superior in size to her European territory. In Senegal she has extended her dominions along the river of this name into the Soudan, and she has taken possession of the upper course of the Niger, where she has established a virtual protectorate over Timbuctoo. Some of the most courageous French explorers have devoted themselves to winning new regions for France on the West Coast and interior of this part of Africa. Crampel lost his life in the neighbourhood of Lake Tchad, while he was pursuing

this aim, M. Brazza and M. LeMaistre are at present proceeding in command of an expedition, which, starting from the French Congo, will pass through the territory of Adamona to the River Blime and Lake Tchad, where they hope to encounter M. Mizon, another explorer, who is himself journeying from the upper course of the Niger. M. Monteil\* has set out from the lower course of the river, and also proposes to rally his fellow explorers near Lake Tchad. It is intended to establish permanent communications between this district and Timbuctoo, which the French design as the future capital of the vast territory vaguely denoted under the appellation of the Soudan. The latter possesses great undeveloped riches, and in certain spots is populous. If it were more accessible to European traders and the means of transport improved, it would offer an important resource to French trade. For centuries Timbuctoo has been the starting point and terminus of most of the caravans that cross the desert, and is therefore one of the most important centres of African trade. Under the Daraonides in the 16th century, it was conquered by a Sultan of Morocco, who garrisoned it and left a colony of his soldiers, whose descendants still rule in Timbuctoo, though they have long since thrown off their allegiance to Morocco. Nominally the latter dominion, even at present, includes a large but undefined part of the Sahara ; but the tribes which inhabit its oases enjoy, with regard to Morocco, as much independence as they could wish for. As for France, their position is different, for it is one of the great objects of French policy in Northern Africa, to secure the control of the caravan routes, which it will not be able to do unless it can reduce the tribes of the desert to submission, and this task is the more difficult, as the interior of the desert is comparatively little known to Europeans. Major Laing, an English officer, is supposed to have been the first European who succeeded in crossing the Sahara. But he was assassinated on his return journey in 1826. The country immediately to the south of Algeria presents the greatest difficulties. It offers great physical obstacles, is full of rocky plateaux, of narrow passes, and scantily provided with water, not to mention the vast unbroken stretches of desert, destitute of sustenance, either for man or beast. The tribe of Touaregs inhabiting this district are the most turbulent, warlike and unreliable of the natives of the Sahara. Through their resistance the strong military expedition of Col. Flatters in (1880-1881), the object of which was to join the Soudan

\* In "Le Temps" of the 16th November, it is stated that M. Monteil, after reaching Konka on the Lake Tchad, has made his way through the Sahara to the Fezzan in Tripoli, but apparently he has not met with other explorers.



and Algeria, by opening up a safe route, was utterly defeated and its Commander slain. This check was a great disappointment to the partisans of French Colonial extension, and their chagrin was increased by the news of the terrible sufferings of the few survivors of the expedition.\* Referring to the tribes of the neighbourhood of the Soudan, General Faidherbe, whom a long personal experience of Africa rendered an excellent authority on African questions, has emitted a curious opinion about the Touaregs : he maintained, that they are the descendants of Celtic immigrants, who, about 1500 B. C., crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and probably started from Gaul, pressed by Roman arms, they retired into the desert, and the truth of this assertion is attested by the presence of menhirs exactly resembling those of Brittany, that mark the sites formerly occupied by the Touaregs.

The failure of Colonel Flatters' mission did not, however, discourage the French. Only a few years ago, the project of a railway across the Sahara was eagerly discussed, passionately advocated, and even received the approval of leading politicians. But the disastrous failure of the Panama enterprise has rendered French people less disposed to risk their hard earned savings in distant and hazardous adventures ; and it has been conclusively shown, that the natural course of trade from the Soudan to Egypt is not across the Sahara, but by the rivers Niger and Senegal to the Atlantic. Though the shortest route for trade with Europe from Lake Tchad would be across the desert, yet the countries near that Lake would have to develop considerably their natural riches before a Saharan Railway, constructed in their interest, could even pay a portion of its expenses.

The best route from the colony of Algeria to Timbuctoo is stated by good authorities to commence at Oran, to cross the Moroccan frontier above Fignig, and to pass to the westward of this agglomeration of villages. It then proceeds by Igli to the Tenat, leaving the most difficult passes and most dangerous tribes of the Touaregs to the east. Opinions differ as to the actual distance across the desert, but the route by Fignig and Igli is considerably shorter than the route by Algiers or Constantine. General Faidherbe maintained that the actual distance between the Mediterranean and Timbuctoo cannot fall far short of 2,500 kilometres. The passage by Igli and the Tenat is the one which caravans take by preference ; besides, the abolition of the slave trade in Algeria, has almost destroyed the commerce between that country and the Soudan, while the commerce between the latter and

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\* "Le Senegal"—La France dans l'Afrique occidentale—par le General Faidherbe. Hachette et Cie. Paris, 1889. \*

Morocco has much increased for the same reason. But were Igli and the Tenat both under French control, it is probable that the French would be able to secure a considerable part of the legitimate trade of the Soudan.

It is precisely the existence of this route, as well as the practical necessity of passing through the Tenat, when the Sahara is traversed, that has rendered the right of possession of this country the occasion of a conflict between France and Morocco. For several years the name of Tenat has seemed familiar to our ears, but probably only a small minority could describe its exact position, and we associate it chiefly with the rumour of the march of a French column in a distant and unexplored part of the Sahara.

According to M. Reclus, the Tenat is, properly speaking, only a narrow plain, bordering on the east bed of the Saoura, Messaoura or Messaoud, above the spot where its course is lost in the sand of the gorges of the mountains; but in ordinary language the name of Tenat, a Berber word, which signifies oasis, is applied to the whole of the palm groves which are scattered between the country of the Touaregs and the region of the great occidental dunes. The district of Gouvara, which sand mountains envelop on the north, is a part of the Tenat; the ribband of land that is moistened by the subterraneous waters of the Saoura from Kanzar to Tasurit, also belongs to the Tenat. Speaking generally, it may be said that the latter is a region of quaternary alluvions in the form of a crescent proceeding from the west to the south of the great chalk plains of Tademaït. The natural limits of the plains of the Tenat are, on the north the dunes of the western Erg; on the west the sands of Iquidi; the south is bordered by the Devonian plateau of the Mondis; and the desert of the Touaregs forms its frontier on the east.

Though it is probable that the name of Tenat is often vaguely applied to all the oases of the Northern Sahara, the country we have just described is the one whose possession is disputed between France and Morocco. It has seldom been visited by Europeans. Major Laing travelled through the Tenat in 1826. Colonel Colonieu and Burnow in 1861, and Rholf, the well known German explorer, visited it in 1864. The inhabitants of the Tenat are pacific, but extremely fanatical; they dread to belong to a Christian Empire; and, to avoid such a fate, many years ago, they thought it was their best course to compound with the enemy and to declare themselves the vassals of France. They even went the length of sending an embassy to Algiers, but the envoy failed to secure any result. Afterwards they were alarmed by the military expedition of Col. Burnow in 1861, and they deemed it prudent to place their country under the protection of the Sultans of Morocco.

Till within the last few years, the latter have done little more than promise their support, and their authority has been unrepresented in the Tenat. Since 1885, however, agitation has prevailed in this country, and the French Government has somewhat tardily decided to take energetic measures to establish order, and at the same time, its supremacy. But, though French military columns have penetrated it on foot, the Tenat has apparently not been formally annexed. The present civil Governors of Algeria have more limited powers, and cannot act so promptly as their military predecessors; and since each of the three departments of Algeria desires to add the Tenat to its present territory, the resulting conflict of interests tends to defer the attainment of the desired aim. When new territories are added in the desert, more Arab chiefs are compelled to pay tribute; and, in the Tenat, particularly, the oases contain some comparatively important towns, among which is Tamentit, a place of several thousand inhabitants, and the seat of a relatively large trade, as well as of some excellent and remunerative industries. Palm trees, a great source of wealth, abound in the oasis, hence in the case of the Tenat, departmental rivalries are especially keen.

Apparently French claims to the possession of the Tenat can be based only on expediency and on the right of the strong, for though the limits of Algeria have been indefinitely extended towards the south, the extension is owing to the triumph of French arms and not to any positive right. Even before the French conquest of Algeria, the southern frontier was only vaguely defined, as indeed it is at present. Nor does it seem probable that its former rulers had a real control over the natives far to the south of the Atlas, while it is certain that the ruler of Morocco has also possessed Algeria, and has conquered at least once the territory between the former limits of the French province and Timbuctoo. Still the inhabitants of the Tenat seem in general to have enjoyed complete independence, for it is only within quite recent times that self-interest has induced them to claim the protection of Morocco, for fear they should be absorbed by the French. As the latter have even less claim to the possession of the Tenat, they can only plead plausibly, as an excuse for its occupation by their troops, the necessity which often constrains a civilized power to crush the independence of neighbouring countries that are still in a comparatively primitive state, and impede its legitimate progress and expansion. The French hope to repress the turbulent and revolted tribes which find a refuge in the Tenat, as well as to secure the best route across the desert, that they hope to have soon under their complete control. The Tenat is, in fact,

the key of the Sahara, and of a considerable part of Northern Africa. On the 14th of November, a deputation, composed of nine members of the Touaregs of Hoggar and of Azdjer, and including their grand Marabout Silarousy, reached Biskra on the confines of the desert. Their object in leaving their country was to express their good will with regard to French expansion on the Sahara. But it may be remembered that these Touaregs were precisely the Arabs who beguiled and defeated the mission of Col. Flatters. The French authorities are placed in a dilemma, for if they ignore the crime perpetrated against Col. Flatters, they will certainly lose consideration in the eyes of the Arabs in general, while they can scarcely meet the advances of this embassy with severity. It is probable that the mission of the Touaregs is connected with the Tenat, which they wish to prevent the French from occupying permanently. They may reasonably feel anxious for their future independence should the fountains, on which the Arabs depend for their existence, be under the control of foes or foreigners. It is through the desert of which the Tenat is, as we have said, the key, that the French hope to stretch out the hand of friendship to the Copts in Egypt, whom they regard as their natural protégés and allies. A clever French lecturer, and Algerian Professor, lately emitted this opinion, though it need not alarm those who say that Egypt may one day fall again under the sway of the French, as the distance across the desert is too great for it to be possible for the French Government to make its influence felt overland from Algiers.

If it is probable that the French will soon succeed in establishing their rule over the latter district, it will prove more difficult for them to include Fignig or Igli within their territory. Any concessions that Morocco might make in regard to its Eastern frontier, would induce the claims of other Powers, that cannot afford to allow French influence to domineer in so important a country as Morocco. It may be recollected that a French aggression on the eastern frontier of Algeria changed a possible ally into a deadly foe, and it is probable that any ill-considered annexation on the Western frontier of Algeria would add another Power to strengthen the force of the Triple Alliance.

Morocco will possibly, for some time, retain its present independence, through the jealousy of rivals, in the same way that Turkey still continues to exist as an independent Power in Europe. The Alliance would not see with pleasure any extension of French territory or influence on the Mediterranean, and England naturally desires to retain her present commanding position in the Straits, not to speak of the preponderance of her influence and trade in the Moroccan seaports. But

the latter Power is said to prefer the *status quo* to any great change, from which she would run considerable risk of losing some of her actual permanent advantages.\* One French writer has accused English policy of playing an anti-civilizing rôle in Morocco, with a view to isolating that country from the rest of the world, and thus maintaining, with greater facility, the position which, in his opinion, the English already enjoy as virtual rulers of Morocco. But the late mission of Sir Euan Smith scarcely bears out such a view.

Doubtless Morocco will soon be forced to make great concessions to foreign Powers, among which France, through her possession of Algiers, and the large army she maintains in that colony, will be able to exercise increasing influence; but the absorption of Morocco by any one of the Powers would not be possible, unless the balance of power were completely changed in Europe.

ARTHUR L. HOLMES.

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\* Le Maroc Moderne, par Jules Erckmann (Chef de la Mission Militaire in Maroc).

#### ART. IV.—THE HINDU MIND IN ITS RELATIONS TO SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

1. *Sharir Bignan*. Collected and Translated by Kalish Chunder Sen, Kabiratna. Calcutta, 1888.
2. *Bhava Prakasa, Part I, or Encyclopædia of Hindu Medicine*. Containing Anatomy, Midwifery, Physiology, Therapeutics, Hygiene, Pathology, and Treatment of Diseases. By Bhava Misra, with Bengali translations by Kaviraj Russic Lal Gupta, Calcutta. Printed and published by G. M. Doss, at the new Arya Press, 43-1, Bhowani Churn Dutt's Lane, Calcutta, 1883.

AT the very threshold of the study of ancient Hindu civilisation we are confronted with the perplexing phenomenon that Indian Science, after having advanced with rapid strides and attained to a state of considerable progress, came to a dead halt, and began to degenerate into fanciful fiction, not unmixed with superstitious folly. The keenness of perception, the accuracy of observation, and the acuteness of inductive reasoning, which marked the earlier stages of its growth, seem to have entirely disappeared after it reached its period of stagnation; and the arrival at this culminating point in its career of development and its subsequent decline took place, it would seem, before the repressive influence of foreign rule had anything to do with the matter.

The only probable solution of this interesting problem in the history of civilisation is to be found in the rise of the schools of philosophy, especially of the *Vedantic*, the most popular among them. That philosophy, rising to a height still unapproachable to Western wisdom, and inculcating truths, some of which have begun only lately to be dimly perceived by a few of the leading intellects of Europe, proved a curse to the country of its birth, so far as its material advancement was concerned. The supreme contempt it displayed for things of this world, and the perfect insouciance with which it taught men to view them, dealt a death-blow to the progress of science. The Vedantist was most imperatively enjoined to abstract his attention from the delusive appearances that were around him, and to concentrate it on the reality that underlay them, or at least on a relative form of it to be found in the microcosm within. The most solemn duty of a student of that philosophy was to abjure the objects of sense, and to learn to regard them with absolute indifference. The phenomena of the outer world, which, according to modern thinkers, are the

only proper subjects of science, were attributed to *Maya* (illusion) and condemned as so many causes of needless distraction. Any close observation of them, therefore, would have been not only useless, but repugnant to its most cherished doctrines. The mind of man must be introspective, and must not be led away from its true pursuit by the unrealities of external nature. The Absolute Reality—that which has been relegated by Herbert Spencer and his followers to the domain of the Unknowable—formed the only fitting object for the *Jogee's* contemplation. A school of philosophy so obnoxious to material prosperity, so repressive of the habit of observation, took away at once the motive and the means for the growth of physical science. The habit, and, with it the power of observation gradually disappeared, and science, being deprived of its only legitimate nourishment, began to decline and lose itself in imaginary theories and quasi-theological maxims. Transcendentalism has nowhere been favourable to the growth of positive science, and India has been no exception to the rule.

Another serious impediment to the continued progress of science is to be found in the natural features of the country, and the productiveness of its soil. Dowered with the fatal gift of fertility, it did not, in order to wring out of the unwilling hand of nature the bare means of subsistence, call forth those efforts which have been the main precursors of the advancement of science. The natural features of the country and its climate presented few difficulties in the way of making it habitable and endurable. The fertility of the soil, the environments of the situation and climatic causes, all combined to minimise the severity of the struggle for existence and the contest with the forces of nature, which have in all ages furnished the true stimulus to the discoveries of science. It is a trite saying but none the less true, that necessity is the mother of invention. Nature was cruelly benevolent to the Hindu, and his education accentuated the emasculating influences of this merciful malevolence. Nature supplied him all but gratuitously with the bare necessities of life, and his philosophy taught him to be content with the low standard of living that could thus be had without any serious cost of time or trouble. Nay, it went further—it inculcated on him, with all the earnestness it could command, the duty of self-abnegation and self-mortification, abandonment of the pleasures of life, and apathy to creature-comforts and physical conveniences. The initiation of a student in the esoteric knowledge of that school began by a course of strict asceticism and rigid austerities calculated to bring about the final liberation of the spirit from matter. Unhampered by considerations of family or friends, or even of his own personal comforts, he

was left free to engage in an introspective examination of his consciousness and to devote his time and energies to the culture of his transcendental philosophy. Theology, metaphysics and ontology became his favorite pursuits, and his character received its shape from the mould in which it was cast. Apathetic, indolent and listless as his education had made him, his surroundings contributed to keep up that bent.

This indifferentism to matter and things material has been embedded in the nature of the Hindu, and has given a tone and colour to the subsequent history of his mental development. Even up to this day it makes itself felt in the want of originality in the speculations of the people. The loss, by disuse, of what may be called the scientific faculty is noticeable in the absence of any indigenous contribution, worth the name, to any branch of knowledge requiring independent research. And nowhere is this more strikingly manifest than in the fact that, though the Medical College of Bengal was founded in the year 1833, Medical Science has been hardly indebted to its alumni for any addition to the already existing stock of knowledge. The field for useful activity in this direction was an extensive one, and the opportunities were numerous. We need indicate only one way, among a hundred, in which they could enrich science, serve humanity and immortalise their names. They could at least introduce into their practice and observe the effects of the use of the thousands of indigenous drugs recommended in the Hindu books on medicine and daily prescribed by the Kavirajes, and register the results of their observation. They could thus verify ancient experience and try to assimilate it to the theories of modern pathology and therapeutics. But no attempt of the kind has ever been made.

Another indication of the permanent bent of the Hindu mind, impressed upon it by the conditions of its evolution, is traceable in the tastes and inclinations of the candidates for the University degrees, who, by a preponderating majority, evince a marked preference for the literary, and not the scientific course of studies prescribed by that learned body, though the chance of success, as appears from the results of the examinations, is greater in the latter than in the former. We are happy to notice that this predilection of the under-graduates has not escaped the attention of the present Lieutenant-Governor, and if the efforts of His Honor on this behalf, duly seconded by those of the University, succeed in weaning them from it, and create in them a taste for original research in scientific subjects, Sir Charles Elliott will have inaugurated a new era in the history of culture in Bengal, and established a claim to the lasting gratitude of its people. The healthiest offspring of the happy union of the



energetic and material West with the lethargic and spiritual East, will then have been born. To borrow a metaphor from the Sankhya philosophy, the best evolute of the action of *Prakriti*, as represented by the West on the dormant *Purush*, as symbolised by the East, will then have been produced. A discussion of the adequacy of the means employed to serve the end in view is outside the scope of the present article.

The scientific spirit, stifled and diverted from its true channel, began to gratify itself with travesties of science which required neither physical exertion nor the observation of external nature. Astrology, *Swarodaya*, or the theory of breathing, and other cognate subjects, afforded scope for his mental activity and did duty for science in the curriculum of his studies. Grammar and Deductive Logic, which hardly stood in need of any practical basis, found favor with him, and were brought to a considerable extent to a state of maturity. Dr. Ballantyne has shown that Gautama carried the analysis of the syllogism to a greater perfection than Sir William Hamilton. But the premises of Ratiocinative Logic have to be supplied by Inductive Science; and the laws of reasoning, without the materials of thought to work upon, lead to no profitable results, and are apt to lose themselves in idle speculations, and some times even in wild chimeras. Logic met with the same fate in India as it had in mediæval Europe, and Jagadish, Gadadhar and Mathur found pleasure in occupations which had formed the intellectual diversions of the followers of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus.

The books which head the present article furnish apt illustrations of most of the foregoing remarks. One cannot rise from their perusal without a feeling of wonder, not unmingled with a sense of disappointment. The acuteness of observation and the faculty of generalisation displayed at times by the ancient Hindus, as evidenced by these treatises, challenge our admiration, while the crude theories, bordering at times almost on the ludicrous, and based mostly upon *a priori* reasoning and some times on semi-religious dogmas, present to the cursory observer the psychological puzzle how so much shrewd sense and scientific instinct could be combined with such a reckless disregard of easily ascertainable anatomical facts and occasionally a total absence of the desire or the power to take note of, or to weigh, evidence. Primitive religions or metaphysical doctrines about cosmogenesis and anthropogenesis have been mixed up with the truths of physiology and midwifery. The *Sharir Bijan* opens with an introduction embodying the Sankhya hypothesis about the origin of the universe by the action of *Atma* (spirit) on *Prakriti* (matter). It goes on to a disquisition, mostly reproduced from Hindu Ontology, on the attributes of *Prakriti*, its relations to *Atma*, and the characteristics which are common to

both and those which differentiate the one from the other. Then comes the theory of the subsequent course of evolution, for Hindu philosophy, in common with modern advanced thought, discards the idea of a creation. Even the early metaphysical doctrine of the evolution of the organs of sense and of the other members and faculties of the body from the five elements of earth, water, fire, air and ether has been pressed in to the service of science. It is confidently asserted, for instance, that the feet and the sense of sight owe their origin to fire, the skin to air, and the ear and the faculty of speech to ether, and this on no higher proof than that walking generates heat, that sight is only possible with the aid of light, that the skin is the organ of touch, and that the power of speech is one of the principal means for the generation of sound, while the ear is the medium for its conveyance. Even allowing that the elements here spoken of are not to be taken in their popular acceptation, of fire, water, &c.; but represent, in accordance with ontological technology, some subtle essence of the principle of matter, solid, liquid, and gaseous, of heat and of ether, still the theory continues to be as devoid of any foundation as it was when put in a less sophistical garb. The account which follows of the union of the soul and the body is no less grotesque than apocryphal. Souls of the dead, it is said, descend with dewdrops and enter into the composition of grains, which, being partaken of by men, are transformed into the vital fluid which is the principle of reproduction.

It would not be fair to hold the present compiler responsible for this admixture of theology and metaphysics with science; for we find the same culpable practice, though in a less degree, in the *Bhava-Prakash* and other older works on the subject. That he had not the courage to depart from the traditions of his profession was only what was to be expected. But he has out-heroded Herod. He has not scrupled to lay the *Bhagavat-Gita* under contribution in a compilation professedly scientific.

In this confusion of science with metaphysics we find another indication of the overmastering influence of the schools of philosophy—an influence which was so pervading in its character as to have permeated through all the various grades of society and to have filtered down to the lowest strata thereof, and left its permanent imprint on the habits of thought and modes of speech, even of the common people. And more and more, as the schools acquired a mastery over the Indian world of thought, the more accelerated grew the pace of this hybrid combination of Fact and Dogma, of Faith and Knowledge. For, though even the *Susruta* is not wholly free from the effects of this potent factor in the intellectual life of the people, it has declared itself in a more unmistakeable manner in the works of Bagbhat and of Bhaba Misra, who flourished in later periods of Indian history.

The question naturally arise, to what was this overshadowing predominance of the schools of philosophy due? Why had the mysteries of our being and destination, and of the origin of things, such a peculiar fascination for the Hindu mind, or, in other words, why was the religious instinct so deep-rooted in it? The manners, customs, laws, literature and even the science of the people have been distilled through a religious alembic and are redolent of a metaphysical odour. All knowledge is either the *Vedas* or a branch of the *Vedas* (Vedanga). It may be said, and with some degree of plausibility, that at a time when the habit of obedience to the laws of health and hygiene was not sufficiently matured, when the organisation of civil society and the machinery for the maintenance of order was imperfect, when the urgency of ethical sanctions was not fully understood or appreciated, the aid of religion was indispensable for the due promotion of individual and social happiness. But this interpretation is not only partial, it serves to remove the difficulty only one step. Why was the religious sanction deemed so obligatory and found so effective?

Another solution of this problem that is commonly offered for acceptance, consists in the religious disposition of all primitive races. But this explanation also is only approximately true; for in no other ancient nation do we find the same preponderance of the Unknowable in all departments of thought and action as among the Hindus. Greek Art is essentially human. There is hardly any tincture of religion in that splendid system of Jurisprudence which the Romans have bequeathed to modern Europe. Nor can it be said that Orientalism is answerable for this predominance of Supernaturalism, for as M. Renan has pointed out, the Chinese have to a large extent escaped its influence, and the Arabs, before they came into contact with the Persians, were far from imaginative and superstitious. The real reason is to be looked for in the characteristics of the Indian mind, in its imaginativeness, and its love of the marvellous. But then the question suggests itself—what causes contributed to produce in the Indian Branch of the great Aryan race this luxuriance of imagination and this passionate craving for the mysterious. This is a large question and one beyond the purview or the limits of the present article to attempt to discuss. But this opinion may be hazarded, that the comparatively greater prevalence and permanence of the theological supremacy in India was due in a great measure to geographical and physical conditions. The conception of immutable laws has always been positively antagonistic to the love of the supernatural and the faith in the occult. And "in practical life," as Comte observes, "men were led more and more clearly to the concep-

tion of invariable laws." "The objective tendencies and the stubborn realities of practical life" have always hindered the growth of imaginativeness and led to a clearer perception of the Reign of Law. And this recognition has been earlier and more far-reaching as the demands of practical life have been more obtrusive and peremptory. In India, as already observed, these necessities were anything but urgent, and consequently the dominion of the Unknowable was more lasting and extensive than in any other country.

With so many obstacles, subjective and objective in the path of the Hindu mind in the pursuit of science, the progress made by it in this department of knowledge is really wonderful, though it must be conceded that much of that advancement must be referred to a period when, as we have said at the commencement of this article, the deleterious influences had not fully developed themselves. It will not, we hope, be either irrelevant or unprofitable to note some of the salient points in the state of that progress in respect of those branches with which we are at present concerned, and to summarise some of those results of Aryan research which harmonise with the discoveries of modern physiology.

The Hindu scientists begin by an enumeration of some of the external organs and functions of the human body. The five organs of sense, the faculty of speech, the muscular faculty as represented by the hands and feet, and the excretory functions are specified, and the three last grouped together as the active faculties. And as the organs of sense and the faculties of action are entirely dependent on the mind for their exercise, the latter is indiscriminately classed with either the one or the other. There is, it is stated, something beyond the external organ which really causes the sensation and the action, and this, perhaps, is only a vague perception of the nerves which play such an important part in the acts of perception and the functions of the body. It would not be uninteresting to observe that the position of some of the principal internal organs, such as the heart, the lungs, the spleen, the liver, the pancreas, have been described by the Hindu anatomists with tolerable precision. The conical figure of the heart was observed by them, and its similarity in shape to the blossom of the lotus with its vertex downwards has been pointed out. The resemblance of the uterus to the head of the *Rohit* fish, with its capacious cavity and the comparatively small opening of its mouth, serves to show that it was actual observation, and not mere conjecture which suggested the comparison, however rough. The appropriateness of this description is further confirmed by the name of "*os tinci*," which was originally given to it by European anatomy.

These comparisons, though in many cases wanting in exactitude, were obviously of great service at a time when the use of diagrams and models was unknown as a means for the elucidation of the meaning of the author and for its comprehension by the student. The resources of modern civilisation have placed at the disposal of the anatomist numerous artificial facilities for the illustration of his lectures, but the ancients had to trust only to their bare words for bringing home to their students an idea of the subject-matter of their discourse, and this they not unfrequently tried to do by means of a comparison, impressive, though often inexact, with some familiar object. It would be an agreeable surprise to many Hindus to learn that the fact that the development of colourless and also coloured corpuscles of the blood is one of the essential functions of the spleen, had been dimly perceived by their physiologists, who describe that organ as the root of the blood-carrying vessels, which again are distinguished from those which are charged with the conveyance of other kinds of animal fluids. And, in order to comprehend the full significance of this distinction, and thus to be able to discern the nature of the discovery made by the Hindus, it must be borne in mind that it is the corpuscles more than anything else that form the differentiating characteristic of blood. When, therefore, the spleen is described as the root of the blood-carrying vessels, it is to be understood that the corpuscles were first noticed by them in the blood when it emerged from the spleen.

The main outlines of the theory of digestion and assimilation have also been shadowed forth in Hindu physiology. The secretion of different fluids for the purpose of digestion was not unknown to it, and it enumerates no less than six varieties of such fluids. And so far as numerical accuracy is concerned it has nothing to fear from a comparison with its present Western analogue. The secretions from the various parts of the digestive apparatus, according to modern science also number six: being (1) the Saliva, (2) the Gastric Mucus, (3) the Gastric Juice proper, (4) the Bile, (5) the Pancreatic Juice, (6) Succus Entericus, being the secretion of the intestinal glands; one of these the Gastric Mucus, may be distinctly identified with the *Kledand* of the *Amasaya*, mentioned by Susruta, and the bile with the *Pachaka Pitta*, recognised as essential in the process of digestion. The action of the latter in the *Grāhāni*, or small intestines, on the half-converted food, accords with the intestinal digestion of Western science. The location and function of these secretions, however, have not often, it must be admitted, been very definitively made, or precisely ascertained, by Hindu physiologists, and

some of their deductions, therefore, from the facts available to them do not readily fall in with the more accurate observations of our own times. But at the same time it should not be overlooked that, but for the happy accident of the gunshot wounds of St. Martin and the gastric fistula of Catherine Kütt, human physiology would have still groped in the dark as to some of its more marvellous discoveries in this branch of investigation.

The importance of animal heat (*ashmā*) as one of the factors in the act of digestion, has been clearly realised both by Charaka and Susruta. The sequel of the process of alimentation, consisting in the excretory operations of the body, has also been indicated with a correctness sufficient for all practical purposes. It has been said by Susruta that the substantial part of the digested food becomes *Rasa* (chyle) while the refuse is converted into fæces, the watery portion being conveyed by means of the vascular system to the kidneys, whence it is secreted in the form of urine. The presence of gases in different parts of the alimentary canal is equally noticed by both the ancient Aryan and the modern European doctors, and the former assign to them under the name of *Bayū*, a mechanical function such as the promotion of the acts of deglutition, defæcation, and generally the conveyance of the chyle and the other animal fluids from one part of the body to another. Modern physiologists also surmise that the purpose which these gases are intended to serve in the economy of the animal frame is mechanical in its nature, though they are far from clear as to the character of the specific work performed by them. They, however, ascribe the acts of deglutition, defæcation, &c., to the agency of the nerves. And it is rather remarkable that Indian scientists also designate the action of the nervous system by means of the same word *Bayū*. And this indiscriminate use of one word for two things so very dissimilar in kind, has given rise to a great deal of confusion, and to much of that uncertainty with which the physicians of the indigenous school are often confronted in the practice of their profession. It cannot therefore be positively affirmed whether the mechanical actions above specified are attributed by them to the nerves or the gases in the alimentary canal.

There are passages in the works on Indian medicine, which go to show that Hindu physiology was trembling just on the verge of a discovery which has placed the name of Harvey in the foremost rank of European scientists. Here is one of them, and to satisfy the sceptical reader we quote chapter and verse. It is taken from *Bhāṭa Prakāśh*, page 49 (edition of Kabiraj Russicklal Gupta of 1883.) After describing the excretory

processes by which the refuse matter in the food taken, solid and liquid, is expelled from the body, the quotation made by the compiler goes on to add that "the substantial part of the converted food, *viz.* *Rasa* (chyle) is carried through the blood-vessels by the action of the *Saman Bayu* into the heart where it mingles with the animal fluid there, and then being conveyed [through to the blood-vessels] by the action of the *Byan Bayu* all over the body, it goes to nourish the several constituents (*Dhatu*) thereof, such as blood, bones, flesh, &c. As a river supports the vegetation of the tract lying on its banks, so does *Rasa* promote the growth of the component parts of the human body."

The practical teachings of the Hindus with regard to other physiological functions silence the flippant criticisms of ignorant arrogance which delights to describe their state as only a shade removed from primitive barbarism. They have been very often twitted for their custom of early marriages, but the last census has shown that child-marriage forms the exception rather than the rule in India; and even its partial prevalence is opposed to the salutary lessons of the Hindu science. The proper age for maternity, and therefore of marriage, is, according to Susruta, sixteen for women; and a young man, in order to be a father, must at least be of the age of twenty-five. He says :—

উনষাড়শ বর্ষান্নামপ্রাপ্তঃ পঞ্চবিংশতি ।

যদাধস্তে পুমান্ গর্ভং কৃন্ধিস্থঃ স বিপচ্যাতে ॥

It may be remarked *en passant* that the fury with which the controversy over the Consent Bill raged, disclosed the strength of Hindu feeling in favor of early marriage in sections of the community in which it prevailed, and that the only way to reconcile the prejudices of the people with the provisions of the Act, and the wise counsel of Susruta, would be to postpone the *Gahnd* or *Dwiragaman* ceremony till the young couple are fitted by their age to undertake the onerous duties of conjugal life. The *Gahnd* or *Dwiragaman* is the ceremony of the coming of the young wife for the first time to her husband's home, for her visit to it on the occasion of the marriage is only for a day or two. In certain classes of the people, and in some parts of the country, notably in Behar and the North-West, in which marriages are held at a very early age, this ceremony is generally put off till the wife comes to the age of sixteen or seventeen or more, and the husband gets correspondingly old. If this wholesome custom finds greater favor with other sections of the community, and is more generally introduced and recognised, the evils of child marriage may be reduced to a minimum, and the Consent

Act made more practically operative, without doing violence to Hindu sentiment which has been sanctified by time.

Another interesting deduction of Hindu physiology with regard to the reproductive faculty, and in which it is at one with European science, is about the duration of the recurring periods of possible conception. The possibility is confined to the first sixteen days on each occasion. But it is obviously beyond the purview of the present article to cite further illustrations of the accuracy of its generalisations from experience. We have shown enough, we hope, to convince our readers that science had made considerable progress in ancient India, and would have advanced with accelerated speed, but for the rise of the schools of philosophy. The earlier the age of the authority, the sounder are its teachings and the freer from the latter-day superstition that has encrusted round and obscured so many scientific truths.

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## ART. V.—THE DEHRA DUN.

### VI.

The *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXI, 1858 : Art. IX. The Dehra Doon as a seat of European Colonisation in India.

*Historical and Statistical Memoir of Dehra Doon.* By G. R. C. Williams, B.A., Bengal Civil Service, Roorkee, Thomason College Press, 1874.

*Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces.* Vols. X. and XI.

*Reports on Projects for the proposed Dehra Dún Railway, 1885-87.*

*Final Report of the Eighth Revision of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Dehra Dún District.* Allahabad Government Press, 1886.

*Reports of the Forest Department.*

### FISHES OF THE DUN.

THE Dún is a well-known resort of fishers, and something must be said about the fishing, although I cannot speak from experience of it. The only fish I have seen caught in the Dún was caught by a falcon, or eagle, in the stream where the Hardwár-Dehra Road fords the Suswa, just north of the Kans Rao camping ground, and I envied the bird his ability to scoop up a two-pound fish out of the rapid. Dark brown and white were the colours of the fisherman, but I cannot undertake to say what was his name, either vernacular or scientific. Nor am I responsible for the weight of that fish. I have not fished since early in the "fifties,"—when I used to ply the fly along the Stinchar, and other waters in South Ayrshire,—and, besides, the fisher above mentioned did not let me get near enough for a deliberate examination of his basket. Mr. Williams said, "the rivers abound in fish. *Maháseer*, (properly, I believe, *Mahashahr*), a species of carp, generally frequent the large rivers, being commonly from 20 to 30 seers in weight, often exceeding that limit, some times attaining the almost incredible weight of 90 lbs. They are also occasionally found in the smaller streams, which swarm with trout."

Mr. Williams also enumerates the *soul*, (if this be pronounced *a l'Anglais* it will delusively call up reminiscences or anticipations of "fried soles," and lead only to disappointment), "the *chál*, the *gíree*, the *rohoo*, the *kálabáns*, and the *goonch*, or fresh water shark, a repulsive brute of great size, with capacious jaws displaying several rows of saw-like teeth. The native authorities enumerate in all twenty-four species of fish, but there are certainly many more."

Mr. Williams' shot at the proper spelling of the first fish he mentions is rather a bad one, for "*Mahashahr*" would mean "big city," and how could such a name apply to a fish? The name *Mahasir*, shortened perhaps into *Maksir*, and conventionally written Mahseer, says Mr. H. S. Thomas, of the Madras Civil Service, F. L. S. and F. Z. S., in his book 'The Rod in India,' is seemingly derived from the Hindustani words *maha*, great, and *sir* (pronounced seer) head, and, therefore, "big head" ought to have commended itself to Mr. Williams, as the translation of *Mahaseer*, rather than "big city." Mr. Thomas, in the second edition of his book, says the *Mahasir* is a carp, *i.e.*, a fish of the family Cyprinidæ, sub-family Cyprininae, genus *Barbus*, and species *tor*. His scientific name is, therefore, *Barbus tor* (of various authors.) Among his synonyms are *Labeobarbus macrolepis*, *Barbus megalepis* and *Barbus macrolepis*, all of which allude to his large scales, and *Barbus macrocephalus*, which contains an unfeeling allusion to his big, or at least, long head. Mr. Thomas gives three coloured drawings of this fish, from specimens caught in the South Canara District of the Madras Presidency. They agree in everything but the colours, which are very various. The heads do not look big in proportion to the bodies, nor nearly so disproportionately large as those of the *mahasir* brought round for sale in Dehra. But Mr. Thomas adhered, in 1881, to the view he had advanced in 1873, that there are more Mahseer than have been named, and that if more accurate attention were given to them, it would be found that they would grow in numbers as had the Salmonidæ of Great-Britain, Europe and America. And he gives the drawings above mentioned, and another uncoloured one, taken from Dr. Day's "Fishes of India," as indications of differences. I think a drawing of a Dún *Mahasir* might show yet more distinct individuality. The wood cut of a Mahseer, given at p. 29 of General Macintyre's "Hindu-Koh"—a charming book—differs greatly in shape from any of Mr. Thomas' Madras fish, and is more like the Dún variety. A fifth plate of *Barbus* given by Mr. Thomas, as a perfectly accurate likeness of the fish found in the Bawanny affluent of the Caverry River in Madras, must surely be still more different from the typical "big head," for the head is comparatively small and pointed, and the body, as Mr. Thomas says, is much deeper and more high-backed than the other *Mahasirs*. Mr. Thomas says:—

"The Mahseer having been more fished for in Bengal than anywhere else, it had grown to be the common idea that it was exclusively a Bengal fish, and at the time I wrote my first edition, there was a general impression that there were no Mahseer south of the Nerbuddah. That idea is now exploded.

"People talk of *the* Mahseer, just as they talk of *the* carp, as if there was only one of them, whereas the name Mahseer is loosely used for many of the large carps of India, which differ with the countries in which they are caught, and, when fishermen who have caught Mahseer in the North of India, on the West Coast and on the East Coast of Southern India, get together and describe the redoubted Mahseer somewhat differently before a circle of eager listeners, and thence come to disputing with each other as to who is most accurate, one is reminded of the old fable of the gold and silver shields which the two knights saw and fought about, and as a fisherman my advice would be, the less carping about it the better."

Regarding the size of the Mahseer, Mr. Thomas says, that certainly depends much on the size of the river, and possibly also on other circumstances. Here Mr. Thomas uses the very phrase he objects to in the passage just quoted, and we are left in doubt which *mdhasir* he is going to talk about. He says "there are rivers in which the Mahseer" (this must be plural) "do not run above 10 or 12 lbs. ; there are others again in which 40 or 50 lbs. is by no means an exceptional weight. We hear of captures of fish weighing more or less about 100 lbs., and I have in my possession two heads of Mahseer that weighed approximately, by estimate, 90 lbs. and 150 lbs. each." These were caught by Mr. G. P. Sanderson with a night line in the Caverry river, and the record of the measurement and estimation of the weight of the larger fish is to be found in Mr. Sanderson's book—"Thirteen years among the Wild Beasts of India." The length, including tail, was 60 inches; greatest girth 38 inches; inside lips when open, circumference 24 inches. The skin and head are in the Bangalore Museum. It was "an astonishingly thick and heavy fish for its short length. I have caught them 5ft. 6 in. but not much more than 80 lbs. It had a shoulder like a bullock, steeply hanging over. I have caught about 50 of them, but my next largest was about 90 lbs. I have no doubt in my mind that they run over 200 or 250 lbs., as I have seen teeth and bones of them far larger than my 150-pounder." Mr. Thomas admits that for seven years he had been used to give the weights of these fish as 150 and 180 lbs. respectively, but afterwards discovered his error. Dr. Day writes;—"A noted sportsman in the N.-W. Provinces, writing to me says, his largest fish taken with a rod and line was captured in the river Poonch, 24 miles from Jhelum; it measured from snout to bifurcation of tail, 3 feet 11 inches, and weighed 62 lbs. General Macintyre says:—"As regards its weight, I am well within the mark when I state that the Mahseer reaches nearly, if not quite, 100 lbs. The largest Mahseer ever heard of as being taken with a trolling bait was 93 lbs. ; and with fly, one that turned the scale at 62 lbs. But such monsters as these are very seldom landed with the rod. The 93-pounder was killed by

Mr. H. Vansittart, C. S., in one of the rivers of the Dehra Dún, the 62-pounder in the Poonch river in the Punjab, by the late General Sir Herbert Macpherson." The 62-pounder is evidently the fish mentioned by Dr. Day as having been caught in the Poonch river. A few years ago, Dr. G. G. MacLaren, late Civil Surgeon of Dehra, caught a *Máhasir* in the Ganges which, I think, weighed 57 lbs., and in 1892, Mr. W. W. Harris, managing owner of Mahokampur Tea Garden, caught one on the Song river at Lachiwala, (Eastern Dún) which was 41 lbs. in weight. This fish was caught with the rod, and the bait was a worm: its length was 39 inches, and it was very deep and broad in shape.

A correspondent of the *Pioneer* lately reported that two members of the Dehra Dún Fishing Association, living in the Western Dún, caught the following *Máhasir* at the junction of the Asan with the Jumna on the 24th and 25th January 1893; one 56 lbs., one 40 lbs., one 35 lbs., one 24 lbs., one 20 lbs., and another fish, about 20 lbs., was lost. It rained continuously on both of those days, and it was considered remarkable that the fish should have taken in such weather. The 56-pounder took over an hour and a half to land, and it said to have been "grand to see one sportsman legging it as hard as he could down the bank of the river, which is no child's play over those large boulders." The 56-pounder is said to have been nearly six feet in length: its head and skin are to be presented to the British Museum. General Macintyre tells a good story of a novice fishing in the Dún, who had got hold of a big *Máhasir*, which after some time broke the line, being overheard to say, with a sigh of relief—"Thank goodness, he's gone."

The writer of the Settlement Report of 1885 gives nothing new about the fishes of the Dún, but quotes Mr. Williams' enumeration of them, and stretches the weight of the Ganges and Jumna *Máhasir* to 100 lbs. He, however, spells the name of the second fish in Mr. Williams' list, "saul," instead of "soul," so that perhaps Mr. Williams, in his system of transiteration, ought to have written "sowl," the Irish for soul. General Macintyre writes of the "soulee," apparently the same fish as the "soul" or "saul." Mr. Thomas does not mention any such vernacular name, but, in a chapter on "Freshwater sharks," gives plates and descriptions of two very different looking fish belonging to the family Siluridæ, and one of these looks like the fish got in the Dún whose name seems such a puzzler to transliterators. This is the *Wallago attu* of science, and it does not look a bit like a shark; but I suppose it is so-called merely because of its predatory habits. Mr. Thomas says the Hindustani name for *Wallago attu* "seemingly, is

*Goonch*;" but he gives *Goonch* as the "Punjab name also for *Bagarnis Yarrellii*, another predatory monster siluroid, his example of which, caught in the Jumna, at Okhla, was 5 feet 8 inches long to the end of the tail, and scaled 136 lbs. The *Silundia gangetica* is another so-called freshwater shark mentioned by Mr. Thomas, and I dare say all three species are to be got in the Dún rivers. I used to think the local name for *Wallago attu* was *Sahul*, but recent inquiry leads me to think that it may be *Sonr*, the *n* being nasal, and the *r* soft, or *Sohar*, or perhaps *Saurr*. I have not a good ear for picking up vernacular sounds; but I mean to try for the rest of my days in the Dún to get at the real name for this fish. General Macintyre (or is he MacIntyre.) (I can find his name only in capital letters, and do not know the correct transliteration), says:—

"A coarse shark-like fish called a "Goonch" is occasionally caught when spinning for Mahseer. A monster of this kind was landed from one of the Doon rivers by that keen all round sportsman Mr. Hercules Ross, B.C.S. (of rifle-shooting fame), which scaled considerably over 100 lbs. Another member of the finny tribe which is sometimes taken in these waters is the "Soulee," a smooth skinned, dark olive-coloured fish, having a broad bull-head, and a fin extending round its caudal extremity, like a conger eel, in fact, it somewhat resembles an enormously thick and very short one."

This description suggests *Wallago attu*, and would lead one to think the fish was heavy, and yet General Macintyre says he does not think they often exceed the weight of 8 or 10 lbs. Mr. Thomas, however, says this fish attains to 6 feet or more in length, which would indicate a weight of perhaps 100 lbs. General Macintyre says the Soulee is better on the table than on the rod, being richer flavoured and less bony than the Mahseer. My friend, whom I mentioned in my first article as being a stickler for the old way of spelling Dún, has called my attention to the fact that General Macintyre always writes Doon, and that in a foot-note, at page 164 of his book, he says:—"I cannot bring myself to spell it Dún, according to the new fangled method; it deprives the name of half its old romance." I have not the faintest idea what General Macintyre here means; but I observe that his transliteration is generally curious, and sometimes misleading: for instance he spells "*Khair* (*Acacia catechu*), Kyer, which would lead an Englishman to pronounce "Kyerr;" and he talks of *putteyr* grass: what part does the "y" take in that spelling? I am glad, however, to see that the General spells "whisky" properly, and not "whiskey," as Sassenachs do, because they pronounce it "whiskay." The General, I believe, is a Scotsman.

Neither the *chál* nor the *gíree*, mentioned by Mr. Williams as being Dún fish, can I trace in Mr. Thomas' book. The

"*rohoo*" is, of course, the well-known large fish with a vernacular name something like that common all over Northern India, but, according to Mr. Thomas, not got in Madras nor on the West Coast. It also is a carp, sub-family *Cyprininae*, genus *Labeo*, species *rohita* (*Labeo rohita*). Nor can I trace the "*Kalabans*," mentioned by Mr. Williams, in Mr. Thomas' book, but General Macintyre says of it:—

"Another kind of fish common in the Himalayan rivers, is that called by the natives "*Kalabans*," dirty mud coloured creatures, which are found in immense shoals. On looking down from a height into the Surjoo, I have seen a shoal of them, which must have numbered thousands, lying along the bottom in a dark motionless mass. Their flesh is soft, muddy-tasted, and full of bones, and they never afford sport for the angler. The natives, however, net them in large numbers."

This must be what Europeans in Dehra call black fish, and as a rule, I think avoid eating.

One constantly hears of "trout" in the Dún, which is an instance of the perverse habit Europeans in India have of giving wrong names to things; but, strange to say Mr. Williams does not mention the common fish which goes by that name. Mr. Baker mentions "trout," but gives no hint that this is a misnomer. Perhaps I am singular in desiring to call things by their right names; but I cannot realise the state of mind of a man who, knowing what a trout is, habitually gives that name to quite a different kind of fish which he finds in India. Mr. Thomas, in his Chapter XI, entitled "Smaller Fly Takers,"—which of course is a purely non-scientific grouping of fish,—treats of "The Indian Trout," and in so doing panders to the vice above alluded to; but he makes a sort of apology by saying—"I have called this fish the Indian trout, because it is commonly thus called in Northern India." "Of this fish I have no personal knowledge at all. But it is too important a sporting fish to be omitted on that account," and he therefore, in the interests of his brother anglers, makes use of a paper from the pen of Colonel J. Parsons. It seems there have been other competitors for the name, but *Barilius bola* seems to have the best title to be called the Indian trout. Mr. Thomas, therefore, solemnly proceeds to depose the other fish which seems to have less right to the honourable distinction, and he picks out *Oreinus Richardsonii*, which, according to Day, "has been called the "Kemaon Trout," and *Oreinus sinuatus*," of which Dr. Day writes:—"Some have scattered black and occasionally red spots, and these have been termed 'trout.'" But, says Mr. Thomas, "this fish has a sucker with which it adheres to rocks, which is most untrout-like, and Dr. Day tells me it will not take a fly at any price, a piece of wrong-headedness for which, with your concurrence, it should be shorn of its

brevet rank, in spite of its red spots." "Handsome is that handsome does" is the better rule, and as *Barilius bola* sports like a trout, as we shall see from Colonel Parsons, let us allow his claim, though he has no adipose dorsal fin like the true trouts (*salmonidæ*). We may have the less hesitation in confirming the honorific title, as there are no indigenous trout in India." Mr. Thomas gives a plate of this fish, taken from Dr. Day's "Fishes of India;" and the general outline reminds one of a member of the *Salmonidæ* family; but the extracts given from Dr. Day's work, also show that the Indian trout is but a carp after all. It is *Barilius bola*, and it is the last mentioned of 14 species of *Barilius* found in India. These 14 are sub-divided into three sections, A., with four barbels (or appendages from the lips), B., with two barbels, and C., without, or with, only rudimentary barbels: *Barilius bola* is the last enumerated of Section C. Colonel Parsons says that the vernacular (Hindi?) name for this fish is *Gulābi Machli*, rose-speckled fish, but in Dr. Day's description, the fish is said to be silvery coloured, with two or more rows of bluish blotches along the sides, and some spots also on the head. The uncoloured plate, copied from Dr. Day's book, shows blotches, and no spots. Colonel Parsons says that the Baril, (which, and not trout, would seem to be the proper English version of the name), "though not of the trout genus, bears some resemblance in outline to the European trout, but is of more delicate formation, and the more brilliant-looking fish of the two. Like the trout, it is very beautifully spotted." He says that the average weight of mature fish in streams where it best thrives is probably about  $\frac{3}{4}$  lb., and maximum about 2 lbs.

"The *Barilius bola* is taken with the fly, and likewise with small spinning bait; a small sized phantom is a very good bait to use. They are usually shy, and take the fly best at the close of the day, when a white moth (lake trout fly size) is perhaps the most suitable lure, the addition of white bead eyes to the fly I have known to be an improvement. Anglers fishing for Mahseer, with a good sized spinning bait, occasionally hook a good specimen of the *Barilius bola*, notably in the 'Sone' or 'Song,' a beautiful stream which joins the Ganges a few miles above Hardwar, on its right bank, and which is a grand place for Mahseer fishing.

"The *Barilius bola* runs large in both the Ganges and the Jumna in the Dún; I have got them close on 2lbs at Dadapur, the head of the Western Jumna Canal, a few miles from Jagadri on the Sind Punjab and Delhi Railway. This fish is, however, difficult to catch in most localities where I have tried them, and I attribute this in great measure to the frequent presence of Mahseer in their vicinity. It is a marvel to me how any *Barilius* can escape at all from the rapid moving Mahseer, which is perhaps more partial to the *Barilius* than to the young of its own species, which, by the bye, the Mahseer swallows very freely, as I have repeatedly proved to my entire satisfaction in live bait fishing, when the devourer has full time afforded to consider the species of his morsel.

"The native fisherman at the Jumna on the hills between Mussoorie and Simla, use scarcely any other bait than the *Barilius*."

#### THE DEHRA DUN FISHING ASSOCIATION.

The above notes as to the fishes of the Dún were made, while reading up the subject with a view to noticing the formation and efforts of the local Association which has assumed charge of their interests, as well as of those of the sportsmen who prey upon them. In the Report for the year 1891, which contains an account of the past history of the Association, as well as of its present condition, I found, beyond an incidental mention of Mahseer, no name of any fish given; so I had to hunt them up in "Thomas," from the hints contained in Mr. Williams' Memoir. The Dehra Dún Fishing Association was the result of a circular issued by Mr. A. Smythies and Mr. G. H. Webb, in May 1887, to all sportsmen connected with Mussoorie and the Dún, in which they drew attention to the necessity of some effort being made to preserve the fish in the Dún rivers. They were encouraged to do so by the fact that the "North Punjab Fishing Club," formed at Rawalpindi but little more than a year previously, had already accomplished much good, and had a membership of 120. That Club had tried to move Government to pass a Fishing Act, but was met by the objection that no other province, except the Punjab, had expressed a desire for legislation, and further, that more data were required regarding the destruction of small fish. The Dún sportsmen could, by following the same course, contribute to the ultimate attainment of the object which all sportsmen must desire. They must be aware of the great destruction of fish by netting in the Song and Suswa rivers, and especially in the Asan. Recent writers in the *Asian* had alluded to it, and an inspection of the Dehra bazar would give evidence of the practice. In forming such an Association, the Dún sportsmen would have a decided advantage to start with, inasmuch as about 23 miles of the Song and Suswa (in the Eastern Dún), and half a mile of the Asan (in the Western Dún,) were already preserved by the Forest Rules: netting in such portions of these rivers was illegal, and was severely punished. The same protection should be extended, with the consent of the owners, to private waters. In consequence of many favourable replies being received, a public meeting was held in Mussoorie, at which resolutions were passed for the formation of the proposed Association. Major General Sir G. R. Greaves, then commanding the Meerut Division; was elected President, Mr. Wilmot Lane, C.S., then Commissioner of the Meerut Division (whose place has since been taken by his successor in office Mr. A. H. Harington, C.S.) was elected Vice-President, and a Committee of Management was appointed consisting of the local officials



and the principal resident sportsmen, Mr. A. Smythies of the Forest Department, now Deputy Director of the Imperial Forest School, being Honorary Secretary, a post he still continues to hold. In a short time after the meeting nearly ninety members were enrolled: the subscription was fixed at Rs. 10 per annum. The number of members at the end of 1891 was 54; but I believe more have since joined. Sportsmen who permanently leave the neighbourhood, or go home, cannot all be expected to continue to be members, and the number of members of the Association must therefore fluctuate.

The objects of the Association, as set forth in the original prospectus, were as follows:—

"I. To collect and publish trustworthy evidence as to the wholesale destruction of fish by netting which now goes on. Not only are spawning fish netted in the rains, but small fry are ruthlessly destroyed throughout the year, especially in the Asan river. Definite evidence on this head, which may happen to fall under the personal observation of members, is required. Fish are also destroyed by damming up the stream for irrigation." (The meaning of this last sentence is not clear.

"II. To increase the stock of fish in the Doon as a source of food-supply for the people, by inducing the landholders and proprietors along the banks of the streams, to put a stop to netting, and, as far as possible, to give the Association control over the waters, so that fish during the breeding season, and the small fry may be preserved."

(How the increased supply of fish was to reach "the people," if all netting were to be stopped, does not appear; but, as will presently be seen, the Association's views as to netting afterwards took more practical shape.)

"III. To encourage rod fishing, and to give assistance and information to members in regard to all that appertains to fishing in the Dún. To collect and record notes regarding seasons, different kinds of fish, localities, bait, &c., to publish a map showing the main rivers, roads, camping places, &c., and generally to further angling as a legitimate sport, among Europeans and natives."

"IV. To work in co-operation with the North Punjab Fishing Club in eventually pressing upon Government the necessity of legislation on the subject."

Regarding object I of the prospectus, I read that ample evidence has been collected regarding the wholesale destruction of fish in the rivers not protected by the Forest Rules. In the Asan especially, fish are netted throughout the year, casting nets and fixed nets both being used. During the rains, fish on their way up to spawn, and spawning fish, are caught, and the spawn is trampled under foot and destroyed. Pony loads of fish of all sizes are sent into the Dehra market for sale. These facts have repeatedly been reported to Government, and the Municipal Board of Dehra also have tried to prevent the sale of small fish: but the bye-law they proposed to enact, was vetoed by Government as being beyond the powers

conferred by the Municipal Act, XV of 1883. Nothing, as the Secretary of the Association remarks, can show more conclusively the necessity for Imperial legislation on the subject. As regards object II., the Association tried to lease the riparian rights along the Asan, or at least along the lower part of it; but unfortunately the Honorary Secretary went on furlough and the opportunity was lost. The result was—

“The various riparian owners have leased their fishing, principally to the fisherman of Sahispur, and the price realised by these proprietors has risen considerably, so that the aggregate sum paid for the fishing now is somewhat over Rs. 500 per annum. It can be well imagined that to enable the fishermen to recoup themselves by the sale of what they catch, they have to fish night and day; and this is what actually occurs. It is reported that the very stones of the Asan are smooth and white owing to the constant dragging of nets over them. It is perfectly clear that under such circumstances, the food-supply of the people cannot be maintained, and that it must diminish rapidly in a serious degree.”

Hence, it was argued, the Association must, as opportunity offers, obtain absolute control of the waters, stop the destruction of spawning fish and small fry. But when the river should be once more well stocked, recognised fishermen could be allowed to pursue their trade under certain restrictions as to times and seasons, kind of net, mesh, &c. The wording of the Prospectus was thus toned down:—

“It cannot be too clearly stated that the Association does not desire to stop netting altogether, but merely to control it; and the first step is to obtain leases of the waters from the various owners, and endeavour to get the river once more stocked with fish, by temporarily suspending netting, during certain seasons.”

Nothing is said as to whether it is contemplated to allow fishermen to follow their trade in the rivers within forest boundaries, even under restrictions, with a view to maintaining or increasing the food supply of the people; and yet there is no reason why what is contemplated for the Western Dún should not be provided for in the Eastern Dún. The members of the Association cannot possibly catch, (with rods,) or eat all the mature fish in the Ganges, Suswa and Song. But, in thus criticising their utterances, I must not be supposed to be out of sympathy with the aims of the Association. Prevent destruction of spawning fish, and of spawn, by every possible means; and also regulate net fishing, in order to give the fish a chance of coming to maturity. I hope the members of the Association do not try to catch small fry, and that if, unfortunately, they ever land them, they religiously put them back into the water at once. I am quite as much in favor of fish preservation, and fish culture, as was Frank Buckland, whose life I have lately been reading.

The Association have published a map of the Dún on the scale of 1 inch to 4 miles, showing the camping places, roads, best fishing localities, &c. Three fishing guards have been appointed, and registers are kept at Rámpur Mandi on the Jumna, and at Kánsrao in the Eastern Dún, or Raiwála on the Ganges for the entry of fish caught. I presume that it is incumbent on members to enter particulars of their catches in these registers. The fishing guards have been equipped with uniform, and brass badges. One lives at Lachiwála in the Eastern Dún, and patrols the Song river from Kalamatti to the Banbaha : the second lives at Kánsrao and patrols the Song and Suswa from the Banbaha (a spill channel which connects these two rivers) down to the Ganges ; and the third lives at Rámpur Mandi on the Jumna. The services of these men are available for any member who shows them his silver fish token, and his card of membership. It was in contemplation, in 1891, to build a small bungalow on the Asan, near Rámpur Mandi, but I do not know whether this has been done. And some money is annually spent in improving the bed of the Suswa below Kánsrao, by guiding the water into one main channel, thus increasing the amount of water in the chief runs and pools. A fish ladder "on Colonel Macdonald's plan" has been constructed experimentally in the weir of the Ganges Canal, at Maiapur, by the Executive Engineer of the head works Division ; but it is said that the first trial was not quite successful, owing to the slope being defective. "The officers of the Irrigation Department take a keen and lively interest in all that pertains to fishing, and we may be quite sure that the question of fish ladders is safe in their hands." Arrangements have been made with certain well known tradesmen to supply members with fishing tackle at a discount. One firm has a shop in Dehra.

One of the first steps taken by the Fishing Association was to appoint a sub-committee of local members to present a petition to the Government of India through the local Government, praying for the enactment of a law for the preservation of fish, and this was done in the form of a letter in March 1888. The memorial of the Punjab Club to the Government of that Province was first set forth, and this was followed up by the assertion of the Dehra Dun Association's constitution and objects. Legislation was said to be absolutely necessary, because there was at present no check whatever on the destruction of fish by means which, in other countries, are considered illegal. Netting was carried on night and day ; and streams were turned and dammed, with the inevitable result that not even the small fry could escape. "The direct and indirect loss to the people" at large in the matter of fish food is thus simply

incalculable. The following suggestions were offered, as fitting to be embodied in an Act :—

1. That a close season for netting, *viz.* from the 13th June to the 13th October in each year, should be established.
2. That the use of nets, the meshes of which are less than two inches square, should be prohibited.
3. That no single part of a river or stream should be netted more than once in the twenty-four hours.
4. That the use of two series of nets, one behind the other in immediate succession, should be prohibited.
5. That damming, or turning aside a stream for the purpose of catching fish, should be prohibited.
6. That no explosive of any kind whatsoever, nor any poison should be allowed.
7. That no netting whatever, at any time or season, should be permitted in the larger streams, such as the Ganges or Jumna, within a distance extending from one quarter of a mile above the highest mouth, to one mile below the lowest mouth of " spawning tributaries."
8. That fish-ladders " should be introduced into the ' bunds' of the larger rivers wherever necessary." " The existing fish-ladders of Maiapur and Narora only allow small fish up to two pounds weight to pass.
9. That rod fishing be permitted in all streams and at all seasons."

This last suggestion looks selfish, and is opposed to home practice with regard to fishing for salmon; but Mr. Thomas says that *Mahastir* spawn gradually, and do not, to a material extent, lose condition after the process is over and they fall back down stream.

The Dehra Dun Fishing Association was represented at a Fishery Conference, held at Delhi, early in 1888, by Captain A. W. Hearsey, who reported that it was then thought necessary to legislate at once on the following points :—(1) Dynamite, (2) Poisoning, (3) Fixed Engines; but that further information ought to be obtained before legislating on other matters. Captain Hearsey made a suggestion that canal reservoirs should be constructed in the Dun and elsewhere, " which would have the effect of preventing the destruction of fish when the canals are allowed to run dry for repairs."

In October, 1887, the Fishing Association interviewed the Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh when he visited Dehra, and explained the more important points which had already been laid before his Government in writing, and His Honour promised to consider the matter when it was referred to him by the Supreme Government. A draft Inland Fisheries Bill, prepared by Mr. Thomas, was then under consideration by the Government of India; but nothing has yet been enacted on the subject. The Association made efforts to obtain a lease of the Giri, a tributary of the Jumna, from Maharaja of Nahan (Sirmur), and up to the end of 1889 were

hopeful of success. "That they were not successful, and that the Giri has now passed into other hands, is a matter of history." The concluding paragraph of the Report for 1891, reads rather sadly; but still there seems to be plenty of life in the Association; and it is clearly worthy of support.

"Lastly, it has been shown in the foregoing pages that we have not been slack in urging upon Government the necessity for legislation. The Punjab Fishing Club has, it is be regretted, ceased to exist; while they lasted, we worked in harmony with them, and now that they are no more, the burden will rest entirely on our shoulders. Let us remember the farewell words of our Honorary Member, Mr. A. S. Thomas, bidding us take up the subject of Fishery Preservation, and not let the Bill slumber on the Government shelves, but so to work that it might bear fruit in good time."

I have not been able to see the Report of the Fishing Association for 1892, but I believe the chief feature in it is an account of an attempt which has been made to import the ova of the British trout with the view of establishing that fish in the Dún, and I am sorry that the attempt has not yet been successful.

#### IMPERIAL FOREST SCHOOL, DEHRA DUN.

This institution was founded on 1st September 1878, but it was not until three years later that indoor instruction was given. The school seems now to have reached its full development. Major F. Bailey, R. E., now Professor of Forestry in the University of Edinburgh, was the first Director of the School, and he held the appointment along with that of Superintendent of Forest Surveys until a few years ago, though other officers frequently acted for him. At first there was no building in which teaching could be conducted, or the museum and laboratory be housed; and the staff of the School was not completed until about the middle of 1881, when Mr. W. R. Fisher, B. A., Deputy Conservator of Forests, Assam, was appointed Deputy Director, and also put in charge of the Dehra Dún Forest Division. Dr. H. Warth, Ph.D., then in the Forest Department, but now in the Geological Department, and Superintendent of the Madras Museum, was appointed instructor in Natural Science; and instruction on some of the details of forestry, in mensuration, and in surveying, was given by officers of the School Circle Forests, and other gentlemen. Mr. Fisher is now Assistant Professor of Forestry in the Royal College of Engineering, Cooper's Hill. It was at first intended that forest officers of the upper controlling grades, who had not received professional training in Europe, should, to some extent, make up for that by attendance at the Dehra School, and for a year or two some officers, of many years practical experience, were thus sent to school, and were lectured by instructors perhaps younger than them-

selves ; but this created great discontent, and the scope of the school was therefore limited to the training of executive subordinates and Sub-Assistant Conservators, now called Extra Assistant Conservators. But, in a Resolution published in October 1891, it was announced by the Government of India that the attempt to establish a separate course of training for the lower controlling staff had been abandoned, and that the estimate of allowances required by students during the course of instruction had been modified accordingly, and it was resolved that nominations to Sub-Extra Assistant Conservatorships should cease, and that those who aspired to such appointments must enter the service as Rangers, Local Governments being empowered to assist selected students by stipends not exceeding Rs. 50 a month, on the understanding that, if they passed the examination, they would enter the service as Rangers, and Local Governments might continue to depute to the school duly qualified officers of the subordinate staff.

The Resolution of the Government of India above referred to brought into force, in substitution for the revised Prospectus of the Forest School, dated 24th June 1890, a set of " Rules to regulate appointments and promotions in the Provincial Forest Service," which it had been decided to constitute, as distinguished from the Imperial Service, and which was in future to be recruited solely by officers directly appointed by the Secretary of State for India, who receive their training at the Royal Engineering College, Cooper's Hill. The Provincial Forest Service consists of—

- (a). Foresters who have obtained the Dehra Dún Forest School Certificate, Lower Standard.
- (b). Forest Rangers.
- (c). Extra-Assistant Conservators.
- (d). Extra-Deputy Conservators.

Forest Rangers are appointed from passed students of the Dehra School, who have obtained certificates in forestry, higher standard, or certificates by the lower standard, supplemented by satisfactory service as foresters, for two or five years according as they may have passed with or without honours. But, should no officers of the above classes be available, appointments as Rangers may be given to subordinates who have not passed through the Dehra School, but have earned promotion by long, faithful and meritorious service, or to Native Non-commissioned officers of the army who entered the Department under certain orders passed in 1880.

Appointments to the class of Extra-Assistant Conservators, on salaries varying from Rs. 200 to Rs. 350, may be given to Forest Rangers who have obtained the School Certificate, and have afterwards given satisfactory service as Rangers in execu-

tive charge for two years, if they passed with honours, and for five years if they passed without honours, or (in exceptional cases only) to Rangers who entered the Department before 1st December 1881, and have done specially good and faithful service, and have certain educational qualifications. But where there are no Rangers in a province qualified as above, the Local Governments and Administrations are empowered to appoint persons with certain other qualifications to be Extra-Assistant Conservators.

Appointments to the class of Extra-Deputy Conservators, on salaries which vary from Rs. 450 to Rs. 600, are made by the promotion of officers of the Lower Controlling Staff, who hold the Higher Standard Certificate in Forestry of the Dehra Dún Forest School, and who have done good service of not less than five years as Extra-Assistant Conservators in either of the two upper grades (Rs. 350 and Rs. 300), of the latter class.

This new brand—"Extra"—seems as unnecessary as it is inappropriate. These Assistants and Deputies are not extra in any sense, unless it be that they are recognised as possessing practical experience of the working and management of Indian forests in a degree which is extra, as compared with the experience of the other Assistant and Deputy Conservators, in which case "superior" or "superlative" would be a good appellation. In my dictionary I find that "extra," when it is a preposition, means—beyond, or additional, but when the word is used as an adjective or an adverb it means—extreme or extraordinary. "Ordinary-Assistant Conservators," and "Ordinary-Deputy Conservators" would, therefore, appear to be the proper designations of the officers of the Imperial Branch. The eighth regulation regarding the Provincial Forest Service is as follows:—"The Provincial Forest Service" (this seems to mean, the members, or officers, of that Service) "will be allotted to the same six Provincial Lists on which the Imperial Branch of the Upper Controlling Staff is borne, and the members of the Provincial Service will be shown on those lists according to seniority in service." I interpret this to mean that in those Provincial lists the names of Imperial and Provincial Officers will be mixed up according to seniority in service. And I read in the same regulation, that "promotions will be made in each Provincial list as a whole, and not in respect of local Circles," which I take to mean that the claims to promotion of both classes of officers will be considered as if they belonged to one class. The only difference will, therefore, be in the rate of pay. A certain number of officers, in the grades of Assistant and Deputy Conservators are required for the controlling work of the Department; and partly for economy's sake, and partly in order to meet the demand for

employment on the part of statutory natives of India (including Europeans born in India) a certain proportion of the whole are to belong to the Provincial Service; but one set is not more "extra" than is the other, and to call it so is clearly a misnomer which has been applied merely to mark inferiority of some sort, like "No. 2 Exshaw," which is newer and cheaper than No. 1. "Provincial Assistant Conservator" and "Provincial Deputy Conservator," or else "Assistant Conservator, (Provincial Service)," and "Deputy Conservator, (Provincial Service)" are clearly the proper titles to give; and I venture to prophesy that before many years this abuse of the word "extra" will be abandoned. Besides the Imperial Service, and the Provincial Service, the Forest Service or Department comprises the Subordinate Service, consisting of Foresters, Forest Guards, and other subordinate officials, appointed locally from men who do not pass through the Forest School. In the Forest School, for admission to the Provincial Service, there are two courses of study—one in English (the upper class), and a second in Hindustani (the lower class). The former prepares students for the certificate in forestry by the higher standard; the latter for the certificate in forestry by the lower standard. Candidates who are accepted, after satisfying certain conditions for the English Course, must, before admission to the School, pass an entrance examination in English, Arithmetic, Algebra, Euclid, and Mensuration, either at the School, or elsewhere, as the Local Governments may direct. These examinations are held simultaneously throughout India on three successive days about the 1st March, annually, on papers sent out by the Director of the Forest School, to whom they are returned in sealed covers, and who intimates the results. Local Governments may require that there be selected from the list of passed applicants such number as they deem desirable to admit into the Provincial Forest Department at the end of the School course. Such selected candidates will have a preferential claim to appointments. As already stated, Local Governments may grant to such specially selected candidates, not already in receipt of Government pay, stipends or allowances not exceeding Rs. 50 a month, and Local Governments may send Rangers to the School in order that they may qualify themselves for further promotion.

Candidates for the Hindustani course are admitted in a similar manner, but in lieu of passing the Entrance examination laid down for the English course, they must produce a certificate of having passed the Middle Class Examination in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, or an equivalent standard in another Province, as well as a certificate that they possess a competent knowledge of Urdu or Hindi. As many



of the students come from Southern India, and it would be impossible to provide instruction for them in all the various languages there spoken, this is a necessary provision. In this course of time, perhaps, there will be only one course, an English one. Persons entering the Subordinate Forest Service with a view to being deputed to study in the Dehra School, as well as candidates granted stipends or scholarships, have to execute formal agreements, and bonds with substantial securities, to continue in the Government Forest Service for not less than five years after passing out. The obtaining of certificates by either standard does not, except as to selected and stipendiary candidates, constitute a claim to obtain service under Government; but, when vacancies occur, due consideration is given to the fact that certificates have been obtained.

The students in the Forest School have to supply their own note-books and stationery, and books are supplied to them only on cash payment. They have, if not already in the service of Government, to defray their own personal, including travelling, expenses, and, before allowing them to enter, the Director has to satisfy himself that the students are in a position to do so; and should they afterwards fail in this respect, he turns them out. The average monthly cost of living at the school is calculated at Rs. 22 to 28 for students living in native style, and at Rs. 35 for those living in European style; and the expenses of travelling and camping during the entire course of 21 months are calculated to come to about Rs. 130 for the native, and about Rs. 210 for the European class. The ordinary travelling allowances admissible to students already in the service of Government cover these expenses. All of this last-mentioned class of students must, unless specially exempted, live in the school quarters, and pay Rs. 2 a month each as rent. Private students may be given quarters, when available, on the same terms. I may mention that at present the quarters are occupied by the Native Class of students only, but that there will be superior accommodation in a second range now being built, which is to be double storeyed, and have larger rooms, and verandahs.

Candidates admitted to the school have to join at Dehra on the 25th June next after the date of their passing the Entrance examination. The spring camping season, during which practical instruction is given in the forests of the Dún, the hills of Jaunsár, and the Punjab, is then over, and the lecture season is then about to begin. The twenty-one months of the courses of training are spent as follows:—

| 1st Year.       |                  |                                                             | 2nd Year.       |                  |                                                                      |
|-----------------|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1st July ..     | 31st October ..  | At Dehra.<br>In Camp.<br>Vacation.<br>In Camp.<br>Vacation. | 1st July ..     | 31st October ..  | At Dehra.<br>In Camp.<br>Vacation.<br>In Camp.<br>Final Examination. |
| 1st November .. | 31st December .. |                                                             | 1st November .. | 31st December .. |                                                                      |
| 3rd December .. | 5th January ..   |                                                             | 3rd December .. | 5th January ..   |                                                                      |
| 6th January ..  | 31st May ..      |                                                             | 6th January ..  | 14th March ..    |                                                                      |
| June ..         | ...              |                                                             | 15th March ..   | 31st March ..    |                                                                      |

The first-year students are therefore always in camp, out of the way, while the second-year students are undergoing their final examinations.

The directing and teaching establishment of the Forest School has been increased of late, to keep pace with the increase in the number of students, which is, at the present time of writing, about 120. At first, I think, there was only a Director and a Deputy Director. Now, besides these, there are two Instructors, selected from the Assistant Conservators of the Imperial Service, and one Instructor belonging to the Lower Controlling Staff, who teaches in the vernacular. But besides these, officers belonging to other Departments are annually deputed to give lectures on special subjects, *e. g.* botany, and entomology. As mentioned in a previous article, the Circle which comprises the Dehra Dún Forest Division, the Saharanpur Division, and the Jaunsár Division, is called the Forest School Circle, and the forests which it contains present an admirably varied field for practical instruction in forestry, some being of *Sal*, others of pine, others of fir, others of *Deodar* cedar, and others of mixed species of trees ; and much of the ground is rough and steep enough to test the physical ability of the students, and also to present difficulties to be overcome in surveying, which forests in some parts of India would not do. Partly because it is a comparatively small circle, and also for convenience sake, the School Circle was from the first, I think, placed under the control of the Director of the Forest School. Towards the close of the year 1889-90, a Conference was held at Dehra, by order of the Government of India, presided over by the Officiating Secretary in the Revenue and Agricultural Department, to consider questions which had arisen in connection with the direction and management of the school. I imagine these questions arose from the frequent changes which had occurred in the *personnel* of the Directorship, *cum* Conservatorship, and which must have greatly interfered with the efficient control and working of the school. Other questions, referred to in a Resolution of the Government of India on the Annual Report on the school, were—the establishment of a suitable Board of Control, the provision of an adequate Staff of Teachers, and the question whether it was desirable to place the school under an officer of the Educational Department. Who was the “crank” who raised this last-named question is not stated ; but it seems surprising that Government should have even allowed it to be discussed. The Conference recommended that the Director of the School should continue to be a Forest Officer, who should, as then, be the Conservator of the School Circle for the following reasons, namely—(1) a special knowledge of the objects of the school, and of the practical duties to

be eventually performed by the trained pupils is essential ; (2) a Forest Officer of standing and capability would, in any case, be required for special instruction in Forestry, and it might be difficult to adjust the relations between him and a Director introduced from another Department ; (3) The Director of the School should be also Conservator of the Circle, in order to enable the practical out-door instruction to be properly carried out, and to enlist the co-operation of the Forest subordinates ; 4) the Divisional Officers under the Conservator of the School Circle, must be employed under the Director for teaching, and their having to serve two masters would give rise to difficulties ; (5) the Conservator might transfer these Officers within his circle in a way that would be inconvenient to the School.

The Conference of 1889 further recommended that, while the School Staff, as well as all questions of finance, should remain subject to the orders of the Inspector-General of Forests, a Board of Control should be constituted, of which some of the duties would be—to arrange for the conduct of the examination, by certain of its members, who would thus form an independent examining body separate from the teaching staff ; to decide in all matters connected with the curriculum, and advise regarding the prospectus of the school and qualifications for admission ; and to fix the relative number of marks to be given for the different subjects, the minimum number of marks for pass and honour certificates, &c., &c. This Board of Control should be composed of the Inspector-General of Forests as *President*, the Director of Public Instruction, N.W.P. and Oudh, the Director of the School, one Conservator from each Province, with, as Secretary, the Assistant-Inspector General of Forests. A further recommendation made by the Conference was, that the staff of Instructors should be increased to meet the growing requirements of the school.

The recommendation that the Director of the School should be a Forest Officer, and be Conservator of the School Circle, was adopted by Government, and also those with regard to the constitution of a Board of Control ; but it was ordered that all Conservators should be appointed *ex officio* members of the Board, though only three should attend annually, in a rotation which would require each only once in five years ; and that the Board should ordinarily meet only once a year, in March, while the annual examinations are held. The proposal to increase the teaching staff was submitted to the Secretary of State, and sanctioned by him. In a scheme for the reorganization of the Forest Department submitted in 1890 to the Secretary of State, provision was made for the continuance of the joint appointment of a Director and Conservator, and Mr. J. Sykes Gamble, M. A., F. L. S., one of the Conservators in the Mad-

ras Presidency, who had previously been in Bengal, and had served in Burma and other parts of India, was selected for the office. Mr. Gamble was, I believe, about the first officer who was trained in France for the Indian Forest Department. The present Deputy Director of the school is Mr. A. Smythies, B.A., a Deputy Conservator of Forests, who has held charge of several divisions in the Circle.

As something like permanence has been provided for in the direction and control of the school, improved results in teaching and training may be expected. Special attention is now being paid to practical instruction, and when in the field, every student is made to learn to use the tools of a Forester, and to take actual part in silvicultural operations. An arboretum is attached to the school, in which numerous varieties of forest trees are cultivated, and there is an excellent museum of specimens of fruits and woods of timber trees, forest products of various sorts, and insects which are destructive to vegetation. Other insects, birds and animals are represented by type specimens, and there is a collection of minerals and fossils. The museum is now partly accommodated in an *annexe* to the school, building which was built some two years ago, and the lower floor of which is occupied by a large lecture hall. One room in the main building is devoted to the *herbarium*, which Mr. Gamble is completing and making sufficient for the purposes of the school and in which outsiders also are admitted to study. There is an excellent and extensive library of professional and scientific books and periodicals, with ample accommodation for study; and both this and the herbarium are, I believe, much appreciated by the students. During the lecture season, the Director of the Botanical Department in Upper India, Mr. J. F. Duthie, B. A., lectures on botany, and Mr. Cotes of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, on entomology. I believe, also, that in future, lectures on chemistry will be given by Mr. Collins, who has lately come from England to take up an appointment as Assistant Agricultural Chemist under the Local Government. Such lectures have been always given, I believe, but there was no permanent or altogether satisfactory appointment of a lecturer. Encouragement is given to cricket and athletic sports, and a meeting is held annually in public, at which prizes are competed for by the students. Military drill is, I believe, compulsory; many of the English Class are members of the Dehra Dun Mounted Rifles; and those who do not join that corps, as well as the Native Class, are obliged to attend foot drill during the lecture season.

The following are the numbers of students who have attended the Forest School, in each of the past eleven years, in the English and Hindustani courses respectively:—

| Years.  | English Course. |               | Hindustani Course. |            |
|---------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|------------|
|         | Senior Class.   | Junior Class. | Senior Class.      | Junior Cl. |
| 1882    | ...             | 20            | ...                | ...        |
| 1883    | 20              | 17            | ...                | ...        |
| 1884    | 22              | 11            | ...                | 5          |
| 1885    | 14              | 39            | ...                | 10         |
| 1886-87 | 32              | 22            | 10                 | 12         |
| 1887-88 | 29              | 29            | 12                 | 5          |
| 1888-89 | 29              | 25            | 5                  | 3          |
| 1889-90 | 20              | 29            | 3                  | 11         |
| 1890-91 | 34              | 30            | 8                  | 7          |
| 1891-92 | 26              | 41            | 6                  | 5          |
| 1892-93 | 41              | 48            | 4                  | 9          |

The total number of students in both courses, and of all grades, during the past year, has thus been 102. The Hindustani course does not seem to grow in favour; but I do not think this is to be regretted. Communication between the Control and the Executive must be easier, and work must be better done, when both use the same language.

On the annual Prize Day, held on the 29th March 1893, Mr. Gamble said, that for the next year he expected to have 120 students, there having been 150 candidates for admission to the school in both classes. Mr. Ribbentrop, the Inspector-General of Forests, in addressing Mr. Gamble and the Professors, said, he was convinced that there was no school of technical education, in or out of India, where a more practical course of studies was followed. And Sir Edward Buck, the Secretary to the Government of India in the Revenue and Agricultural Department, who presided at the distribution of prizes and certificates, said—

"In one respect, independently of its value to the Forest Department, the School has proved, I venture to believe, a useful example to the rest of India. As Mr. Ribbentrop has remarked, it is a signal success as a Technical School. I go a step further, and would say that it is a signal success as a Practical School. What I mean is this. The student who passes through a technical school is usually fitted only for the technical profession which he is taught at the technical school. But the Dehra School teaching is of such a broad and useful character, that I believe its students, that is, the students who pass out of it successfully, would be more fit for any kind of work requiring originality and practical treatment than the students of any School or College in India. It is the only important Educational Institution in India in which the student is taught more in the field and in the museum

than in the lecture room ; in fact, in which he is taught to observe, and how to draw conclusions from observation. The consequence has been that the only signal instances which have, to my knowledge, occurred of original research leading to position and useful results being accomplished by natives of India, have been those in which such results have been produced by ex-students of the Dehra School. Only recently the Government of India has been obliged to close apprenticeships attached to the Geological Department, because Natives of India could not be found qualified for original research. It is not that Natives of India have not in them the necessary qualifications ; it is that the power lies undeveloped within them ; and has not been brought out by a training in habits of observation, such as you, students, fortunately obtain here. The only regret is that you were not taught these habits still earlier in life, but it is hoped that the reforms now being introduced in the educational system of many Provinces will remove this reproach ; and that the Forest Student of Dehra, having been taught the habit of observation from early youth, will, as time goes on, not only take a lead in India, but will prove the equality of the native of India with the educated classes of all countries in scientific investigation and research."

*The Indian Forester*, a monthly magazine of forestry, agriculture, shikar and travel is printed and published in Mussoorie ; it is now in its 19th annual volume, and it has for many years been edited, honorarily, by officers on the Direction of the Forest School. Mr. Gamble is now again the editor, having, I think, been the original editor long ago. How he finds time for this work I cannot imagine. The contents usually comprise (1.) original articles on forestry and natural history in relation to forests, and translations from the French and German of such articles ; (2.) Correspondence ; (3.) Official papers and news ; (4.) Reviews of books and forest administrative reports ; (5.) Sporting notes, or notes on "Shikar," as the Indian term is ; (6.) Extracts and notes and queries on various subjects ; (7.) Timber and produce trade reports and notes, and (8.) Extracts from Official Gazettes, showing appointments, promotions, transfers and departmental orders for all India. Recently the Government of India has begun to contribute to the magazine by sending notes and reports on economic products, printed at its own press, for circulation with the magazine as an appendix series. A complete alphabetical index to the first 17 volumes, 1875 to 1891, of *the Indian Forester*, has recently been published, which occupies 40 pages of print. The magazine contains a mine of information on forestry and kindred subjects ; and no public or official library ought to be without a set of its volumes. The magazine is sold at half price to Forest Officers whose salary is Rs. 200 a month, or less.

C. W. HOPE.

## ART. VI.—BENGALI LANGUAGE.

THE Bengali language is full of Sanskrit words, and it is, therefore, believed by some that it has taken its origin from the Sanskrit. But such is not the case. It has taken its birth directly from the Prakrit, which again sprang from Sanskrit; so that, the Prakrit is the mother, and Sanskrit the grandmother of the Bengali language. I give below a number of words belonging to the Sanskrit, the Prakrit, and the Bengali languages, to show how one language made its contributions to the other:—

| <i>Sanskrit</i> |     | <i>Prakrit</i> |     | <i>Bengali</i> |
|-----------------|-----|----------------|-----|----------------|
| প্রাচর          | ... | পাখর           | ... | পাখর           |
| ঘৃহ             | ... | ঘর             | ... | ঘর             |
| ভাস্ত           | ... | খস্ত           | ... | খাষা           |
| অদ্য            | ... | অজ্জ           | ... | আজ             |
| মিথ্যা          | ... | মিছা           | ... | মিছা           |
| বৎস             | ... | বচ্ছ           | ... | বাছা           |
| চন্দ্র          | ... | চন্দ           | ... | চাঁদ           |
| যষ্টি           | ... | লট্ঠী          | ... | লাঠী           |
| স্থান           | ... | স্থান          | ... | নাহা           |
| সঙ্ঘা           | ... | সঙ্ঘা          | ... | সাঁঝ           |

The Bengali vocabulary has also received supplies from other sources. The Sanskrit was too difficult to become the colloquial language of the people: and it is probable that the Prakrit came into use throughout India. Before its adoption in Bengal, there were languages spoken by the aborigines of that country, and these languages contributed some words to the Bengali language. For we find in it such words as ঢেঁকি *dhenki* and ধুছনি *dhoochnoni*. The Persian—the language of the quondam rulers of Bengal—also contributed its quota to it. Such words as পৌচুন্ *Pohoonchun* and কৈফিয়ত *Kaifyat* occur in it. The Hindi, which, also sprung from the Prakrit, contributed not a little towards the formation of the Bengali language. In the writings of the earliest writers, Hindi words such as হাম *ham*, সোই *soi*, and এইছ *aiche* are found in abundance; but as the Bengali began to improve, it ceased to receive assistance from the Hindi language.

It is difficult to say how and when the Bengali language came into existence. But a language cannot be formed at once, so that the Bengali must have been in a crude state long before it developed into a language. Some tablets, with inscriptions on them, were found by an antiquarian in the Sunderbuns. One of them was deciphered and found to be a Firman by King Luxmun Sen granting some landed property to a Brahmin. It was written in Sanskrit, but the letters differed greatly from Devanagri; some resembling the Devanagri, and some the Bengali alphabets. Luxman Sen reigned in Bengal about 900 years ago, and it may be inferred that, in his reign an attempt was made to form a distinct alphabet for use in Bengal. It is probable that the Bengali language came into existence at this time; but it must have remained in a crude state for some centuries. We find no books written in the Bengali language until we come to the time when Vidyapati (বিদ্যাপতি) and Chandidasa চণ্ডী দাস, the Chaucer and Spencer of Bengal, flourished. These two poets lived about 500 years ago, and were contemporaries. From the style of their writings it may be inferred that the Bengali language had attained a stage of advancement which must have been the result of the labours of other writers who had preceded Vidyapati and Chandi Das. But no account is extant of either the writers, or their works. We must therefore accept Vidyapati and Chandi Das as the first writers in the Bengali language. It has been noticed that the early writers in a language give out their thoughts in poetry, and this is true of Bengali also. Vidyapati and Chandi Das composed songs. In some of these Hindi words are largely used, and in others, none are met with, a peculiarity which is seen in the works of later writers also. The writers who flourished a century after Vidyapati and Chandi Das, used Hindi profusely in their writings. Some of these words are Hindi, properly so-called, others are Brojo Bhasha or the dialect used in Brindabun. These writers had abundant opportunities of coming into contact with the people of Upper India. In the first place, Mithila or Tirhoot, was at that time the seat of Sanskrit learning. In fact it occupied the first place in India for its schools of the Naya philosophy. Pupils from different parts of India resorted to it: and Bengal, being its neighbour, sent it large numbers of pupils. These pupils, no doubt, learnt the language of the place: and, on returning to Bengal, when they wrote any thing, they naturally made use of Hindi words.\* There can be no doubt that the language of Tirhoot influenced

\* It appears from his writings that Vidyapati knew Sanskrit, and it is probable that he went to Tirhoot to study that language.



Bengali to a great extent. Some of the Pothis, or Sanskrit books, three or four centuries old, are written in characters which are quite different from those now in use, and bear some resemblance to Devanagri characters. They are called *Tiroota*, and this shows that they were brought from Tirhoot. As regards the introduction of Brojo Boli into the writings of the early writers of Bengal, it should be borne in mind that these writers belonged to the Vaishnav sect, and they considered it to be a part of their religious duty to resort to Brindabun. In this sacred place they heard songs in praise of Krishna composed in Brojo Bhasha: and on their return to Bengal they tried to compose similar songs. Vidyapati and Chundi Das did not write any book, but they composed certain songs relating to Krishna, which were much valued by the Vaishnavs of the period and sung by them.

We do not meet with any other writings in Bengal until we come to the time of Chaitanya, the great religious reformer, who lived 400 years ago. Chaitanya and his followers gave a great impetus to the Bengali language. Up to the time of Chaitanya, the learned men of the time devoted themselves to the cultivation of the Sanskrit language: and they wrote some excellent books in that language. But they considered it beneath their dignity to write any books in Bengali, which was used merely as a colloquial language. The object of Chaitanya was to spread the blessings of religion among the people. The religion he promulgated was intended for the rich and the poor, the learned and the illiterate. He therefore had to resort to the language of the people. Chaitanya himself did not write any books in the Bengali language. But his instruction to the people in that language, and the hymns that were composed for the Sankirtun procession tended towards the improvement of Bengali literature. Chaitanya introduced dramatic performances for the promulgation of religion, and this, no doubt, gave an impetus to the improvement of the Bengali language. The followers of Chaitanya did much to enrich it. They published books relating to the doings of Chaitanya. Jeeb Goshwami (জীব গোস্বামী) heads the list of such writers. He published a small book giving an account of Roop and Sonatun, two of the principal converts to Vaishnavism. This book was written soon after the death of Chaitanya, and was followed by the publication of Chaitanya Bhagbut, by Brindabun Das. It is an elaborate work containing the life of Chaitanya. A short time after this, appeared Chaitanya Charitamrito. This is also a life of Chaitanya by Krishna Das. Besides these, several other books were written by the followers of Chaitanya. All these books were written in

poetry. Thus we see that Bengali poetry owed much to the Vaishnavs.

The example set by the Vaishnavs led to brilliant results. It exerted a great influence on the people of Bengal. The cultivation of literature did not long remain confined to the Vaisnav sect. Poets sprung up from different parts of Bengal. Kritti-basha wrote in verse the great epic poem Ramayun; Mukunda Ram wrote a poem called Chundi, containing an account of the doings of the deity Chundi, or Bhowani. Kshema-nanda ক্ಷেমানন্দ and Ketoka Dass কেতকা দাস jointly wrote a poem called Munsar Bhashan (মন্সার ভাষান). It gives an account of a chaste woman, Bahoola (বাহুলা) whose devotion to her husband satisfied Munsa Dabee, the goddess of serpents, so much that she forgave her relations, who had greatly offended her. From the time of the publication of this poem, the worship of Munsa became prevalent in Bengal. Kashiram Dass published the grand epic poem of the Mahabharat: a perusal of this book would show that, the Bengali language had made considerable progress at this time. After the publication of this epic poem, we do not meet with any book worthy of notice until we come to Ghanaram (ঘনরাম) who lived about eighty years after Kashiram. He was a Brahmin of a Srotrya family, and wrote a poem called Sree Dharma Mangal স্রীধর্ম মঙ্গল. It was finished by him in the year 1710 of the Christian era, and is an epic poem in the Bengali language. Laosen লাউসেন, a relative of the King of Gour, is the hero of the poem. It has all the merits of an epic poem, depicting, in lively colours, the bravery of Bengali soldiers in the field, and the chastity of Bengali women. It gives an insight into the mode of Government at the time of the Bengali kings, and the manners and customs of the people. Above all, it places prominently before the reader the martial exploits of a Bengali woman. The example of a lady on horseback with armour on, fighting with a Trishool ত্রিশূল in hand, should instil courage into the people of Bengal.

It may be mentioned here that, this great work of Ghanaram came to notice about 22 years ago. A short account of Ghanaram first appeared in the *Shome Prokash*. His poem was then reviewed by the press. The *Sadharani* said that, the same advantages are derived from a perusal of Sree Dharma Mangal as can be obtained from the poems of Homer, Virgil, Milton and Valmiki. Much credit is due to Babu Jagendro Chunder Bose for having rescued this poem from oblivion. This gentleman took much pains in the publication of the work. The manuscript copies were incomplete; some were copied very carelessly, and portions of others were destroyed by in-

sects. He secured six copies, and, after a careful examination of them, succeeded in placing the poem before the public in a complete state. Before the publication of Sree Dharma Mangal, portions of it used to be recited by beggars and street-singers. But this was confined to the district of Burdwan, in a village of which Ghanaram was born.\*

Ghanaram was followed by Rameshwar Bhattacharjee. He wrote a poem called Sheva Sunkirtan, or Shevayana (শিবসংকীৰ্ত্তন বা শিবায়ন), which contains an account of Sheva and Parvoti. This poem was finished in the year 1712 of the Christian era, so that the poet was a contemporary of Ghanaram. We now come to the Augustan era of Bengal, when several eminent men flourished. Moharajah Krishna Chundra, who was then the King of Nuddea, or Nobodwipa, gave encouragement to men of talent. He was born in the year 1710 of the Christian era, and lived about 73 years. He himself had received a good education, and he considered it a pleasure to pass his time with men of learning and genius. Ramprasad Sen, the saint and poet, Baneshwara Vidyalankar, the Sanskrit poet, Sharun Turkalonkar the philosopher, Anukul Bachaspati, the astronomer, and the celebrated Bengali poet, Bharat Chunder Roy, flourished in his time and received encouragement from him. Besides these great men, there were poets of lesser note who received the Rajah's support. The famous wits, Gopal Bhar and Hashyarnah, who pleased the Rajah with their effusions of mirth, had the honor of considering the Rajah their patron. Ramprasad, the saint and poet, wrote Vidya Soondar, Kali Kirtan and Krishna Kirtan. Vidya Soondar is a regular poem; the other two consist chiefly of songs. Vidya Soondar is a work of great merit. His description of nature is vivid, but the versification is not smooth, and the poet has used some Hindi words in it. Ramprasad, however, is better known for his hymns, which attracted the great men of the time very much. One of his hymns affected his employer so much, that he gave him relief from his work, and granted him a pension of Rs. 30 a month, so that he might pass his time in devotion and prayer to God. As the saint declined the offer made by

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\* Although Ghanaram's Sree Dharma Mangal has all the merits of an epic poem, it must be admitted that there are defects in it as regards language and versification. The Bengali language was then not formed, and Ghanaram made the best use of it. But much credit is due to him for having composed a poem of nearly 700 pages. The Ramayan and Mahabharat written by Krittibash and Kashiram Dass, were no doubt voluminous works, but they were more or less translations from the Sanscrit poems of Valmiki and Vyasa. It is observed that, at this time, authors wrote in poetry. It is said that two books were written in prose, one on the Kings of Tripoora, and the other on Rajah Pratap Aditya. But they cannot be found.

Rajah Krishna Chunder to pass his time in the palace, the Rajah himself used to come to him to hear his hymns; and, as a mark of appreciation of his merits, he gave him some landed property with the title of Kabi Ranjan. The hymns of Ram-prasad are sung throughout Bengal; his biography has been written by several persons, and at his birth-place, Halisahar, a religious gathering is assembled in his honor every year.

We now come to Bharat Chunder, the poet laureate of Rajah Krishna Chunder. The great poem which made him famous and placed him on the throne of Bengali literature, is Annada Mangal. The principal parts of this poem are Annada Mangal and Vidya Soondar. Annada Mangal is an account of Shiva and Parvati. Vidya Soondar is a love tale. \* But, as the hero and heroine of this tale were devotees of Bhowanee, their doings have been incorporated with Annada Mangal. In this poem we find the language pure, the sentiments sublime, and the poem very soon became popular in Bengal. The tale of Vidya Soondar was adopted in Jattras (country plays) and many songs were composed in connection with it. Bharat Chunder displayed a great insight into the nature of man, and his poem contains many apt expressions which are not only freely quoted by writers, but have become household words. Many utter them without knowing their origin. The only fault in the poem is, that the tale of Vidya Soondar contains some indecent expressions; but it is evident that they suited the taste of the community of that period. The fact of its popularity is a proof of this. Moreover, Annada Mangal was composed by Bharat Chunder at the request of Rajah Krishna Chunder and the poem, when completed, was handed over to the Rajah as a valuable present. The Rajah was so much pleased with Bharat Chunder for the excellent poetry he composed in his capacity of poet laureate, that, in addition to a payment of Rs. 40 per month, he gave him considerable landed property with the title of Rai Gunakar.

At this period, we do not meet with any other work of special merit. Durga Prosad Mookhopadhyaya wrote a poem called Gunga Bhakti Tarangini (গঙ্গা ভক্তি তরঙ্গিনী.) It is written on the well-known incident, mentioned in the Ramayana, of Bhagirath (ভাগীরথ) having brought the Ganges from heaven for the salvation of his ancestors. The poem itself is not of any great merit, but being a religious work, it soon became popular. For some time we do not come across any work of merit. Between the years 1775 and 1833 of the Christian era, a class of writers made themselves famous by composing songs. The most prominent among them were Nidhiram Gooptu, Ram Bosu, and Haray Kristo Dirghari (হরেকৃষ্ণ)

known by the name of Huroo Thakoor. Nidhiram Gooptu composed chiefly love songs, which very soon attracted the attention of the public. Indeed, for a very long time, every lover of music delighted to sing them or to hear them sung.\* Only lately, they are not much spoken of. This has arisen from the change in taste that has taken place among our countrymen. The spread of English education has raised the tone of morality among the educated classes, and their minds have been diverted into better channels. As of great poetical merit, they must have a place in the literature of Bengal. The songs composed by Ram Bosu and Huroo Thakoor were also principally love songs.

At this period some singing bands made their appearance. They were known by the name of Kabi-wallas. The two gentlemen named above composed songs for these bands. They were blessed with the power divine. The people of the time took great delight in the performances of these Kabi-wallas. Two parties were engaged, each trying to discomfit the other. The poet attached to one of the parties composes a song for the occasion, which is sung; whilst this is being sung, the poet attached to the other party, composes another song in reply. It must be quickly done, so that the song must be sung soon after the first party has finished its performance. If the reply given is suitable, shouts of laughter come from the audience. A rejoinder is given to the reply, and in this manner the singing parties continue to keep the audience enlivened for some time. There are Kabi-wallas to be found now, but they have ceased to exert the influence they did at the time under notice. It must be admitted that the Kabi-wallas did much to enrich Bengali literature, and it is satisfactory to find that the songs composed by the poets attached to these parties, have been collected and published.

At this period the British ascendancy was established in Bengal, and, through its influence, Bengali literature received a great impetus. It should be borne in mind that the writers in the Bengali language took delight in giving out their thoughts in poetry, and there was scarcely any attempt made to write any book in prose. There was no grammar at that time, and the utility of the printing press was not known. It is worthy of note that the first grammar in the Bengali language was written by a European gentleman,† who belonged to the Civil Service of the East India Company. A friend of this gentleman, Mr. Charles Wilkinson, estab-

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\* They go by the name of Nedhu Baboo's Toppa.

† Named Mr. Hallhed.

lished a printing press at Hooghly, and with a perseverance that cannot be too much commended, prepared a set of Bengali types; and, at this press, Mr. Hallhed's grammar was printed. This took place in the year 1778 of the Christian era, which should ever remain memorable in the annals of Bengali literature. The first dictionary in the Bengali language was also written by a European gentleman. His name was Mr. Forster. He rendered another service to Bengali. In the year 1793, Lord Cornwallis made a collection of laws: and this gentleman translated them into Bengali. These efforts, however, did not leave any permanent marks of usefulness.

We now come to a period when a body of philanthropists appeared in the field, and did much to improve the literature of Bengal. We allude to the Missionaries of Christianity.

In the beginning of the year 1800, Dr. Carey took up his residence in Serampore. He established a mission there, and inaugurated several schemes for the improvement of the natives of Bengal. He was associated in these works with two able coadjutors, Messrs. Ward and Marshman. A printing press was established at Serampore, and a portion of the New Testament, translated into Bengali by Dr. Carey, was the first work printed in it. Ram Basu, who acted at that time as an interpreter to the Christian Missionaries, wrote, under the auspices of Dr. Carey, a life of Rajah Protap Aditya. This was published in July 1801.\* Dr. Carey himself compiled a grammar in Bengali and some colloquies, and, at his instance, the Chief Pandit of the college of Fort William translated the Hitopadesh from Sanskrit into Bengali.

The Missionaries of Serampore were indefatigable in their efforts to do good to the people of Bengal. They established a number of schools for the purpose of imparting education in the vernacular. This led to the compilation of several elementary works in Bengali in the different branches of knowledge. The next great step taken by the Missionaries for the diffusion of knowledge among the people was, the publication of a periodical in Bengali called *Somachar Darpan*, or the Mirror of News, which came into existence in the year 1818, A.D. The Bengali versions of the Ramayana, the Mahabharat and other works were printed at the Serampore press, and this tended not a little to improve Bengali literature. These books, especially the Ramayana and the Mahabharat, began to be largely read by all classes of the people. Although at the present day, they have lost their popularity, in consequence of the publication of correct and elaborate versions of the same works in excellent

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\* He wrote also another book called লিপিমাল্য Lipimalla (series of letters). In the next year was published কৃষ্ণ চন্দ্র চরিত or Life of Rajah Krishna Chunder in prose, by Rajib Lochun.

prose by Kaliprsonno Singhee, Hem Chunder Vidyaratna and Protap Chunder Roy, C.I.E, they may be still seen in use with ordinary shop-keepers and tradesmen, who take a delight in reading them in a sing-song tone. The Serampore Mission, which did so much good to Bengali literature, did not exist long. The bank in which funds of the mission were lodged in Calcutta collapsed in the commercial crisis of 1833, and the funds of the Mission disappeared. The Mission, however, continued in a lingering state till 1837, when it was amalgamated with the Baptist Missionary Society.

Besides the Missionaries of Christianity, there were some other European gentlemen who did much towards the improvement of Bengali literature. The College of Fort William having for its object the study of Bengali by the officers of the East India Company, was established in the year 1800. A number of books, to form the curriculum of that college, had to be published, and the tutorial staff of the college, European as well as native, undertook this work. Among the works published was the Probodha Chundrika (প্রবোধ চন্দ্রিকা), by Pundit Mrityoonjoy Turkalonkar, written in prose. The style of the work is not good; but at that period nothing better could be expected. This Pundit wrote another book in prose, the Rajabali (রাজাবলী), which means a number of kings. These two books appeared in the year 1813. In the next year, Horo Prosad Roy published, for the use of the students of the College of Fort William, a translation of the Sanscrit work, Pooroosh Pariksha (পুরুষ পরীক্ষা) in prose. It was written in good language.

We now come to a great man who did much to improve the Bengali language. We allude to the far-famed Rajah Ram Mohan Roy. This is not the place to make mention of all that he did for his countrymen, and our remarks will be restricted to what he did for Bengali literature. After his arrival in Calcutta, which was in the year 1814, Ram Mohan Roy had to translate into Bengali several of the Hindu Shasters in connection with the religious reform he carried out. Besides this, the discussions he had to carry on with the Pundits, as regards both religious and social reforms, induced him to write several pamphlets. Among them were three treatises on the self-immolation of Hindu widows, which were published in the year 1819. In the year 1823, Ram Mohan published his পথ্য প্রদান *Pothya Pradan*, or diet for the sick. This was a pamphlet of 117 pages. It was written in refutation of the arguments set forth in a book called পাষণ্ড পীড়ন *Pashanda Peeran*, or "A Check to the Irreligious,"

attacking the religious opinions and acts of Ram Mohan Roy. This was a pamphlet of 225 pages. In addition to books and pamphlets, Ram Mohan undertook to publish a diglot magazine in Bengali and English to refute the arguments advanced by the Missionaries of Christianity against the Hindu Shasters. This magazine was started in the year 1821. Ram Mohan's reformatory movement was many-sided. He sought the general welfare of his countrymen. In the year 1820, he started a periodical called সম্ভাবন কৌমুদী Sombad Koumoodi, which contained articles of general interest. He also wrote a grammar in the Bengali language, which was considered to be the best grammar of that time, and was universally accepted. It reached its fourth edition; and was published by the Calcutta School Book Society in the year 1851. Above all, the hymns composed by Ram Mohun Roy are conspicuous to this day for their excellence. They are universally valued, and are sung by men of all classes and creeds.

The opponents of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy wrote many pamphlets, which tended not a little to improve the Bengali language. Among them Bhowani Churn Bondopadhyia rendered signal service. To oppose Ram Mohun in his attempts towards the abolition of the self immolation of widows, he started a newspaper named *Chundrika*, which has done good service to the country. It was the first native effort towards journalism, and has only lately been amalgamated with the *Dainik*. At the period under notice, flourished Rughoo Nundun Goshwami, who published an elaborate poem named রাম রায় Ram Rashayan based on the Ramayana of Valmiki, which is of some merit. The writers of this period, who were not educated in English, indulged in indecent language, and it is, therefore, to the credit of this poet, who was a good Sanskrit scholar, that he avoided such language altogether. Various Kothuks, Kirtan-wallas, Panchali-wallas, Jatra-wallas, Kabi-wallas and singing bands flourished at this time. The Kothuks are the expounders of the Poorans and other Shastras. They sit on a Vedi, or raised seat, and address the audience on incidents appertaining to the Shastras, supplementing the same with explanations of their own, and singing songs bearing on the subject treated. This is done by one individual among them. Shreedhur Kothuk was the most distinguished of these men and composed several songs of great merit. Kirtanwallas are those who take incidents from the life of Shree Krishna, and narrate them to the audience, the monotony of their recitations being broken by the singing of songs. Mudhop Kan and Mohun Das composed excellent songs for these parties. The Panchali-wallas entertain their hearers by reciting in poetry striking incidents from the Poorans. Some rhapsodists flourished



at this time who composed stanzas and songs for these parties, and, among them, Dasorothi Roi made himself famous by composing some excellent songs, which are more or less known throughout Bengal, and are sung by many persons to this day. The Jattrawallas are dramatical companies. Their performances are based on the doings of gods and saints. No stage is put up, but the actors take the parts of the persons connected with the plays. Songs occupy a prominent place in these plays, which are intended for amusement as well as instruction. Among the Jattrawallas, the parties formed by Modun Mastir and Gopulay Ooray made themselves famous, and the songs they composed were very popular. We have already said something about the Kabi-wallas, and nothing further need be mentioned regarding them. Besides these, there were at this time other singing parties, such as Chundi and Moonsha. All these contributed not a little towards the improvement of Bengali literature.

We now come to two great men, through whose exertions both poetry and prose writing received a great impetus. We allude to Madan Mohan Turkalonkar and Eshwara Chundra Goopta. Madan Mohan published two poems named *Rasa Tarangini* রস তরঙ্গিনী and *Basub Datta* বাসবদত্তা. The first was a translation from Sanscrit verse, and the other a tale based on the Sanscrit work of the same name.\* These two books displayed the writer's poetical genius, but we must give him special credit for what he did with regard to prose writing. There were at that time no good primers for students. He published (*শিশু বোধক*) *Shishoo Bodhuk* and (*নীতি কথা*) *Nitikhatha*, which were written in chaste and simple language. They were in the first instance published for use in the female school established by the Hon'ble J. D. Bethune, member of the Governor-General's Council for Education, and were subsequently introduced into all the schools of Bengal. Besides these, he started a monthly periodical called *Sarba Soobhakari* সৰ্ব শুব্ধকরী, dealing with subjects of great interest. In this periodical appeared an article on *Stri Shiksha* (female education), written in so good a style, that it received commendation from the learned men of the time, and was considered a masterpiece of Bengali composition. In the year 1850, Madan Mohan left Calcutta for Moorshedabad as Judge Pundit, after which he discontinued his literary pursuits.

Something must now be said of Eshwara Chundra Goopta, the greatest poet of his time. He had a large measure of power divine. It may be said of him that he lisped and the numbers came. When only a boy of five years of age,

a couplet came from his lips. Eshwara Chundra did not receive a good education, but the genius he possessed soon brought him to fame. He edited four periodicals, viz., The *Probhakar*, which was at first started as a weekly, but afterwards became a daily newspaper, the *Sadhoo Run-gum* and the *Pashanda Peran*, weekly periodicals, and the monthly *Probhakur*. The *Pashanda Peran* existed only for a time. It was started simply to carry on a logomachy with Gouri Shunkur Bhattacharjia, who, through the *Rosoraj*, cracked jokes with him. These two periodicals were filled with uncouth writing which did not speak well for the two editors. Poetry occupied a prominent place in the *Prabhakur* and the *Sadhoo Runjun*. But, as the space in these two journals was limited, Eshwara Chunder started the monthly *Probhakur*, which was set apart for general literature. His poetry held the people of Bengal spell-bound. He wrote also a good deal in prose. He rendered a signal service to Bengali literature by writing the lives of some of the eminent poets of Bengal, viz., Bharat Chunder, Ramprosad Sen and Mukoonduram. He published the hymns of Ramprosad and the songs of the Kabi-wallas, which were only in the mouths of the people, and would have been lost to the public had he not taken the trouble of collecting them. He took also great pains in collecting incidents connected with the lives of the ancient poets of Bengal, all of which appeared in the monthly *Probhakur*. The life of Bharat Chunder appeared only in the form of a book. But the accounts of the other eminent men that appeared in the *Probhakur* were greatly utilised by the writers who succeeded him. Eshwara Chundra worked very hard. In addition to his writings in the journals, he composed short pieces of poetry and songs for the singing parties, viz., the Kabi and the Half-akrai. In this manner he gained a prominent place everywhere. But the greatest service rendered by him was his support of young men of talent, many of whom used to send him contributions in poetry and prose. It was his task to correct these writings and to give them a prominent place in his periodicals, with some words of encouragement. He used to convene a literary meeting every year, in the month of Byshak, to which the eminent men of the day were invited, and at which essays by young men were read and rewards were given to the writers of the best ones. Some of the eminent authors of the present era, contributed articles to the periodicals edited by Eshwara Gooptu, and were his pupils. Eshwara Chundra wrote a good deal in prose. But his prose writing was so full of alliterations and savoured so much of poetry, that it failed to give satisfaction to the literary public. Some of his pupils, however, used to write excellent articles in prose, and these appeared in the

*Probhakur*. Among them, those written by Akhoy Coomar Dutt were masterpieces in that branch. Eshwara Chunder, towards the close of his life, wrote some books. They were (1), Probodha Probhakur প্রবোধ প্রভাকর a philosophical work in prose and poetry\*. (2) Hita Probhakur (হিত প্রভাকর), a book on morality, in prose and poetry, based on the Sanscrit work Hitopodesh; and (3) Bodhendoo Bekasha, a dramatical work based on the Probodha Chundradoya in Sanscrit, describing the war between the passions and the noble qualities of the heart. The last named work is the best of Eshwara Chunder's efforts. It contains some masterpieces of poetry which stand unrivalled to this day. This work appeared at first in the monthly *Probhakur*, and, after the death of the poet, his brother published the first part of it. It is a pity that, owing to the apathy of the educated public, the second part of this excellent work remains unpublished. Eshwara Chunder commenced an original dramatic work named কালি নাটক Kali Natuk, but he did not live to finish it. He breathed his last in the year 1858 at the age of 49.

The poetry of Eshwara Chunder Gupta is elegant and mellifluous. It flows from the spring of nature. It passes through hills and dales, woods and plains. No canal is cut to carry it into fields that would yield a rich harvest. It is just like the precious metal in its original state. No art is applied to take the dross out of it. In fine, his poetry was natural and not studied. He wrote on any thing that came in his way; on the late Sepoy Mutiny; the Sikh, and the Burmese wars; on New Year's Day, Christmas and all the festivals of the Hindus. He delineated the incidents connected with the domestic life of a Hindu. Some of the poems of Eshwara Chunder are humorous. The poet had occasion to go to a place where he could find no suitable food, and had to pass the day on the flesh of a goat, and he wrote a humorous poem in eulogy of the animal. He wrote also on fruits and vegetables. Eshwara Chunder was also a satirist. His poetry was directed to exposing the hypocritical Brahmins who practised a show of religion, but scrupled not to perform in secret the most heinous deeds, and to ridiculing the English-educated young men who imitated the foibles of the Europeans, by giving undue liberty to women and by partaking of foreign food. In poems of this sort, he stands unrivalled to this day. Towards the close of his career, he wrote some excellent poems on religious and moral subjects. It will thus be seen that Eshwara Chunder Gooptha has rendered invaluable services to his countrymen.

\* Only one part of the work was published. The poet did not live to complete it.

For some time the rush towards English education left him almost unnoticed. But it is satisfactory to note that Babu Bankim Chunder, the great novelist of the present day, who was the poet's pupil in his early days, has published two volumes of his poems, with a sketch of his life. After Eshwara Chunder, a number of poets sprang up, who were more or less the result of the great impetus which he gave to poetical composition.

Two poets flourished in East Bengal, who wrote some excellent poems. One of these was Hurish Chundra Mitra and the other Krishna Chunder Mozumdar. The former conducted a monthly periodical called *Mitra Prokash*, which was filled with poetical writings. He published also বিধবা বঙ্গাবলা Bidhoba Bungongona, and some other excellent poems. Krishna Chunder Mozumdar published an another poem called Sadbhab Satuk সদ্ভাব শতক, containing noble sentiments in religion and morality, and written on the model of the poems of Hafiz, the famous Persian poet. Pryonath Bose and Radhamadhub Mitra also wrote some good poems. The former published a poem called Prya Kabya, and the latter wrote some poetical primers for use in schools.

We now come to a period when poetry, as well as prose writing, attained a very high state of progress. We will call this the present time. Volumes might be written on the eminent writers of this period, but we will take only a short review of them, dividing our subject into two parts,—poetry and prose writing.

We have now come to a class of writers whose compositions are more or less influenced by the English style and method of composition. In poetical composition, Rungo Lall Banejee set the example. The poets who preceded him composed poems on love fêtes and on religious and social subjects. They made use of indecent expressions. But Rungolal adopted a new plan. In his early days, he read a good deal of English poetry, and the patriotic and chaste composition of the English poets made an impression upon him. He published three excellent poems, namely, Pudmni Oopaikhyan, Karma Dabee and Shoora Soondari. These were historical tales based on Col. Todd's account of the Rajpoots in his Rajasthan. In them the poet has depicted in forcible language the patriotism of the Rajputs and their martial spirit. He has also shown to advantage the courage, patriotic spirit, and chastity of the Rajput women. He wrote besides a good deal in prose and contributed to several periodicals, and was the editor of some. But in the history of Bengali literature, he will be recognised as a distinguished poet.

We now come to the far-famed Modhu Soodun Dutt—who has called the Milton of Bengal. Modhu Soodun was a scholar of great renown. There was something peculiar in him. In the 16th year of his age he adopted the Christian religion. After completing his education in Calcutta, he went to Madras, where he distinguished himself very much by his writings and edited a journal in English. He had a great taste for poetry, and wrote some excellent short poems in the English language. Whilst at Madras, he married a European lady. After a few years, he came back to Calcutta. He adopted English costume and English food, and disliked the Bengali language. But a sudden change came upon him. His first poem তিলোত্তমা সত্ত্ব কাব্য, *Tilottoma Sombhaba Kabya*, appeared in the বহুস্ত সন্দর্ভ *Rahashya Sondarbha*—a magazine conducted by Rajendra Lala Mitra, and was written in blank verse. Modhu Soodun was the first poet to introduce this form of composition into the Bengali language. This poem was afterwards published in the form of a book. In two years, Modhu Soodun placed before the public twelve poems and dramatical works. His fame as a poet spread abroad, and some educated gentlemen went the length of assigning him the first place among the poets of Bengal. Meghnada Badha Kabya মেঘনাদ বধ কাব্য, the grandest epic poem in the Bengali language, will stand for ever as a monument of his genius. His dramatical works are also of great merit, and are written after the mode of English dramas. In his after life he became so much attached to Bengali, that he wrote a poem during his sojourn in France. It is satisfactory to note that his countrymen showed their appreciation of his writing, by convening a meeting of the learned gentlemen of Bengal, at which they gave him a suitable present in recognition of the valuable services rendered by him to Bengali literature.

We will now give a short notice of two eminent men to whom the Bengali language owes much for their dramatical compositions.

We allude to Ramnarain Turkuratna and Denabundho Mitra. Ramnarain was the first to publish a dramatic work in the Bengali language. He wrote six dramas, of which two were against social practices. The first one, named (কুলীন কুল সর্ভা) *Kulina-Kulu-Sarbasya*, was written against the *Kulinism* prevalent in Bengal, and the second, entitled নবনাটক *Nabanatuk*, depicted the evils of polygamy. The other dramas were either based on incidents related in the *Pooranas*, or were translations from Sanskrit works. The next dramatist was the far-famed Denobundho Mitra. His first dramatic

work was Neel Darpan (নীল দর্পণ), or the Indigo Mirror. It was published in the year 1860. Though not of great merit, the good it did to the oppressed *ryots* of Bengal was immense. The oppression of the Indigo-planters touched the tender heart of Denobundho, and he published this work depicting the sufferings of the poor men in glowing terms. To attract the attention of kind-hearted European gentlemen, the great philanthropist, the Revd. J. Long, translated the work into English and published it. For this he was sentenced to imprisonment for one month, with a fine of one thousand rupees. The amount of the fine was paid by Kaliprosunno Singha, the publisher of the Mohabharat in Bengali. His second dramatic work (নবীন তপস্বিনী নাটক) Nobin Tapaswini Nataka spread his name throughout the country. This was followed by (নীলাবতী) Leelabati, Komola Kamini (কমল কামিনী) and other dramatical works, which established his fame as the best dramatic writer of Bengal. Besides these he wrote some poems also, which are no doubt of merit. But it was dramatic composition in which he displayed his genius and achieved the greatest success.

After Denobundho, Monmohun Bose and Rajkissen Roy published some very good dramatic works. They are both living ; and the former has written some good works in prose also. The latter is energetic in his literary pursuits. Besides some good dramas, he has written several poems and novels, and also a History of Russia. Noticing the immoral tendencies of the stage, he has organised a theatrical party on a new model. His religious dramas, such as (প্রহ্লাদ চরিত্র) Prohlad Charitra and (রামের বনবাস) Exile of Rama, have been acted on the stage. They have attracted the attention of the public, and will, it is hoped, succeed in instilling a religious and moral spirit into the young men of the day.

\* In connection with this subject, it must be said that the method of imparting religious and moral instruction through the stage originated with the late Keshub Chunder Sen. At his instance, Trailuckyanath Sanyal composed the Nobo-Brindabun Natuk (নব বৃন্দাবন নাটক) and its performance achieved a signal success. But for want of funds, the Brahmos have not been able to continue this mode of religious instruction. It must be admitted, however, that the example thus set has done not a little to improve the theatres of Calcutta.

Two other prominent names must be mentioned in connection with the theatres of Bengal. One is that of Keshub Chunder Ganguli and the other of Grish Chunder Ghose. The former flourished in the first epoch of the theatrical era, and did much in managing the work of the theatres and instructing the actors.

The latter is still doing the same work ; but prominent mention must be made of him in connection with several dramatic works written by him. Among them, Chaitanya Leela (চৈতন্য লীলা), Budhu Deva Charit (বুধদেব চরিত) and Bilwa Mongal (বিল্ব মঙ্গল) are worthy of notice. The enactment of these in the theatres of Calcutta excites the religious feelings of the people to such an extent, that they consider themselves at the time to be in the midst of a religious assembly. Girish Chunder is also a great humourist ; and his farcical trials greatly amuse the audience.

Nobin Chunder Sen has acquired considerable fame as a poet. His poem (পলাশীর যুদ্ধ), the Battle of Pallasy, is well written. The description of the battle is vivid, and does credit to a native of Bengal of the present era, not influenced by military zeal. His Abokash Runjini (অবকাশ রঞ্জিনী) is also a good poem. It shows to full advantage the patriotism and courage with which our young men should be imbued. His Rongomati is filled with vivid descriptions of nature, and for his power of delineating natural scenes he deserves to take a prominent place among the poets of Bengal.

We now come to Hem Chunder Banerjee, the first living poet of Bengal. He has published several books, one of which is a drama, and the rest are poems. Britra Songhar (ব্রত সংহার) an epic poem of great merit, is his principal work. Though written on the model of the Meghnada Bodha, Britra Songhar has, in certain respects, surpassed that grand epic Hem Chunder has, in a vivid way, portrayed the characters of the persons who played a prominent part in the exploits delineated in the poem, and has set forth instances of heroism and patriotism in brilliant colors. His Kabitabali (কবিতাবলী) contains some very excellent poems, which made him popular before Britra Songhar appeared. They are spirit-stirring and full of patriotism.

Among the poets of Bengal, Robindranath Tagore occupies a prominent place. He has published several books, some of them prose works and dramas ; but his genius has chiefly manifested itself in poetical composition. His poetry is mellifluous, and he has composed a great number of songs, many of which are excellent. In lyric poetry, Robindranath holds the first rank. He is now in the fervour of youth, and we expect a good deal from him.

Miss Sen, a lady graduate, has published a volume of poems under the title of (আলো কান্না) Light and Shadow. She has followed Robindranath in the new path opened by him. The volume

does her great credit, breathing throughout, as it does, noble sentiments touching on duty and universal love. Hem Chunder Banerjee, the poet, who has written a preface to the volume, has spoken of it in the most favorable terms, and a reviewer of it has said that, "if she continues in her art and matures it, she is destined to occupy in time the same position in Bengali poetry that Tennyson does in England."

There are many other poets of note; but it is not possible to notice all of them in a paper like this. We cannot, however, pass over this subject without mentioning the names of Pundit Shivanath Shastri, Trailokyanath Sanyal, Behari Lal Chuckerbutty, Gobinda Chunder Dass, Akshoy Kumar Bural, Nimai Chand Seel and Girindra Mohini Dasi who have written some excellent books. Among these authors, Trailokyanath has composed some very good hymns, and is known as the singing apostle of the Brahma Somaj of India. He has made his appearance under the *nom-de-plume* of Cheranjiva Sharma, and his last work (বিশ শতাব্দী আশা কার্য) i. e., a poem of hope of the 20th century, in which he has depicted, in vivid colors, the establishment of a religion of universal love, will undoubtedly make him Chiranjivi, i. e., immortal.

We will now treat of prose-writing. A firmament of wide expanse, filled with luminaries, is now before us. Two stars of the first magnitude at once attract our attention. They are Pundit Eshwara Chandra Vidyasagar and Aksha Kumar Dutta. These two learned men have formed the Bengali language; and their names will, therefore, be remembered with gratitude for ever. It should be borne in mind that the writings of the present time are purified by English thought. They are free from the impurities which polluted the writings of the authors of the preceding period. Vidyasagara, so far as we know, has published thirty books, many of which have been introduced into the schools and colleges of Bengal. His Baital Puncho Bingsati (বেতাল পঞ্চ বিংশতি), Sakontola (শকুন্তলা) and Sitar Bonobash (Exile of Seeta) are masterpieces of Bengali composition. He has translated Marshman's History of Bengal into the Bengali language, and has published the lives of some great men taken from Chambers' Biography. His Bodhodaya (বেদোদয়) is based on Chambers' Rudiments of Knowledge. In fact, he collected all that he found good in the Sanscrit and English languages, and placed them before his countrymen. In connection with the movement regarding the re-marriage of widows and the abolition of polygamy among the Kulins of Bengal, he published some very able books. In these he displayed his vast knowledge of the Hindu



Shastras and great argumentative power. When his first book on the re-marriage of widows appeared, he was assailed with pamphlets written against it by the Pundits, filled with abusive terms. Vidyasagara thereupon wrote a second book, in which he not only displayed his great power of argument, but showed his countrymen that courteous language should be used in giving replies to questions put by others in an offensive manner. Although Vidyasagara was abused by the orthodox Hindus, blessings came to him from many persons and in various ways. Some composed songs in praise of him, which were sung throughout Bengal, others manufactured cloths with a motto on the border, blessing him for the great movement set on foot by him; and, above all, two dramas were written by two energetic gentlemen in connection with the movement.

Besides the publication of books, Vidyasagara rendered service to the Bengali language in his capacities of Principal of the Sanscrit College and Inspector of Normal and Model Schools. He proposed a scheme of instruction in Vernacular Schools, which was adopted by the Bengal Government. By his efforts, more than fifty girls' schools were established in the Hooghly and Burdwan Districts. Vidyasagara left the Government service in November, 1858, but he did not cease to write. He did not, however, continue long in this occupation, but devoted himself to the establishment of an institution, which met with great success. The Metropolitan Institution occupies a superb position among the schools and colleges of Bengal.

Consequent on his poor circumstances, Akshaj Kumar had not the advantage of a good school education. It was by self-study that he became a great man. His principal object was to write on good subjects in his mother-tongue, and with this view he sought knowledge from all available sources. He read many English books at home; he studied French, in order to peruse some good books in that language, and he attended lectures on botany, chemistry and other subjects in the Medical College. The work he was thus enabled to write had the effect of warding off from young men the atheistic ideas which the study of European philosophies had engendered in them at that time: His articles used to appear at first in the *Probhakar*. He afterwards became the editor of the *Tutwabodhini Patrika* (তত্ত্ব বোধিনী পত্রিকা), which was conducted by him with so great ability, that it became the first monthly magazine of the time. His articles were so well written, that, notwithstanding the great rush towards English, educated men were seen anxiously expecting

the arrival of the Patrika. His writings are philosophical. He was the first to place before the reader, the wisdom and goodness of God as manifested in the creation, and was thus the religious instructor of his countrymen. He published eight books which were chiefly reprints of the articles that had appeared in the *Probhakar* and the *Tatwabodhini*. His *Dharmaniti* (ধর্মনীতি), an excellent book on Morality, his *Constitution of Man* (বাহ্য বস্তুর সহিত মানব প্রকৃতির সম্বন্ধ বিচার), based on Comb's work on the same subject, his natural philosophy (পদার্থ বিদ্যা) and his three volumes of essays, named *Charoopath* (চারু পাঠ) have done much good to the young men of the country. They are valuable contributions to the Bengali language and are read with pleasure by the educated. Some of them form a part of the curriculum in the schools and colleges of Bengal. His principal work is the *Religious Sects of India* (ভারতবর্ষীয় উপাসক মন্ত্র দ্বার) in 614 pages, including an introduction of 282 pages. In the introduction, the author has shown his great learning and power of research in his delineation of the manners, customs and religious views of the ancient Hindus and his comments on them. The exertions made by Akshai Kumar shattered his health to such an extent that he was compelled to retire from the world in the 37th year of his age. After this, he had a very miserable life from which he obtained relief a few years ago. In this unhappy state, however, he did not forget the mission of his life. It was at this period that he completed the second volume of his "Religious Sects of India."

We will now take a review of the writings of some other authors which did not a little to enrich the Bengali language. Nilmony Bosak wrote some excellent books, among which, *Naba-nari* (নব-নারী), "The Nine Women," occupies a high place. Pundit Tarasunker wrote a tale named *Kadambari* (কাদম্বরী), based on a Sanscrit work of that name. It is well-written, though the language of it is difficult. Bhodeb Mukerjee published some good books. They are, *Natural Philosophy*, *Essence of History*, *History of England*, *History of Greece* and a historical tale. Besides books, Bhudeb Mookerjee undertook to edit the *Education Gazette*, which has done not a little to enrich the Bengali language, and he prepared a scheme for conducting vernacular schools which was adopted by Government. His tale, which is the first of its kind, depicts the great Shivaji's love with Roshinara, a daughter of Aurungzebe,

and, in connection with it, gives vivid accounts of the patriotism, bravery and exploits of that great man.

At this time there was a great rush towards every thing that was English. The *Shastras* of the Hindus were regarded by educated young men as cunningly devised fables, and the manners and customs of the Hindus as the outcome of superstition. Rajnarain Bose placed before these young men two excellent books named ( হিন্দু ধর্মের অধিকার ), "Superiority of the Hindu Religion," and ( ব্রহ্মাধর্মের অধিকার ), "Past and Present Time." The former shows, by quotations from the *Shastras*, the superiority of the Hindu religion over all other religions; and the latter, by a comparison of society as it existed in ancient times with what it is at present, shows the extent to which Hindus have degenerated. These two books turned the tide towards Hinduism. In addition to this, Rajnarain Bose, by his able lectures succeeded in creating, in the minds of young men, a love for Hindu religion, Hindu philosophy, and Bengali literature. One of his stirring lectures led to the establishment of the National Association of Calcutta. His *Dharma Tatwa Dipika* ( ধর্ম তত্ত্ব দীপিকা ) a book on religious enquiry, is an excellent work. Although he has retired from the service, his efforts towards the welfare of his countrymen are as earnest as ever, and he has at heart the establishment of a *Maha Hindu Samiti* (Great Hindu Union), for the advancement of the Hindoos in arts and sciences, trades and professions, &c., in connection with which he has published a very able pamphlet in Bengali.

Although Maharshi Devendranath Tagore cannot be reckoned among literary characters, the mission of his life being the religious regeneration of India, the sermons delivered by him are so excellent, that they cannot be passed over in silence. His collection of sermons, a voluminous book, stands as a gem in the Bengali language. His *Brahma Dharma*, which from its name may seem to be intended for the Brahmos, is an excellent book containing sublime thoughts of the sages of ancient India relating to the Divine Being and man's duties to his fellow brethren. The Maharshi's erudite explanations of the sayings of the sages greatly enhance the value of the work.

Pundit Ramgutty Nayarutna is a good writer in Bengali. He published a History of Bengal, a History of India, a book on the Bengali language, a grammar in Bengali, a tale, and some books for young readers.

Some magazines also appeared at this time, and although they have ceased to exist, they did much good while they lasted. The *Vidya Darshan* (বিদ্যা দর্শন) appeared in the year 1842, and was

edited by the far-famed Akshai Kumar Dutta. It lived for one year only. The *Surva Soovhakari* (সর্ব সুভকারী) appeared in the year 1850. Pundits Eshwara Chunder and Madan Mohan contributed to this magazine. In the next year appeared the *Bibidhartha Sangraha* (বিবিধার্থ সংগ্রহ), an illustrated magazine. It was edited by Rajendra Lala Mitra and was conducted with great ability. It contained articles on general literature, history, zoology, geology, arts, &c. This magazine appeared afterwards under the name of *Rahasya Sondarbha* (রহস্য সন্দর্ভ). In 1854 appeared a magazine named *Masik Patrika* (মাসিক পত্রিকা), conducted by Peary Chand Mitra and Radhanath Shikdar. In 1864, Bhudeb Mukerjee started a monthly paper called *Shiksha-Darpana* or *The Mirror of Instruction*. It ceased to exist in the year 1869.

We now come to two savants: they are Doctors K. M. Banerjee and Pundit Dwijendranath Tagore. The former, it is to be regretted, has closed his earthly career; but the latter is still in our midst. Doctor Banerjee, although a Christian, did much for the cause of Bengali literature. His elaborate work reviewing the six philosophical treatises (ষড়দর্শন সংবাদ) stands in the Bengali language as a monument of his vast learning. Pundit Dwijendranath has published a work on philosophy (ভূত বিজ্ঞান), *Supna Proyan* (সপ্ন প্রয়ান), a poem, and some pamphlets criticising the doings of those who adopt foreign manners and customs. The *Supna Proyan* is a work of merit, but his *Tutwa Vidya* is a learned work which does great credit to him. He is now editing with ability the *Tutwabodhini Patrika* (ভূত বোধিনী পত্রিকা), in which are published learned articles on philosophy from his able pen.

Pundit Dwarkanath Vidya Bhooshun holds a very high place in Bengali literature. But though the books written by him are no doubt of merit, they have not made him widely known. He is the author of a book of moral lessons for boys, in two parts, a *History of Greece*, a *History of Rome*, and a work, named (দেব দেবের মর্ত্যে আগমন), on the arrival of the gods on earth. The last was published after his death. It is the *Soma-Prokasha*, however, that has made his name a household word in Bengal. This journal was conducted by the Pundit with great ability, and held in Bengali the same position which the *Hindu Patriot* did in English.

Among the learned men of East Bengal, Kali Prosonno Ghose, the Emerson of Bengal, holds a high position. His writings are thoughtful. His *Night Thoughts* (রাত্রির চিন্তা) and *Morning Thoughts* (প্রভাত চিন্তা) are regarded as gems in Bengali litera-

ture. He edits a magazine named *Bandhub* (বান্ধব) with great ability and is an able lecturer.

Gopal Chunder Banerjee wrote many books, chiefly intended for schools, and has treated upon various subjects. Among his works, (শিক্ষা প্রণালী) Mode of Instruction, (হিত-শিক্ষা) Useful instructions, (পাণী গণিত) Arithmetic, and a dictionary in Bengali and English deserve notice.

We now come to Peary Chand Mitra, who deviated from the path followed by the preceding writers, and adopted the colloquial style of writing. He wrote several books. Two of them depicted the evils of society, one being didactic and two others treating of religious subjects. Notwithstanding the new style adopted by him, the books are of great value. One of his works (আলোলের ঘরের ছানাল), The Spoilt Boy, has been translated into English. The new style became popular, and several writers who followed him adopted it, among whom, we may mention the name of Kaliprosonno Singhee, the author of the famous book (হুতম প্যাঁচার নক্সা), The Mysteries of Calcutta.

The great novelist of the present day, Bunkim Chunder Chatterjee, now appears before us. A better painter of human nature has never appeared in Bengal. Although he has followed the style of Peary Chand to a certain extent, Bunkim Chunder has made a considerable improvement on it. He has written several novels in Bengali. Two of them, named (ছর্গেশ নন্দিনী), The Chieftain's Daughter and (বিষ বৃক্ষ), The Poison Tree, have been translated into English. Most of these novels dealt largely with love passages. His *Ananda Matha* (আনন্দ মঠ) is in another vein. Latterly he has come forward as an advocate of the cause of the Hindu religion, and has written a book on religion, named *Dharma Tutwa* (ধর্ম তত্ত্ব), and has published a life of Krishna, describing him as the greatest among the great men of the world. Some time ago he undertook to translate the *Bhagbut Geeta* (ভগবদ্ গীতা), but we have not heard of its having been completed. For many years he edited a monthly magazine named *Banga Durshana* (বঙ্গ দর্শন), which contained his own writings as well as those of other learned men, and did much to enrich the Bengali language.

A number of novelists followed Bunkim Chunder. Devi Prosonno Rai Chowdry has written several novels the object of which is to reform society. He has also written some other books on general topics, and is the editor of a monthly magazine called *Nabya Bharat* (New India), which is well conducted. Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.S., C.I.E. has written some excellent

novels based on the exploits of the Hindoos, and has translated the Rig Veda into Bengali, which is a gigantic task. Chundi Churn Sen has written three very good novels based on some stirring events connected with the history of India : they are Maharaj Nandocomar, Gunga Govindo Sinha and the Begum of Oudh. It would fill a volume to notice all the novelists of Bengal. We may, however, mention Taruk Nath Ganguli, whose Sarnolota (সর্নলতা) has been translated into English, Gopal Chunder Mukerji, author of (বৌরনে বৌগীণী) Young Female Ascetic, Horo Lal Roy, author of (হেমলতা) Hemlata and four other novels, Moti Lal Bose, author of (দুঃ কাহিনী), A Tale of Sorrows, and other novels, and last, though not least, Sarna Kumari Devi, the authoress of (দীপ নিরঞ্জন) Deepa-nirvana and other excellent works. The last is an ornament to her sex, and is editing the (ভারতী) *Bharati*, a monthly magazine, with great ability. She also writes on astronomy and other scientific subjects in a masterly manner.

Indronath Banerjee has written some novels, but is better known as a wit. His satires on the reformers of the present day are incisive. The tendency of his writings is to ridicule every movement set on foot to reform Hindu society. This is not what it should be. We admire him for his criticisms on the so-called reformers, who see nothing good in Hindu society, but at the same time we cannot support him when he advocates keeping it in its present state. Every well-wisher of his country, whilst endeavouring to preserve what is good, must admit that certain evils have found a place in Hindu society, and that every endeavour should be made to remove them. Panchoo Thakoor (পাঁচু ঠাকুর) and Bharat Oodhar (ভারত উদ্ধার) are his two famous satirical works.

We now come to the great historian of Bengal—Rojoni Kanto Gupta. He has written a History of India, of the Hindu, Moslem and English periods, and an elaborate History of the Sepoy Mutiny. His Exploits of the Ancient Hindus in five parts is also an excellent work. He has published another historical work, named Bharat Kahini (ভারত কাহিনী), or Indian Tales, and some books on general subjects. At the request of Mr. Malabari, he has translated Professor Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures into Bengali. The (কিৰ্ত্তন বংশাবলী চরিত), History of the Krishnagar Raj Family, by Kartikaya Chundra Roy, as also the Annals and Chronicles of Tripura and the History of the Sen Kings of Bengal, by Koylash Chunder Sen, deserve mention.

From the historians, we pass naturally to the biographers.

Among them, Trailokyanath Sanyal, who has published the lives of Jesus Christ, Chaitanya Deva and Keshab Chunder; Krishna Kumar Mitra, who has published the lives of Buddha Deva and Mahomet, and a collection of the lives of some eminent persons of the West; Nogendranath Chatterjee who has published the lives of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy and Theodore Parker; Abinash Chunder Dass who has published a life of Seeta Davee, and Jogendronath Vidya Bhooshun, who has published the lives of Mill, Mazzini and Garibaldi, are worthy of notice. We must also mention the name of Jagadishwara Gupta, the author of an elaborate and well-written life of Chaitanya Deva. This worthy son of India has, to our misfortune,\* lately breathed his last. An elaborate life of the Empress Victoria, the author of which is not known to us that of St. Paul by Debendronath Mukerjee† and that of Ram Krishna Paramahansa, by Ram Chundra Dutta, are also works of merit.

Among other writers of note are Doctor Ram Das Sen and Prophulla Chunder Banerjee, who have written some excellent books. The Aitihashik Rahashya (Secrets of History) by the former, and the Greek and Hindu by the latter, display a great power of research. The former who died a few years ago, was a zemindar, and it must be said in his praise that, by devoting himself to Bengali literature, he set a good example to the rich men of Bengal. Kherode Chunder Rai Chowdhry has appeared with an erudite work on the Evolution of Man, based on the writings of Darwin, Spencer, Huxley and other savants.

Two other well-known writers are Akshaj Chundra Sirkar and Chundranath Bose. The former edited the *Naba Jeevana*, a monthly magazine, and the *Sadharani*, a weekly paper, with marked ability for several years, and he has rendered further service to Bengali literature by publishing the works of the ancient poets of Bengal, Vidyapati, Chandi Das and others. The latter is a good essayist, and his contributions to the magazines of the present day are of great merit. He is the author of some excellent books also.

A laudable endeavour has been made by several educated gentlemen, to place before the public the philosophical and religious literature of ancient times. Among them, some have made selections from, and others versions of, the Sacred Books. Among them, the names of Chundra Shikhar Bosu and Bipin Behari Ghosal deserve mention. Chundra Shikhar has published Vedanta Prokash, Vedanta Darshana, (সৃষ্টি) Creation, (কল্যাণ)

\* 8th July 1892.

† That of Dwarkanath Mitra by Kaliprosanno Dutt.

তত্ত্ব) Destruction, 'পরলোক তত্ত্ব) the Next World and (হিন্দু ধর্মের উৎদেশ) Teachings of the Hindu Shastras. They are all based on the Hindu Shastras, and contain valuable comments by the author on the subjects treated. His original work (অধিকার তত্ত্ব) Adhikar Tutwa, in which he shows that the Hindu family places no obstacles in the way of one who wishes to worship God in spirit and in truth, and his volume of religious lectures are also of great merit. Bipin Behari has done good service to his Hindu brethren by placing before them two very useful compilations—one on "Salvation and How to Obtain it," and the other on the Hindu Shastras. His compilations are based on the Vedas, the Smritis, the Pooranas and the Tantras, and have been made in a systematic manner. He has also tried to reconcile the discrepancies found in the different Shastras, and has shown that they contain injunctions of various natures to suit men in different stages of religious progress.

Among those who have published translations of the religious books of the Hindus, Protap Chunder Roy, C.I.E., the translator of the Mahabharat and the Ramayana, Mohesh Chunder Pal, the translator of the Upanishads, and the proprietors of the *Bungobashi*, the translators of the Smritis, Pooranas and Tantras, deserve special mention. But, while speaking of these writers, we must not forget to mention the names of the late Kaliprosonno Sinha, a zemindar of Calcutta, and Maharajah Mahatab Chand of Burdwan, who, by translating the Mahabharat, through some able Pundits, set an example to others. It is worthy of notice that no less than six versions of the Sanskrit Bhogabat Geeta have been made in Bengali, among which, that by Shrikrishnanda Swamia, *alias* Shree Krishna Prosonno Sen, with commentaries and explanatory notes, is the best.

Endeavour has also been made to translate into Bengali works of foreign nations. Girish Chunder Sen has translated the Koran Sheriff, the Hadish, or instructions by Mahomet regarding prayer, and the Tejkaratuloulia, or lives of Mahomedan Saints. The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, by Lieutenant-Colonel Tod, have been translated into Bengali, and the translation of the five volumes of the Statistical Accounts of Bengal, by Dr. Hunter, has been undertaken by a Bengali gentlemen, while, in the department of light literature, translations have been made of the Arabian Nights, Persian Tales and Reynolds' Mysteries.

Besides translations, some original works on religion have been published. Among them, Dharma Bakhya, or Explanations about Religion, by Pundit Shoshodhara Turko Choora-



moni, and Dharma Bijnan Beeja, The Roots of Religious Knowledge, deserve notice.

Prominent mention should be made of the religious reformers who, by their sermons and lectures, have done not a little to enrich the Bengali language. Among them, the names of Sreekrishna Prosonno Sen, Nogendranath Chatterjee, Pundit Shivanath Shastri, Pundit Ramkumar Vidya Rutna, Pundit Shashadhar Turko Chooramoni, Keshub Chunder Sen and Protap Chunder Mozoomdar are conspicuous

Several books, advocating the cause of temperance, have appeared. Among them, one under the title of Soorapana ba Bisha-pana, *i.e.* Wine Drinking or Poison Drinking, by a member of the Band of Hope of Calcutta, is the best. It is a work of 245 pages, and deserves praise both for its style and for the good cause it advocates.

There are some books on travelling in India and other parts of the world. Among them, Mishar Yatri Bengali, *i.e.* A Bengali Pilgrim to Egypt, by Sham Lal Mitra, is worth mentioning.

Some medical works of great merit have also been published. Among them, Chikitsha Tutwa Baridhi, by Ambika Churn Gupta, takes a prominent place. It deals with allopathic, homæopathic and Native methods of treatment, and the fact of its having reached a fourth edition shows its popularity. In addition to original works, the Sanskrit medical works of ancient times have been translated into Bengali.

The field of Science is not left untrodden. Books on surveying, mensuration, geometry, trigonometry, arithmetic and algebra, too numerous to mention, as also natural histories and natural philosophies, have appeared in the Bengali language; and many works on law have also been published,

There are some good dictionaries in the Bengali language. Among them, the Prokritibad, by Pundit Ram Komul Vidyalonkar, takes a prominent place. It is an illustrated dictionary of 1,108 pages, and contains the root, inflection and literal meaning of every word, as also the gender of every substantive. Whilst on this subject, mention must be made of a gigantic work named the Vishwa Kosha, or Universal Dictionary of the Bengali Language. This work was at first undertaken by Rungo Lal Mukerji, and Trilokyonath Mukerji, but it has now been taken over by Nogendronath Basu and Woopendro Chundra Bosu. It contains the meanings of words in Sanskrit, Bengali, Arabic, Persian, Hindi and other dialects, as also historical, geographical and scientific terms, with accounts of distinguished men and the religious sects of ancient and modern times. In fact, it is an encyclopædia of the Bengali language. Three volumes of the work have already been published, the first volume being of 696 pages,

the second of 576 pages and the third of 640 pages. The fourth volume is being issued in parts, 128 pages of it having already appeared. The vowels are finished, and the consonants have only begun. It can be inferred from this what a voluminous work it will be when completed.

The periodicals have done not much to improve the Bengali language. It would fill many pages to notice them all, but we will say something about the cheap papers. The first cheap paper was the *Sulabha Samachara*. It introduced a new era into the literature of Bengal. Started by Keshub Chundra, soon after his return from England, as a pice-paper, it became very popular, and did much good to the people: but unfortunately it has ceased to exist. The *Sulabha Samachar* was followed by other pice-papers, but they did not last long. At length some two pice-papers came into existence. Among them, the *Bungobashi*, the *Sanjivani* and the *Hit-badi* are worthy of notice. The *Bungobashi* represents the orthodox class, the *Sanjivani* the reformed party, and the *Hit-badi* opens its columns to both parties. It advocates the cause of reform in a cautious manner. The first mentioned paper has upwards of twenty thousand subscribers. A pice-paper, named *Prokriti*, has also come into existence, and is the cheapest of all the cheap newspapers.

In conclusion we would remark that the state attained by Bengali literature is chiefly due to the laudable exertions of those who are among the best scholars in the English language. It is satisfactory to note that they have come to recognise the fact that, in order to do real good to the country, its vernacular should be improved.

DENONATH GANGULI.

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## ART. VII.—ARMENIANS IN INDIA.

*Christianity in India.* Hough.  
*History of the British and Foreign Bible Society.*  
*Christian Researches.* Buchanan.  
*India Tracts.* Holwell.  
*History of British India.* Mill and Wilson.  
*India Office Records.*  
*Memoirs of Asiaticus.*  
*Monumental Register.*  
*Bengal Obituary.*  
*Census of Armenians in Calcutta.* Avdall.  
*Journal in India.* Heber.  
*Calcutta Monthly Journal,* 1836.

The wind blowes out, the bubble dies,  
 The spring intomb'd in autumn lies ;  
 The dew's dry'd up, the star is shot,  
 The flight is past, and man forgot.

BEAUMONT & FLETCHER.

A HISTORY of Armenians in India should be a volume full of interest. But hitherto no effort seems to have been made to gather materials for such a work. Nor is the reason for the omission far to seek. In the absence of written records, considerable difficulty is to be anticipated in gleanng reliable data for an unbroken chronicle of events. The earlier histories of this country are at best but scantily furnished with facts, as distinguished from fiction. Such records as do exist found no special interest attaching to a mere handful of traders hailing from the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea. Indeed, the circumstances under which the pioneer Armenians tarried in Indostan, earned for them no recognition beyond that due to a class of industrious dealers. What though they rendered valuable commercial service to the land, by finding abroad a market for Indian merchandise? Was it not for self-interested motives that they exchanged their silver for pepper and cloves, and their gold for muslins and precious stones? The science of Political Economy was little, if at all, known to Gangetic historians, and they failed to rightly estimate the important work which was being done by Armenians. It went for nothing that they brought an increase of wealth to the country; that they widened the horizon of its fame; that they, by their sagacity and bold enterprise, gave a distinct impetus to its trade. Had they been mighty invaders, demolishing empires and pillaging citadels, their deeds would have been preserved in the annals of the land. But, as it was, they had made no conquests. They had set up no dynasty. No city was called by

their name. They were only in a land of sojourn. Their place therefore was not in history, but in the bazar. So thought Indian chroniclers; and hence we, in the nineteenth century, vainly search the faded pages of Sanskrit and Arabic writs for references to Armenians who lived, and perchance died, in the country.

For some time past the writer of these pages has been much interested in the subject of this paper. He does not here offer anything approaching a continuous history; for all he has so far succeeded in unearthing, is for the most part of a fragmentary nature. But, such as it is, he endeavours to preserve it from threatened oblivion.

When Armenians first came into India, it is impossible to tell: but in 780 A. D., Thomas Cana landed on the Malabar Coast. He is better known by the name Mar Thomas, and was led into Indian waters by his commercial pursuits. Sheo Ram was then the native Ruler of Cranganore. The Raja was at first alarmed at the advent of a foreigner in his territories; but when Thomas explained that he had ventured so far from home only for spices and muslins, Sheo Ram dealt kindly with him, and permitted him to settle down in his capital. The Armenian trader trafficked with the mainland, and prospered beyond his highest expectations. He basked in the favour of the Indian Chief, and within a few years won his entire confidence. Wealth flowed into his coffers, and, with the growth of his riches, he acquired much dignity and power. Realising that display was a potent factor in the eyes of an oriental people, he lived sumptuously and with lavish ceremony. Contemporary writers describe his honors and hoards of gold in magnificent terms. And this was not without excuse; for his commercial enterprises expanded so considerably, that he found it necessary to maintain a headquarters in the north as well as in the south. Cranganore sufficed for the transactions of the Coast; but it was inconveniently far from new centres of trade which were developing towards the interior of the Peninsula. He accordingly acquired lands at Angamale, and there established himself within easier command of the markets of higher latitudes. In Eastern lands it is assumed that a man's worldly prosperity must be accompanied by a plurality of wives. Nor was the expectation different in the case of Mar Thomas. The existence of houses of business both at Cranganore and Angamale gave occasion to the belief that he had a spouse at each station. His first and lawful consort was reputed to preside over his home in the south, while his inferior wife was said to be supreme in the north. The latter was a native of the country, and boasted of belonging to the Naire or military caste. She had

exchanged her heathen creed for the Christian Faith, and had, in consequence, incurred the relentless hatred of her father's people. But there is ample evidence in support of the view that Cana did not adopt the prevalent custom of polygamy. There was assuredly a time when he had a wife at Cranganore and a time when he had wife at Angamale: but the second was not installed in the north till her predecessor had died in the south. At the time that Thomas came to Angamale, the neighbouring people knew of his home in Cranganore, and when he re-married at Angamale, they fell into the error of supposing that his southern wife was still alive. And hence arose the current belief that he indulged in the luxury of two wives.

By each of his marriages Mar Thomas had a numerous family, and on his death his children in the south inherited his possessions at Cranganore, while his property in the north was shared among his heirs at Angamale. Both branches of the family increased rapidly in point of numbers and freely intermarried with the converts to Roman Catholicism who resided in both localities. Thus in process of time it came about that the native Christians of both regions began to claim Mar Thomas as their common ancestor.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century the splendour of the Mogul Court had acquired a fabulous reputation throughout the far West, and to share in its prosperity, there crowded to it merchants from every clime. Among the motley throng that flocked thither, were numerous adventurers from Armenia. For many a year they thrived; and, by carrying on a lucrative trade by land, brought much wealth into the mother country. But the time came when Shah Abbas the First,\* a scion of the Royal House of Persia, determined upon making himself master of the uplands south of the Caucasus mountains. He accordingly led his war-men against the Turks, who then held sway over the country around Ararat, and redeemed Armenia from Turkish bondage. Arakiel Vartabid, in his *Contemporary History*, gives a graphic account of the conflict, and relates how Shah Abbas put to death the Haikan Prince. Not content with his conquest, the victor thrust twelve thousand Armenian families out of Ararat or Old Julpha, and compelled them to settle down in the outskirts of Ispahan. He committed them to the care of the Queen Mother in 1605, and called their suburb New Julpha.

But this act of tyranny had a commercial significance for

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\* The exclamation "Shahbas!" is a corruption of Shah Abbas, and testified to the terror which the name of that monarch inspired. After the last Crusade, it will be remembered, the name of Richard, the Lion-Hearted, was used to intimidate children. "Hast thou seen the spirit of Richard?" required the Saracen of a horse that abied.

Shah Abbas. He rightly appreciated the mercantile instincts of his captives, and encouraged them to trade with India. Nor was he disappointed of his expectations ; for when he died, in 1629, he had the gratification of seeing that the glory of his reign, and the opulence of Ispahan, had been materially increased by the unwearied industry of his Armenian subjects.

Indeed, Shah Abbas' cupidity had been excited by the circumstance that, even while under the crushing power of the Turks, the Armenians were engaged in profitable traffic with the valley of the Indus and the basin of the Ganges. He saw with envy that they traded with the Malabar Coast on the one side, and with Venice on the other.\* Such a race he knew would be a valuable acquisition, and he accordingly set himself to become their master. To what extent he succeeded has already been related.

When the East India Company set foot on Indian soil in 1601, they found that the Armenians who had sailed from Gombroom † were the most prosperous of foreign traders. They therefore welcomed the Armenians when the latter volunteered to connect themselves in commercial enterprise with the British at Surat. ‡ This Factory had been granted to the Company by a *firman* of the Emperor Jehangir, which was issued in January 1612. Having been in India for many years, and knowing the vernacular and current prices of products, the Armenians were invaluable agents, and, consequently, the servants of the Hon'ble Company were ever eager to engage them to negotiate business for them with the natives of the country.

Here must be interposed an account of Stephen, who belongs to the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Italian author of *Giuseppe de S Maria* relates that, in 1659, a Portuguese pinnace, returning from Mocha, brought to Cochin an Armenian merchant by name Stephen. His object in seeking the Malabar Coast was to invest in a cargo of pepper. His business took him into the interior of the Papist diocese of Cranganore, and it was in these parts that the *Cattinar*, Ithi Thomas, found him. This functionary conducted the stranger to the Archdeacon, and, to serve a secret purpose, it is said they prevailed upon Stephen to announce that he was a deacon,

\* In Venice the Armenians found a ready market for their Indian wares ; so much so, that even to-day Indian manufactures are in Venice called "Persiana."

† Gombroom, better known to navigators as Bunder Abbas, lies on the northern shore of the Gulf of Ormuz, latitude 27° 10' N., and longitude 56° 17' E. It is still the port of Shiraz.

‡ Surat still holds the ruins of some large and pretentious erections, the largest of which is a pyramid thirty feet high. There are no inscriptions whatever to be seen. The remains of the oldest English factory in India can never cease to be full of interest.

and nephew to the Pope. Stephen, however, grew weary of the disguise, and determined upon returning to Mocha. He accordingly intimated his design to the Archdeacon, and asked him for the sum of money which he had entrusted to him. The prelate refused to restore the money. This angered Stephen, and he promptly threatened to disclose the deception which had been practised on the diocese. For this Iti Thomas was not prepared, and he speedily came to terms. He pacified Stephen with a liberal present of pepper and cinnamon, and bade him depart with his money. La Croze questions the veracity of this narrative, and regards it as a spiteful exaggeration of some trifling circumstance.

But to resume the thread of this chapter. From Surat and Guzerat, the Armenians followed in the wake of the English to Benares and Patna. Their commercial intimacy with their British patrons obtained for them various indulgences at the hands of the Court at Delhi. Some of them were appointed to high offices in the Mogul Empire. Others became opulent merchants, and exercised no little influence over the *Umras*. In 1645, under the leadership of the Markar family, they attached themselves to the Dutch at Chinsurah. Twenty years subsequently to this date, the Emperor Aurungzeb issued a *firman* by which he granted them a tract of land at Sydadabad, and gave them permission to form a settlement there. In course of time Sydadabad grew to be a city of some importance, and in it was built the first Armenian Church.

The most trusted Armenian agent of the Hon'ble East India Company was Coja Phanoos Kalendar. Nothing is known of his birth or death; but that he came from New Julpha is very nearly certain. By personal ability and force of character, he came to be regarded as the representative of his fellow-countrymen; and on their behalf in 1688, he made political advances to the English. Hitherto the life and property of Armenians had been unprotected, and they suffered many serious disabilities. They did not participate in the benefits derived from compacts with Indian potentates. They were excluded from the application of Mahomedan Law, and were denied the assistance of civic authority. Their injuries they were powerless to resent, in as much as their position in the country was not supported by men-at-arms. Coja Phanoos Kalendar was quick to perceive that the only way out of their difficulties was to identify themselves with the British so completely that they should participate in all the concessions which the Great Mogul should grant the English. He made the accomplishment of this great scheme the one aim and object of his life; and he was rewarded with success. As a result of his representations, the Court of Directors conferred on him certain important personal privileges, and, while bestowing

other benefits on the Armenians, issued the following order :—

“ Whenever forty or more of the Armenian Nation shall become inhabitants of any garrison, cities, or towns belonging to the Company in the East Indies, the said Armenians shall not only enjoy the free use and exercise of their religion, but there shall also be allotted to them a parcel of ground to erect a Church thereon for worship and service of GOD in their own way. And that we also will, at our own charge, cause a convenient Church to be built of timber, which afterwards the said Armenians may alter and build with stone, or other solid materials, to their own good liking. And the said Governor and Company will also allow fifty pounds per annum, during the space of seven years, for the maintenance of such priest or minister as they shall choose to officiate therein.”

Given under the Company's Larger Seal, &c, June 22nd, 1688.

About this time the Company experienced much difficulty in obtaining soldiers for its Indian army, and many schemes were suggested for its recruitment. The following communication, which bears the date of February 29th, 1692, from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors to “ Our Deputy and Council of Bombay,” testifies to the respect with which Coja Phanoos Kalendar was regarded, and to the extent to which the Armenians were trusted by the English :—

“ Stores of all kinds wee have sent you by this ship, the Modena, and what souldiers we could possibly procure. But it's very difficult to gett any at this time, while the King has occasion for such vast numbers of men in Flanders.\* Among those we send great mortality has happened, as well in their passage out as after their arrival ; which has put us on discouse with the Armenian Christians here, to see if by their means wee could procure some private souldiers of their nation from Ispahan, which we should esteem, if we could gett them as good as English. Not that they have altogether the same courage which Englishmen have, but because by their conduct, they are now so united to the English nation, and particularly to this Company, that in effect, we and they have but one common interest. They are very near to our national and reformed religion, as sober, temperate men ; and know how to live in health in a hot climate. Coja Panous Kalendar tells us it will be difficult to gett any considerable number of them to be souldiers, they are so universally addicted to trade ; but some few, he thinks, may be picked up at Suratt, and he will write to his friends at Julpa to see if they can persuade any from thence to come to you, to make an experiment of their entertainment, and of their liking or dislike of the service.”

The same letter, in another part, continues :

“ If you can procure any Armenian Christians to be souldiers, we doe allow you to give them the same pay as our English souldiers, and Forty shillings gratuity and the charge of their passage from Gombroon to Bombay. We would not have above fifty or sixty in our pay at one time ; and if you had the like number of Madagascar slaves to teach the exercise of arms and to do some inferor duty

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\* King William III was at this time engaged in a war with France. The struggle was chiefly carried on in the Spanish Netherlands. Peace was restored in 1697 by the Treaty of Ryswick.



under our English souldiers, being listed upon an English Captaine, kept in a Company by themselves after the Dutch manner; and allowing them a competent proportion of rice, a red capp and red coat, and some other trifles to please them, not having above fifty or sixty at a time, and they never to have the custody of their own armes, we hope such a contrivance might be a good auxiliary aid to our garrison, especially when English souldiers are scarce, and some Ballance of power. For take it as an infallible, constant rule, that the more Castes, the more safety and the less danger of mutiny . . . . . We know there is a necessity for increasing our English souldiers, and we will do it as soone and as much, as we possibly can. In the mean time Armenian Christians, if you could have them, are the very best men to be trusted; and, next to them, Madagascar Coffrees."

The East India Company was ever anxious to keep on the best of terms with the Armenians, as it was through them that English goods were pushed into remote regions. In 1694 the Indian Governor made a propo-al to the Court of Directors for starting purely English Agencies in various parts of the country. The following extract from the reply furnished, plainly concedes that Armenians were essential to British success :

September 13, 1695.—"Multan and Scindy are brave provinces for many sorts of extraordinary, good and cheap commodities; but whenever the Company shall be induced to settle factories in those provinces, or any other way thiuk to arrive at trade with them, otherwise than by Armenians, they should infallibly come off with great loss."

Meanwhile the Armenians in the Dutch factory at Chinsurah continued to flourish. In 1695 Johannes Markar laid there the foundations of a National Church, and the sacred building was completed by his brother Joseph, in 1697. A mural tablet near the altar bears an inscription in the Armenian language, which may be thus rendered into English :

Interred here lieth

CATCHICK,

Son of Petrus, an Armenian of Julfa of the land of Sosh. He was honored by the favor of Kings. Before dying in this alien clime, to perpetuate his memory, he raised this

Holy Church,

And dedicated it to St. John the Baptist, 1697.

Another *In Memoriam* marble, to Johannes Markar, the pious founder of the Holy Church of St. John, is worthy of transcription :—

Buried here lies the famous Garib

COJA JOHANNES

Son of Markar, an Armenian of Julfa, of the town of Sosh.

He was a considerable merchant,

And was honored by the favor of Kings and of their Viceroyas.

He travelled north, south, east and west,

And died suddenly at Hugli in Hindustan,

November the 7th, 1697.

When, in 1689, Job Charnock founded Calcutta, he invited Armenians to the new factory, and promised them the full accomplishment of the concessions of 1688. Many responded to his overtures, and congregated at the northern extremity of the settlement. This circumstance is still chronicled in the names "Armenian Ghaut" and "Armenian Street." Here they made themselves extremely useful to the British, and afforded an excellent medium through which the English reached the native markets. They enjoyed the privileges of British citizens, and several of them rose to positions of wealth and influence.

About the year 1720, Kenanentch Phanoos, in all probability a son of Coja Phanoos Kalendar, was permitted by letters patent to purchase the ground in Calcutta, whereon the Church of St. Nazareth now stands. Hitherto the Armenians had worshipped one hundred yards to the south of this spot, in a Chapel, which, in 1689, had been built for them by the Hon'ble Company, in accordance with the agreement of 1688 already alluded to. The land purchased by Kenanentch was originally used as a cemetery. But in 1724 it became evident that the old Chapel was too small for its increased congregation, and subscriptions were raised for the erection of a more enduring and commodious edifice. Aga Nazar took the lead in this pious work, and summoned from Persia an architect by the name of Gavond, to design and complete the sacred edifice. The site chosen was the land purchased by Kenanentch, and before long the Church of St. Nazareth was ready for consecration. The Dedication Service was conducted with much ecclesiastical ceremony, and was made the occasion of great national rejoicing. The building fund did not permit of a steeple being erected, but this deficiency was in 1734 supplied by the Huzurmal family.

Previous to this date the Armenians had rapidly grown into importance by reason of their aptitude for commerce. They were indispensable to the English in every matter involving transactions with the natives. They had an excellent understanding with the people of the country, and were entirely familiar with the local vernaculars. Their mode of living brought them into friendly contact with bazar dealers and produce brokers. Their knowledge of the geography of the country, coupled with their shrewdness in business, rendered them valuable allies in political and commercial measures. For instance, in 1715 it was found expedient to make certain overtures to the Mogul Emperor. Two of the Company's factors, Stephenson and Suiman, were entrusted with the negotiations, and set out on their mission to Delhi. They were conducted to that city by Coja Sarhaud, an Armenian

merchant of eminence, who was associated with them in the important embassy. The envoys reached their destination on the 8th of July, after a journey of three months. But the way to the throne was by no means easy. They experienced many difficulties, and were particularly distressed by delays arising from the unwillingness of Mogul officials to present them to the Emperor Ferok Shah. The bribes the courtiers required for arranging for an interview were considerable. But what money failed to accomplish was brought about by an unexpected cause. The Emperor fell dangerously ill, and sent for Dr. Hamilton—the physician who had been attached to the embassy—to treat him. The English doctor effected a cure, and this happy circumstance not only expedited the presentation of the Company's Petition, but also inclined the Great Mogul to consider it favourably. It prayed that "the cargoes of English ships, wrecked on the Mogul's coast, should be protected from plunder; that a fixed sum should be received at Surat in lieu of all duties; that three villages, contiguous to Madras, which had been granted, and again resumed by the Government of Arcot, should be restored in perpetuity; that the port of Diu, near the port of Masulipatam should be given to the Company for an annual rent; that all persons in Bengal who might be indebted to the Company, should be delivered up to the presidency on the first demand; that a passport (*dustuck*) signed by the President of Calcutta should exempt the goods which it specified from stoppage or examination by the Officers of the Bengal Government; and that the Company should be permitted to purchase the Zemin-darship of thirty-seven towns in the same manner as they had been authorized by Azeem-oos-Shaun to purchase Calcutta, Suttanaty and Govindpore." In the presentation of the petition, Coja Sarhand rendered important services. He acted as interpreter, and explained the various points in the document which the Emperor desired should be elucidated. After some further delay the patents were issued under the highest authority, and the envoy took leave of the Emperor in the month of July 1717.

In Southern India we find traces of Armenian prosperity. One of the foremost public men of Madras in the first half of the last century was Coja Pogose. This eminent patriot was deservedly celebrated for his liberality towards his countrymen, and for the active share he took in every good work. He left his native town of New Julfa while yet a young man, and engaged in trade with the Malabar coast. He acquired great riches, and settled down in Madras as his head-quarters. He was deeply touched by the many trials which fell to the lot of the poorer Armenians that had ventured

into India, and his most cherished desire was to devise means for their succour. The full measure of success with which his commercial efforts had been blessed, placed him in a position to give whatever aid could flow from largesses, and his charity was literally without stint. He established a feeling of brotherhood between the rich and poor from the home country, and by many labours of love he earned for himself the enviable surname of Father. He zealously worked for the spread of Christianity, and was largely instrumental in building the Armenian Church at Madras. He died in the seventieth year of his life, and his tomb may still be seen in the churchyard of Vepery in that city. The grave is covered with a single slab of stone, and beneath carvings of two skulls, with a heart between them, may be read this inscription :—

*Elata fama in auras, interque nubila caput condens, hic ingressus  
solo, iacet discordium Conciliator, iugiorum Placator, Armeniorum  
Fautor, Columenque firmum, indigentium Præsidium, fervidumque  
Tutamen, Impendiosus, largusque Refector, in Divina, Ædesque  
sacras propagando haud perparci strenuus impense*

*PETRUS USCAN DE COJA POGUS.*

*Armenius, Cuius cor, Iulæ. Annos natus 70, evicta cecessit, 15  
Ianuarii, 1751.*

When the Nizam-ul-mulk left the Court of Delhi, and returned to his own Government of the Deccan, he found himself called upon to settle the troubled affairs obtaining in the Carnatic. He arrived at Arcot, his capital, in March 1743, and determined upon restoring order, by appointing a man of strong personality and decision, Governor of the province. Casting about for the fittest man to rule the district, his choice fell on Coja Abdulla. This Armenian soldier had already distinguished himself in the Nizam's army, and had been promoted to the rank of General. But the warrior-statesman died suddenly—it is suspected of poison—before he could enter upon his high duties in the Carnatic.

Certain Armenians—accredited leaders of their community—appear to have played an important part in the incidents that gathered round the eventful years 1756-57. It is not necessary here to relate the tale of the conflicts which culminated in the terrible tragedy of the Black Hole. But Holwell tells us that he was careful to cultivate the friendship of Coja Petruse, who was a man of wide influence. Holwell conferred with him on the 24th September 1756, and urged him to win over the hostile Kasim Ali Khan. By his mediation this dangerous Nawab was conciliated to the English, and was by them created Diwan in succession to Mir Jafir Ali. Petruse, however, for some reason yet unknown, changed his attitude, and went over to the camp of the enemy. This was the more to be regretted

at a time when a crisis was drawing on. He was intimately acquainted with every particular regarding the strength designs and difficulties of the English, and his presence in the ranks of their foes was far from re-assuring. Of him Holwell writes—"The Armenian ministers of the revolution, Cojah Petruse and Kojah Gregory, are in the highest degree of favour with the Nabob and his adherents; the former resides in Calcutta, retained by Kasim Ali Khan, a known spy upon every transaction of the English, of which he never fails to give his master the most regular intelligence, as was too apparent to both Colonel Coote and Major Carnac, when they were at Patna. The latter of these Armenians has posts of the greatest trust near the Nabob's person; and through the means of these men, the Armenians in general are setting up an independent footing in this country, and carrying on a trade greatly detrimental to our investments in all parts, and commit daily acts of violence, which reflect no small odium on the English, who are supposed to encourage their proceedings."

It is pleasant to know that the bulk of Armenians remained loyal to the English during the disasters of 1756—disasters which were materially hastened by such men as Petruse and Gregory. Their Church of St. Nazareth was much disfigured in the general pillage that marked the sack of Calcutta by Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowlah. Indeed the Armenian settlers in the factory—on account of their reputed riches—became the especial prey of the Nawab's rapacity, and many of them purchased their lives dearly by opening their coffers to the Subha. They were tortured to extort from them treasures that were concealed; but none of them were thrust into the Black Hole. When, however, Clive and Watson avenged the massacre there perpetrated, and turned the tide of battle against the tyrant of Bengal, a sum of Rs. 70,00,000 was wrung from him, and given to the Armenians as compensation for the serious losses they had sustained while under the protection of English colours.

During the interval between the sack of Calcutta and the arrival of the Army of Retribution from Madras, Holwell and his fellow-captives were taken under durance to Murshidabad. The Armenian residents of the city, and particularly Aga Manuel Satoor, treated the unfortunate prisoners with kindness, and did much to exhibit their sympathy.

There was yet another traitor. Coja Wazeed—a man of good family and rank, and with the reputation of a blameless character—was detected in an intrigue against the Company. He possibly thought that the capture of Calcutta had for ever doomed the prospects of the English in Bengal, and that he

had better, before it was too late, throw in his lot with the winning side. At any rate he actually negotiated with Siraj-ud-Dowlah a scheme by which the Nawab was to obtain the marched from Murshidabad to Chinsurah, and captured, on the way, the recreant Coja Wazeed. He was brought to Fort William under a strong guard, and incarcerated, and before long he died under his confinement.

In 1790 the Church of St. Nazareth at Calcutta was considerably embellished and improved by Aga Catchick Arakiel, a great grandson of Phanoo Kalendar. It is recorded of this eminent man, that when he heard of the recovery of King George the Third, in 1789, from an ailment that had threatened to be fatal, he celebrated the occasion by releasing from the presidency gaol all prisoners incarcerated for debt, by paying the amounts for which they had been imprisoned. The incident was brought to the notice of the King, and he marked his appreciation of the loyalty and devotion of his Armenian subject, by sending him, through the Honorable Court of Directors, a portrait of himself in miniature. Aga Catchick Arakiel was reasonably proud of the royal gift, and wore it suspended at his breast for the rest of his life. In later years his son was in the habit of decorating himself with the treasured heir-loom, whenever he attended the levee of the Governor-General. Arakiel died in 1790, and the following inscription, on a black marble tablet in St. Nazareth's Church, bears ample testimony to his private virtues and public benefactions :—

Sacred to the Memory of the late

CATCHICK ARAKIEL, ESQ.

Whose patriotism endowed this Church with a splendid clock  
The parochial building, and the surrounding walls.

Gratefully inscribed by the  
Armenian Community of Calcutta,  
Anno Domini, 1837.

*Exegi monumentum ære perennius.*

On Sunday, the 25th July, 1790,

Departed this life that highly respectable and worthy character,

MR. CATCHICK ARAKIEL,

An Armenian merchant of the first rank and eminence in Calcutta,  
And the head and principal of the Armenian nation in Bengal.

The goodness, humanity and benevolence of this man towards all mankind,  
His liberal spirit in contributing to the public welfare on every occasion,  
The affability of his deportment, and friendly disposition to all,  
Were distinguished traits of his character ;

And he was so warmly and gratefully attached to the English nation,  
That he was continually heard to express his happiness, and a sense of his  
Fortunate lot, in living under their Government.

He possessed the regard of the whole settlement, unsullied by the enmity  
Of a single individual.

Among his own beloved nation, the Armenians, he was looked up to as a  
Guide and director in all their difficulties and disputes, which he  
Was ever studious to settle with paternal affection,

A curious light is thrown on the condition of Armenian literature in India by a letter written by Johannes Lasser in 1814; "At Calcutta," he writes, "an Armenian Bible cannot be purchased under 60 or 70 rupees; and so great is the scarcity, that it is not procurable even at that price, except on the decease of a gentleman, and the sale of his books. The copy which I possess could not be purchased under 120 rupees."

About this time it began to be generally felt, that something should be done in the direction of establishing a school for the exclusive benefit of Armenian children. Hitherto they had been but little instructed in their mother-tongue, and were, for the most part, ignorant of the history of the country from which their ancestors came to India. These evils it was determined to remedy. Funds would, of necessity, be needed to open a seminary, but there already existed a convenient nucleus of Rs. 8,000, which had been bequeathed by Astwa-chatoor Mooratkhan in 1797. All that was now requisite was that some one should seriously take in hand the collection of subscriptions. To this work Manatsaken Varden applied himself, and early in 1821 he had raised a sum exceeding Rs. 2,00,000. Accordingly the Armenian Philanthropic Academy was set on foot "for the education of our youth, both rich and poor." It was located at 358 Old China Bazar, and had both a boys' and a girls' department. The girls' branch was subsequently closed; but the Academy still continues its useful work at 39 Free School Street. The following is copied from a marble tablet\* in the school:—

Sacred to the Memory of MANATSAKEN VARDEN, Esq.,

This Tablet is erected by the

Members of the Armenian Philanthropic Academy at Calcutta, in acknowledgment of the high esteem and veneration in which he was held by their community, for his virtues in social life, and zeal in behalf of the education and welfare of his countrymen, and in which he was at all times ready equally with his purse and heart, and by his means, as well as the donations of other benevolent Armenians

FOUNDED THIS PHILANTHROPIC ACADEMY,

Which dates its existence from the 2nd April 1821.

Born at Julpha in Ispahan, on the 6th September 1772.

Died at Sydadab in Moorshidabad on the 14th October 1823.

Care was also taken to provide locally for the publication

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\* When last seen by the writer, this tablet, as also that to the memory of Astwachatoor Mooratkhan, lay on the floor of a *godown* pertaining to the Academy, to which both had been relegated with a quantity of damaged school furniture.

of Armenian books. A quantity of type was imported, and a printing press was attached to the Academy. Among other books that issued from it were "A Catechism of the Church of Armenia," of which two editions were prepared in 1827; "A Short History of the Bible," in twenty-two parts, being a reprint of the St. Petersburg edition of 1785. In 1843 the press printed a book of 85 pages, entitled "Rules and Regulations of the Armenian Philanthropic Academy," which is of special interest, from the "Forms of Prayer for the Pupils of the Armenian Philanthropic Academy" which is appended to it. It should here be mentioned that the printing press of Bishop's College published, from 1835 to 1845, several works in Armenian.

On the 7th of April 1828, "The Araratian Library"\* was inaugurated at the Philanthropic Academy. It was open to the Armenian community, and for many years was in a flourishing condition. In 1842 it had on its shelves "one thousand standard works in Armenian, Greek, Latin, French, Dutch, Persian, Chinese, and other Oriental and Occidental languages." The Armenian books were enriched by some valuable manuscripts of ancient authors.

In 1820 the charitably disposed among the Armenian community, provided an Alms House for the shelter of their indigent co-religionists. Large sum of money have from time to time been bequeathed to it, and it still continues to perform the eleemosynary duties for which it was designed.

The Armenian population of Calcutta has been irregular :

| Year. | Males. | Females | Total. |
|-------|--------|---------|--------|
| 1815  | 272    | 208     | 480    |
| 1835  | ?      | ?       | 505    |
| 1837  | 465    | 171     | 636    |
| 1891  | 142    | 88      | 230    |

These figures have been obtained, for 1815, from an official record, for 1835 from Avdall's reckoning, for 1837 from the Census by Captain Birch, Superintendent of Police, and for 1891 from the Government Census of that year. It will be observed that there is a marked difference between the Armenian population of 1815 and 1891. The falling off is to be accounted for by the fact that the people concerned have dispersed themselves in outlying stations. The decrease in their numbers in Calcutta represents a corresponding increase in the rural districts, and here, by being merchants and petty traders, they continue to follow the traditions of their ancestors.

\* These dates bring the account of Armenians in India into dangerous proximity to the present time. But it should be stated, that, as a matter of fact, there are now in the Academy only faint traces of both the Printing Press and the Araratian Library. A few pounds of Armenian type remain, but not a single manuscript. The books that had outlived the ravages of vermin were, when last seen, in a pitiable state of neglect.



The years between 1829 and 1836 were filled with a feeling of insecurity as to rights and privileges. In 1830, J. W. Ricketts sailed to England with the East Indians' Petition to the House of Commons, in which the Memorialists explained the serious disabilities under which they laboured in respect of the most important needs of every-day life. They were entirely destitute of any rule of civil law. They were not included in the term "British subject," and consequently were denied the benefits of the laws of England. By professing the Christian religion they were excluded from the protection of Hindu or Mahomedan civil law, while they were visited by the rigours of the Mahomedan criminal code. They were debarred from all superior and covenanted offices in the Civil and Military services, and from all sworn offices in the Marine service of the East India Company. They were disqualified from holding Commissions in the British Indian army, and were shut out of even subordinate employments in Judicial, Revenue and Police Departments. From these hardships the petition begged for release. In reply to its prayers—when in 1832 a new Charter was granted to the Company—the *Lex Loci* Act was passed, and in the Charter was inserted a clause, that no one should be excluded from any office because of his creed or colour. This was so far a satisfactory result of what is known as the East Indian Movement of 1829. By the Armenian settlers in India the *Lex Loci* Act was regarded as a distinct gain, for in the rights and liberties which the East Indians had secured they expected that they too were included. But between that community and themselves there was still a vast difference. East Indians were descendants of the British, and as such continued to have many advantages. Armenians were aliens in the land, and were under the penalties arising out of the Alien Law of England. The most serious consequence to them was that, as aliens, their land and houses were not conveyable by Deed or Will to heirs, but might be resumed by the Company from whom their property had originally been purchased. This was a condition of things far from desirable. Not that the Alien Law had, in any instance, been put into force; but the possibility of its being brought into operation, whenever convenient to the English, was not pleasant to contemplate. Indeed, the Armenians were justified in regarding their danger in this direction as something more than a simple grievance. They viewed it in the light of a glaring breach of the promises made to them at a time when the earlier factors of the Company were eager to offer them every inducement to join the English in their factories and garrisons. It was not a case of a mere verbal understanding, for there had been given to them a written treaty and contract. The same compact,

which in 1688 granted them a site upon which to build their church in English settlements, further stipulated in its third Article: "That they (the Armenian nation) shall have liberty to live in any of the Company's cities, garrisons or towns in India; and to buy, sell and purchase land and houses, and be capable of all civil offices and preferments, in the same manner as if they were Englishmen born; and shall always have the free and undisturbed liberty of the exercise of their own religion. And we hereby declare that we will not continue any Governor in our service that shall in any kind disturb or discountenance them in the full enjoyment of all the privileges hereby granted to them; neither shall they pay any other greater duty in India than the Company's factors, or any other Englishman born do, or ought to do."

On the strength of these solemn assurances, and with a confidence in the integrity of the English nation, the Armenians had liberally invested the profits of their commerce in lands and houses. True, the Treaty of 1688 did not forensically possess all the binding force of an International Act, for it had been negotiated with a single individual of a race which had ceased to exist as a political nation. But it had gathered validity by the sanction of usage. It had, for nearly a century regulated the scale of duty on the trade of Armenian merchants at the Company's settlements and dependencies. It had never been called into question by any of the Company's officers. Whether binding or not as a treaty, this much at any rate was certain, that it had been held out by the Company to encourage the resort and settlement of Armenian traders. Upon such an invitation and guarantee they had begun, and continued to emigrate to British Indian towns and garrisons from various parts of Asia. They had there traded and tilled the land. They had become builders and proprietors. They acknowledged with gratitude the uniform protection and kindness which they had ever received under the Company's rule. Yet they hoped that they had shown themselves not unworthy of the favours that had been shown to them. Of the numberless tribes and races that had successively placed themselves within the pale of British dominion, none, they trusted, had evinced more loyal attachment, or given less occasion for the exercise of either coercive or penal measures. They had gained for themselves the reputation of a peaceable people, and had, on no occasion been a source of anxiety to the Company. They felt that they had something of a claim on the good will and consideration of the English, for the resort of Armenians to the British settlements in the various parts of India was coeval with the very establishment of those settlements. They did not forget that the first important Firman of

the Imperial Court of Delhi to the East India Company, had been procured by the agency of Sarhaud. The connexion, thus begun with a sense of mutual obligation, had been cemented by the instrument of solemn compact with Coja Phanoos Kalendar—a compact that had been ratified under the hands of the Governor and Directors, and by the common seal of the Company. Entirely trusting in the *bona-fides* of that treaty, they had, without restriction or question, purchased, enjoyed and transmitted real property within British territories and settlements, never doubting their legal right so to do—pinning their faith, as they did, to the treaty with Kalendar.

But now, in 1826, they were rudely awakened from their dream of security. The blow came from the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and was delivered, on the 29th December 1826, in the judgment in the common law case of Doe on the demise of Panchelette *vs.* Stansbury. Six years later the note of warning was sounded more distinctly, by the decree in the consolidated equity suits respecting the Will of Lieutenant-General Martin. This decree—after two laboured arguments—“solemnly determined that the Alien Law of England, attaches to all lands within the local limits of Calcutta.” But what finally roused Armenians to realize the slender hold they had over their property, was a later decree, pronounced on the 10th of May 1836, in the same Martin causes, by which the principle as to Alien Law was declared to regulate land, not only in the local limits of Calcutta, but also in the provinces.

Under these circumstances the leaders of Armenian society in Calcutta, met in consultation as to what steps should be taken to improve the conditions under which they held their valuable properties in English possessions. But one course seemed open, and that was to represent their grievance to the Governor-General, and seek at his hands an alteration in the laws which pressed so unfairly upon them. Accordingly, in November of 1836, a deputation, consisting of Messrs M. C. Ariakiel, A. Apcar, M. Gasper, I. H. Arathoon, I. G. Bagram, and Johannes Avdall, waited upon Lord Auckland with “The Armenian Petition.” Mr. Arathoon was spokesman, and, in presenting the memorial, he introduced it with a few relevant remarks. The opening clauses of the Petition referred in general terms to the cordial relations that had always existed between Armenians and the English, and described under what circumstances they had been drawn to the English, and rehearsed the various specific agreements which had been made with them by the Company. For over a century and a half they had lived in British towns and garrisons without any fear or uncertainty regarding the degree to which they had claim to their real property in the settlements. But now, they continued,

grave misgivings had been caused them by the fact, that the Supreme Court of Calcutta had decreed that the Alien Law of England had force in India. The Petition then went on to explain :—

“ The above principle, if acted upon, must inevitably throw into jeopardy nearly the whole of your Petitioners' real property. For your Petitioners are advised, that by the English Alien Law, real property, originally purchased by an alien-born, is claimable by the Crown though it may have passed through several successive generations or purchases—moveover, that your Petitioners are liable, out of the rest of their property, to indemnify purchasers for the whole value of all real property acquired and subsequently sold by their fathers or forefathers of alien-birth. Thus, not only their real property is brought into hazard, but their personality is also in serious danger. On the part of the Crown the proof will be simple, for the fact of the alien-birth will in most cases appear on the face of their Wills or Title Deeds ; and even should the forbearance of the Crown leave them in the enjoyment of their real property, yet the defect of title, unless remedied by some legislative Act, will render that property altogether unsaleable, and disable your Petitioners from ever enforcing a contract of sale against a purchaser.

Your Petitioners are indeed advised, that all persons, wheresoever born, who were actually settled in the territory at the time of its conquest or acquisition by the Crown of Great Britain, became immediate denizens, and capable of holding, and thereafter acquiring and transmitting lands of inheritance to others, who were themselves either natives of the territory or denizens—and in this right, so much of your Petitioners' real property as may have been derived from persons entitled to such right of denizenship, would be protected against claims of the Crown. But the proposition that could be traced to such a source is very inconsiderable, and even this ground of protection is involved in the greatest doubt and uncertainty by the absence of any declaration or adjudication of the precise period at which each portion of territory was acquired by the Crown of Great Britain ; which makes it utterly impossible to ascertain, with any certainty, whether a father or forefather was a denizen or not.

That your Petitioners are fully aware, that this newly-declared Alien Law affects other classes as well as themselves ; and that the lands of Jagirdars, though granted by the Government itself for actual services in war, or otherwise, are obnoxious to the claim of the Crown, whenever the first grantee was alien-born—that lands acquired by an alien-born Arab or Persian, by a native of Lucknow or of Hyderabad, are equally claimable by the Crown as those of alien-born Armenians ; in short that the ruin which hangs over their own heads is equally imminent over most of those around them. For, as to the lands within Calcutta, it will be found, that there are very few parcels which have not at some time, within the last sixty years, been owned by persons of alien-birth. But your Petitioners humbly submit, that Armenians alone can appeal to the terms of a solemn compact or agreement, which induced them to become settlers, and of which this doctrine is a direct violation :—they alone, in addition to the plea of hardship and surprise, can urge that of the plighted faith of the Company in India and in Europe also, and can appeal for relief on the double ground of justice and compassion.

That besides the alarm and perplexity into which the promulgation of the English alien law has thrown your Petitioners, they beg to submit to your Lordship's consideration the precarious condition in which

they stand with respect to the law of inheritance and succession to property. Within the limits of the jurisdiction of the King's Court, they have hitherto been uniformly dealt with, in this particular, by the rules of English law. In cases of intestacy, their property has been administered to by next of kin, by creditors, and by the Registrar of the Court, like that of deceased British subjects ; dower has been assigned to widows of Armenians, out of lands both within and without the local limits of the Court's jurisdiction, and the law of primogeniture has been acted upon invariably. But, in the Courts of the Company, no settled rule of law whatever has prevailed in respect to the inheritance and succession to property of deceased Armenians. While some of the Company's Judges follow the course of the King's Court, and adopt the rules of English law, others hold themselves bound to act upon their individual notion of equity, pursuant to the terms of Regulations VII of 1832, section 9 ; and others bewilder themselves in the vain endeavour to discover the law of Armenian ecclesiastics, whose legal knowledge, where they have any, is limited to the bare rudiments of the canon law. Your Lordship will readily conceive what insecurity and litigation must ensue from the want of a common standard, and from the admission of many conflicting principles to act upon property situated within the same dominion. Although the rule of natural equity, administered by common sense and integrity, may be competent to the adjustment of most matters of dealing, and contract between man and man, the inheritance and accession to property has in all civilized nations been made a matter of positive law whether written or traditional. And, as Armenians have ceased to be a nation since the year of our Lord 1375, and no trace of their own law is now to be discovered, your Petitioners humbly submit that the law of England is the only one that can, upon any sound principles, be permitted to prevail, and that it is moreover the law which was promised to Armenians at the time of their settlement in the country.

That—in addition to the two important particulars above-mentioned, the one of which endangers the very existence of their property, the other throws into confusion the succession and inheritance to it—your Petitioners have daily experience of the anomalous position in which they are regarded by the Courts of the Presidency. In the course of the present year, an attempt was made in the Zillah Court of Dacca to annul a marriage between two native born Armenians, though it had been duly solemnized in the face of the Armenian Church, with the consent of relatives on both sides. (The proceedings in that matter will show in the Sudder Dewanny Adalat.) Your Petitioners have no security against the recurrence of similar experiments in other Zillahs, and are totally unable to obtain any information by what, if any, rule of law their marriages will be adjudicated upon in the Courts of the Mofussil, when the English law is by Regulation VII of 1832 expressly reprobated. Even in the King's Court a case is now pending as to lands in the Mofussil, of which an Armenian lady, a native of Bengal, and the wife of a British subject, died possessed ; in which the question is, whether they are subject to the English rules of descent, or to any, and what other. In matters of contract and of criminal jurisdiction, Your Petitioners are in the Courts of the Mofussil dealt with on the principles of Mohammadan law, though in some particulars quite at variance with the habits and understanding of Christians.

In fine, Your Petitioners although so warmly and gratefully attached to the British rule under which they have prospered now for a century and a half, and utterly unconscious of having done anything to forfeit the good opinion that prompted the flattering terms of invitation under

which Armenians came into the country, and continued for upwards of a century to enjoy all the consideration that a party of civil rights with natives of Great Britain was calculated to give, find their confidence of security suddenly disturbed; their property exposed to imminent hazard; and their civil rights involved in the greatest perplexity; and they have no hope of remedy, but from the wisdom and justice of Your Lordship in Council To these they present their earnest prayer—

*That some measures in consistence with the compact or treaty hereinbefore mentioned, may be devised without loss of time, to secure Your Petitioners from the ruinous consequences of the introduction of the English Alien Law into India without qualification; to fix the law of Aliens for the future upon definite principles, and such as are suitable to the country and of society; to declare the right in which the Armenians, whether born within the territory or mere settlers in it, shall in future stand before the law, specially in the important particulars of marriage, inheritance and succession to property; and to restore them the enjoyment of their rights and privileges held out to them by the treaty and compact above-mentioned and of which, for a long course of years, they were prevented to avail themselves; or that, if your Lordship in Council does not feel competent to grant the prayer of Your Petitioners without a reference to authorities in England, that you will be pleased to give that reference all the weight which the previous sanction and recommendation of Your Lordship in Council will confer,*

And your Petitioners shall ever pray.

The Governor-General gave the deputation a patient and courteous hearing, and observed that it was beyond the power of his Government to interfere in a matter such as the Alien Law of England. Still he hoped that in the course of a few months that question would be settled to the satisfaction of the Memorialists. As to the other grievances set forth in the Petition, he was bound to say, that a representation from so respectable a class as the Armenians of Calcutta was entitled to every attention, and he was sure that his Council would give due consideration to the several complaints which it embraced. What the ultimate and practical result of the Petition was, it is not easy to discover.

With this incident in the history of Armenians in India, the present paper must conclude. There are now in Calcutta and elsewhere many well-to-do families whose ancestors came from New Julpha. To tell the story of how, by personal merit and unwearying effort, they have attained their position of opulence and honor, would be to relate much of a deeply-interesting nature. But the delicacy of the task forbids its being essayed, and so

"The torch shall be extinguish'd which hath lit"  
My midnight lamp—and what is writ, is writ,—  
Would it were worthier!"

HERBERT A. STARK, B. A.

## ART. VIII.—HOOGHLY PAST AND PRESENT.

X.

*(Continued from the Calcutta Review for October 1893.)*

### HOOGHLY DURING THE TIME OF THE QUEEN'S RULE.

THE storm of the Mutiny was followed by a calm. No retributive measures were adopted to avenge the shocking cruelties which had been perpetrated by the rebels. The divine spirit of forgiveness prevailed, and peace was proclaimed throughout India on the 8th July 1859. This peace, heralded as it was by trophies of war, had also trophies of its own to boast of. Several important reforms were effected in the matter of the general administration of the country. The hitherto unsettled relation of landlord and tenant was placed on a permanent basis. The procedure for the trial of Civil Suits was improved and arranged in logical order. People, with old claims, were roused from their lethargy,\* and, as a consequence, the Courts were flooded with suits, so that even the humblest member of the legal profession was agreeably surprised at the sudden increase in his income. An old friend of ours, who has deservedly led the local bar for a considerable period, tells us, that, although it was only the beginning of his forensic career, he made a mint of money during that millennium for Bengal lawyers, and laid the foundation of his future fortune. In the midst of this unprecedented activity, the Collector had his burden of business considerably increased. Hitherto the offices of Magistrate and Collector had been held by two different persons; but this being found neither necessary nor convenient, the two offices were combined. The order sanctioning the union was passed in 1859, but it was not carried into effect till the year following, when Mr. C. S. Belli, † the son of Mr. W. H. Belli, was appointed to the dual office. The Bellis are not likely to be forgotten in the district, the one heading its Collectors, the other its Magistrate-Collectors. This time, Mr. Belli was in charge of the District only for a year and odd months, but he did not leave it for good, as he again came to rule, in the same capacity a few years later. The

\* The Mahomedan statute-book does not contain any law for the limitation of actions. According to it, lapse of time, however long, does not bar any claim which is otherwise good.

† This gentleman rose to be a District Judge, in which capacity he distinguished himself in Rajshye, and earned well-deserved popularity. While he was in Hooghly, he was commonly known as "Chota Belli."

people loved him, especially for the sake of his father, and he, on his part, took good care not to abuse their love. Indeed, if the son was not equally popular with the sire, he was only second to him in that respect.

While Mr. C. S. Belli was in charge of the District, a great change came over the criminal administration of the country. This was the passing of the famous Act XLV\* which is better known as the Indian Penal Code. It had been drafted by the celebrated Thomas Babington Macaulay as far back as 1837 †, but it did not receive the assent of the Governor-General till the 6th October 1860. Hitherto, the Mahomedan law, bristling as it did with barbarous punishments, had been in force. The new Code did not come upon the public as a very agreeable surprise, but even its bitterest opponent could not deny that it was leniency itself compared with the cruel law which it superseded. "Severe as some of its provisions were, it was principally a preventive measure, as criminal codes generally are, the object of the Legislature being that, except in extreme cases, which crop up only rarely, the maximum punishments provided for by it should not be inflicted. It was intended to be viewed rather in the light of a Damocles' sword than that of a Procrustes' bed: it is something like a scarecrow set up more to prevent a breach of the law, than to punish it to its fullest extent.

President Washington used to say, 'that to be always ready for war is the best way of preventing it.' The object which the wise code-makers had in view was something of the same sort.

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\* This Act, although it was passed in 1860, did not take effect until the 1st May 1861.

† The Bill, on its first promulgation, met with bitter opposition from the Press. A writer in the *Hurkaru* thus begins a letter, bearing date the 19th January 1838. "The Code of Penal Law just promulgated, is so replete with absurdity, that one would suppose it to be rather a burlesque on legislation than a reality." Then, pointing out some supposed absurdities, he concludes his tirade with a final fling at "lucky Tom's" departure from India. As the conclusion is quite of a piece with the commencement, we will quote it also for the delectation of our readers: "Truly," says this Thersites, "Mr. Macaulay does wisely to run away from his Code; a more childish piece of insanity was never put together. He had 'done his job,' and the Macaulay job is the most flagrant. A code of law! a legislator!

Little Bo—peep  
Has lost her sheep,  
And cannot tell where to find him,  
Let him alone,  
He'll soon go home  
And leave his Code behind him."

But, condemned and laughed at as it was in the beginning, Macaulay's code has proved to be an excellent piece of legislation. He, however, did not live to see it permanently placed on the Indian Statute-Book, as he was cut off, in the midst of his brilliant career, in 1859, a year which deprived English literature and Indian history of two other most worthy workers in Washington Irving and Mount Stuart Elphinstone.



But although the code was passed in 1860,\* it took some time for the general public to learn that such a terrible instrument had been introduced into the legal arsenal. The Mofussil people being for the most part ignorant, and law being quite foreign to their ordinary pursuits, it is no wonder that it was long before its stringent provisions came to the notice of the villagers†; the criminal list of the district for the year was a heavy one and contained offences of divers descriptions. But there was one case which was unique in its character. It was a charge of culpable-homicide brought by a native named Hoshein Buksh against one Mr. T. Morrel. The accused was committed by the Joint Magistrate, Mr. R. V. Cockerell,‡ and was tried by the then Sessions Judge, Mr. C. P. Hobhouse. The charge was brought home to the prisoner by good legal evidence, but the Judge did not think it necessary to inflict a severer punishment than a fine of Rs. 500.

Reforms in criminal law were followed up by reforms in other directions. An Act of Parliament was passed in 1861, establishing High Courts of Judicature in India. In pursuance of this Act, Letters Patent were issued on the 14th May 1862, constituting the High Court of Judicature for the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William in supersession of the old Supreme and Sudder Courts. The new

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\* This memorable year also witnessed the well-known Indigo crisis, in which the founder and first editor of the *Hindoo Patriot* so much distinguished himself by his able advocacy of the cause of the weak ryots as against the powerful Planters.

Surely it would be sheer cruelty to apply the well-known legal maxim about the non-excusableness of the ignorance of law to the common people of this country.

† To add to the sufferings of the people of Lower Bengal, the much dreaded Burdwan Fever, as it was called, appeared with all its horrors this year. It visited Chakdaha, whence it extended along the east bank of the river, in a southerly direction down to Kanchrapara, Halishahar, Naihati, and other places. Then, suddenly appearing at Tribeni on this side of the river, it spread like wildfire along the west bank to Kalna in the Burdwan District. In 1861, it broke out with redoubled fury: Dwarbashingi was nearly depopulated, Santipur and Ulla suffered most severely, Halishahar as well as Kanchrapara lost most of its inhabitants. In 1862, the same harrowing scene was repeated. But in the following year, there was a slight abatement in its virulence. The Epidemic Fever Commission was appointed, and by the 31st March 1864 they were ready with their Report, in which they ascribed the fever to sub-soil humidity caused by obstructed drainage. The drainage theory originated with Dr. Dempster in 1845, but it was the late Raja Degumber Mitter who discovered that impeded drainage, generating dampness, was caused, not by silted-up *khals* and rivers, as had been hitherto supposed, but by the Railways and their feeders.

‡ This gentleman was the younger brother of Mr. F. R. Cockerell, who was Magistrate of Hooghly in the Mutiny year.

Court consisted of a Chief Justice and fourteen Puisne Judges, the first Chief Justice being Sir Barnes Peacock.\* Simultaneously with the passing of the High Courts' Act was passed the Indian Councils' Act, which brought about a great change in the Legislative power. Previous to 1834, when the Legislative Council of India first came into existence, each Presidency Government had power for itself to enact what were called *Regulations*; but in that year this legislative power ceased, and until the coming into operation of the India Councils Act, which received the royal assent on the 1st August 1861, the Legislative Council of India was the sole body. Since that Act came into force, the Governments of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras have each had power, subject to certain restrictions, to pass *Acts*. While these reforms were being introduced into the two highest departments in the land, the subject of criminal administration was not lost sight of. The Indian Penal Code had been passed in the previous year, but as such substantive law requires for its full operation the aid of adjective law, the Criminal Procedure Code (Act XXV)† was passed in the year under notice. Both these Codes are excellent in their way, and it is not at all to be wondered at that they still substantially retain their place on the Indian Statute Book. A Police Act was also passed, whereby the District Superintendent of Police was invested with authority over village watchmen, subject to the general control of the Magistrate. But, though these measures were initiated with a view to the repression of crime, still they did not appear to exercise a wholesome influence over the Hooghly District. True, no dacoity or murder was brought to light; but offences of a deeper dye, so far as the morals of the people are concerned, were committed. In proof of this, we would mention two important trials which were held in the Sessions Court, and ended in the conviction of the parties accused. The one was the case of Babu Joykissen Mookerjee of Uttarpura, and the other that of Ramji Ghose of Hooghly. The Babu, who had had a chequered career, was charged with having been privy to the forging of certain leases relating to the Mukla talook, the Debuttar property of

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\* Sir Barnes was Law Member of the Supreme Council before he became Chief Justice. In both capacities, he highly distinguished himself; but it seems that his reputation as a Judge has eclipsed his reputation as a legislator. After his retirement from Indian Service, he became a member of the Judicial Committee. His son, Mr. F. B. Peacock, was Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. He has since retired on pension. Mr. F. B. Peacock's son, Mr. F. Peacock, is a rising member of the Calcutta bar.

† The draft was ready by January 1857, and the Bill was introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. Peacock, then at the head of the Law Commission. But it did not become law until 1861.

the Dhurs of Chinsura. His brother, Babu Rajkissen Mookerjee, who, from a devoted friend, had become his deadly enemy, being interested in the same estate, took up the cudgels against him and fought with might and main. The preliminary enquiry was held by Mr. G. P. Grant,\* Joint-Magistrate of Serampore, who, being of opinion that a *prima facie* case had been made out, committed the accused to take his trial in the Sessions Court. The trial came on before Mr. F. E. S. Lillie, who, according to the practice then in vogue, was assisted by a Mahomedan officer of law. The prosecution was conducted by Messrs. R. V. Doyne and L. Clarke, while the prisoner was defended by Messrs. A. T. T. Peterson and W. Newmarch. The trial lasted for some time. Very strenuous efforts were made by the counsel for the defence to get the Babu off, and it seems that their great forensic powers, more especially those of Mr. Peterson, had produced considerable effect on the mind of the Judge. The latter held that there was no sufficient evidence to bring home the charge to the accused, and that he would not at all be justified in convicting him. But the native Kazi was of a different opinion, and thought that the offence had been satisfactorily established against the prisoner. As the law then stood, in case of difference of opinion between the Judge and the Kazi, a reference was necessary. Accordingly, a reference was made to the Calcutta Court, which, unfortunately for the accused, upheld the views of the Kazi, and the result was that he was convicted and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for five years and a fine of ten thousand rupees. He lost no time in sending his counsel, Mr. Newmarch, to England, where an application was made to the Privy Council for leave to appeal from the sentence of the Court in India. This application was heard on the 16th July, 1862, by four Judges, of whom two, Sir Lawrence Peel and Sir James William Colvile, had been long Chief Justices of the Supreme Court. There were two questions for the decision of their Lordships : *first*, whether there was a prerogative right of appeal to the Privy Council in matters of Criminal Jurisdiction ; and *secondly*, whether the case in question was one in which the authority of the Crown could properly be interposed in the interests of justice.

As regards the first question, the Judicial Committee held that the Crown had such a power. But the second question their Lordships answered in the negative. They, however,

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\* This gentleman is the son of the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Peter Grant. Mr. Grant distinguished himself in the honourable service to which he belonged. He became Judge of Hooghly, and, while serving in that capacity, officiated for some time as a Judge of the High Court. He has since retired on pension.

gave it as their opinion, that justice had not been very well administered, and that if it had been a Civil case, they would certainly have recommended Her Majesty to admit the appeal. But the case before them, they continued to observe, was a criminal one, and was subject to very different considerations. Then, showing how, if the appeal were admitted, "not only would the course of justice be maimed, but in very many instances it would be entirely prostrated," they rejected the application. But, as their Lordships believed that justice had not been done, they suggested that an application might be made to the Sovereign in Parliament, who, they had no doubt, would examine into the peculiar circumstances of the case and do that which justice might require.\* Accordingly, an application was made *ad misericordiam*, and was attended with its expected result. Considering all the circumstances of the case, and keeping in view the many good and charitable acts which the Babu had done for the public good, and which on this occasion pleaded for him with that silent eloquence that is sometimes more effective than the thunders of a Demosthenes or the persuasions of a Cicero, Her Majesty, in the exercise of her Royal mercy, pronounced the defendant's release from prison.

Mr. C. S. Belli, as we have already stated, was in the District for a little more than a year. After he left it, his place was taken by Mr. A. V. Palmer.† Notwithstanding his eccentricity, Mr. Palmer was an able officer, and he signalised his rule by some important acts, of which the most important was his bringing to justice Ramji Ghose aforesaid. This notorious rogue was in the habit of forging deeds and documents, and his skill in this black art was such that in many instances his forgeries had escaped the vigilant eyes of very able and careful judicial officers. As zemindars who profited by his malpractices, used to countenance him, he thought himself out of the reach of danger. But, at length, his fancied security proved his greatest enemy, and he was ruined for life. One Ram Chandra Mookerjee, having got scent of his evil doings, after he had made sure of his ground, informed Mr. Palmer of the matter. That wary Magistrate took it up in right good earnest, and, availing himself of a favourable opportunity, of which he was duly informed by Ram Chandra, came upon the forger unawares, and caught him red-handed, as it were, with all the appliances of his foul practice. A formal enquiry was held, in accordance with the provisions of law, and the accused, with some others, was, committed to the Sessions on the 31st October, 1861. Baboo Ramkrishna

\* 1 W. R. Priv. C. Rulings, pp. 13, 14.

† This officer rose to be a District Judge, in which capacity he distinguished himself in Shahabad in South Behar.

Tarkálankár,\* the then Peshkar of the Criminal Court, conducted the prosecution, while the principal accused, Ramji Ghose, whose cause was espoused by the zemindars who had benefited by his misdeeds, was defended by some able pleaders. The case created an immense sensation, and the Court-house was full to overflowing while the trial lasted. Every endeavour was made by his pleaders to get Ramji off, but the charge was so clearly proved that the Judge felt no hesitation in convicting him, and an order was passed on the 31st January, 1862†, whereby he was sentenced to transportation for a period of seven years.

Mr. Palmer left the District in 1864, ‡ and was succeeded by Mr. R. V. Cockerell §, who held charge of it for a considerable period, not bidding it final farewell until 1870. A few months after he joined office, a terrible cyclone swept over the land, spreading ruin and desolation in its way. The wrath of Æolus was followed by the wrath of Indra. The clouds forgot to rain, and mother Earth was scorched up. Famine made its appearance early in the next year, and there was wail and woe all round. The "meagre Fiend" stalked over the length and breadth of Bengal, but her malignant influence was most severely felt in the districts of Burdwan and Midnapore. When it was found that people were dying of sheer starvation, relief centres were opened on the part of Government, and a few rich folk also came forward to invest some portion of their surplus money in works which make the ascent to heaven much easier. We know for certain that in this town not a few middle-class people, whose peculiar social position did not permit them to partake of charity, somehow managed to keep body and soul together on only one poor meal a day. In the matter of providing relief for the many, the Magistrate did his

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\* This gentleman distinguished himself as Sherishtadar of the Hooghly Collectorate. He retired on pension in the time of Mr. Cooke. The title of *Roy Bahadur* has since been conferred upon him in recognition of his meritorious services, and, as a further mark of special favour, the office of Sub-Registrar has been given him, in which capacity he is now serving in Serampore.

† In this year, Lord Elgin succeeded Lord Canning in the Viceroyalty, but died at a Himalayan station in the year following.

‡ In the commencement of this year Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence took charge of the Viceroyalty; and towards its close, the Great Rent Case was heard by the full complement of the High Court Judges under the presidency of Sir Barnes Peacock in which Dwarka Nath Mitter so ably succeeded in defending the cause of the ryots, and thus paved his way to a seat in the same high tribunal. The Whipping Act (Act VI) was also passed in 1864.

§ This gentleman rose to be a District Judge. He officiated for some time as Additional Judge of Chittagong in 1867.

utmost, and he is deservedly held in love and esteem for his good work at this trying time.

But while this life-and-death struggle was going on, Mr. Cockerell did not forget to look after the improvement of the town, into which the Municipal Act (III of 1864) had now been introduced. As its first Chairman under the new Act, he tried to supply its wants. The first thing he put his hand to, was the making of a road, running from the Hooghly Railway Station to the side of the river at Baboogunge. This road was commenced in 1865, as appears from his report to the Divisional Commissioner, dated the 2nd June, 1866. But, though it was proceeded with without intermission, it was not finished before 1868. The road cost, in round numbers, eighteen thousand rupees. In connection with this improvement, it may be mentioned that some portions of private lands which fell in the road were given free of charge by the benevolent gentlemen of Hooghly and Chinsura who were the owners thereof. As this road, which forms, as it were, the girdle of the town, owes its existence to Mr. Cockerell, it justly bears his name.

While Mr. Cockerell was thus ingratiating himself into the favour of the people by his good acts, Mr. Arthur Pigou was discharging the duties of head of the Civil Department. He joined his office early in 1864, and soon made his mark as a good judge.

During his incumbency, Mr. Pigou had to try several dacoity cases, of which we shall notice only one, to wit, the Kurtapook dacoity. This dacoity was committed on the night of the 9th November, 1866. Early the next morning, six of the dacoits were caught at the neighbouring village of Chāndipur. Jogeswar Bagdi and several others were committed to the Sessions, and were tried by Mr. Pigou. The Judge, concurring with the Jury, convicted all the prisoners. On appeal to the High Court, the sentences were upheld except as to Sadoy Mitia, whose sentence was amended. The final order passed by the Court of Appeal is dated the 28th May, 1867.\* Perhaps, this was the last criminal trial held by Mr. Pigou, and hence its painful significance.

Mr. Pigou died, somewhat suddenly, on the 17th April, 1867, and was buried in the crowded cemetery at Dharampur in Chinsura, which contains the bones of many a European, including some Dutch Governors of the place.

He was succeeded by Mr. G. Bright, who came by transfer from East Burdwan. The new Judge, like his lamented predecessor, was an able officer, and he soon gained a good name in the district by his just and equitable decisions.

Several important trials were held by him in his capacity of Sessions Judge, one and all of which created considerable sensation at the time.

Towards the close of the year 1868, a Mahomedan of Pahárpur preferred a complaint against Bahirdas Sircar and Dharmadas Sircar, two powerful zemindars of Peáshará, charging them with having, by their labourers and *lathials*, forcibly cut and carried off his paddy and beaten him and his people, they themselves being present on the spot and giving orders. Mr. W. H. Ryland, the Sub-Divisional officer of Sérampore, within whose jurisdiction the offence was said to have been committed, held the preliminary enquiry, and, being convinced that the case was a true one, committed the accused to the Sessions. Mr. Bright held the trial. The Government pleader, Baboo Eshan Chandra Mitter, conducted the prosecution, while Mr. Peterson, the then leader of the Calcutta bar, defended the prisoners. Mr. Peterson had the reputation of being a first-class cross-examining counsel, and so he certainly was. Indeed, he was a terror to the witnesses. The witnesses for the prosecution could not stand the brisk fire of his cross-examination, and the result was that the evidence lamentably broke down. The jury, headed by Baboo Gopi Krishna Gossain of Sérampore, returned a verdict of "not guilty," and the Judge, concurring with them, acquitted the prisoners. This order, which, however, was not received by the public with unmixed satisfaction, was passed in February, 1869.

The case against Baboo Purna Chandra Banerjee \* was even more important than the Peáshará affair. The Baboo was a well-known Zemindar of Allá, a village within the limits of the Dhaniakhali Thana. The offence with which he was charged was of a very serious character, the complaint being that he had killed a poor man of the weaver class with a double-barreled pistol. The defence set up was, that the fatal shot which was intended to kill a rabid dog, missing its aim, hit the deceased by the purest of accidents. The Government pleader, Baboo Eshan Chandra Mitter, as usual, conducted the prosecution, while Mr. J. W. B. Money, Barrister-at-law, defended the prisoner. After the evidence had been gone into, it was found that the charge of murder or culpable homicide was not sustainable. However, the prisoner could not be allowed to go scott-free, seeing that he confessed to having caused the death of a human being, though by pure accident. Accordingly, he was found guilty under Section 338 of the Indian Penal Code, and was punished with the maximum fine of one thousand rupees provided by law.

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\* This gentleman had long been a member of the Subordinate Executive Service, but, for some gross misconduct, afterwards, lost his appointment.

Two things are necessary for the good administration of a District: first, that its two chief officers should be able and honest men; and, secondly, that they should not be antagonistic to each other. At the time of which we are speaking, Hooghly was very fortunate in this respect. Both Mr. Cockerell and Mr. Bright were able and honest officers, and they were also on the best of terms. But, in the discharge of their respective duties, their intimacy, warm as it was, was never allowed to influence their conduct. Cases happened, though their number was not large, in which the Judge, having found fault with the orders of the Magistrate, did not fail to invoke the aid of the High Court for their reversal or modification as the cases in his opinion required. In this connection we may mention two typical cases, *viz.*, Shanta Teorni *versus* Mrs. Belilios, and Mr. Larrymore *versus* Baboo Purnendra Deva Roy.

In the first case, the woman Shanta brought a charge of theft against Mrs. Belilios. The District Magistrate made over the matter for disposal to the Deputy Magistrate, Mr. Godfrey, who, deeming a Police enquiry necessary, requested the Magistrate to order it. The Magistrate, in compliance with the request, directed the Superintendent of Police to make the necessary enquiry. The latter reported that the charge was utterly false, and he also recommended that the complainant should be summoned for preferring a false charge. The Magistrate, in his order upon the Police Superintendent's report, passed no decision on the original complaint; he merely stated that he could not encourage the bringing of charges of "false complaint," but that the injured person might appear and swear on information, if she chose, under section 200. A day or two after this, the complainant again made a petition, praying that her witnesses might be summoned, who were to prove the charge of theft. She also objected to the Police proceedings, as being irregular, and asked that the Police report, together with the other papers in the case, might be sent back to the Deputy Magistrate by whom the case was first entertained. But the Magistrate rejected her prayer, saying that her case had been dismissed as false. The Sessions Judge, on being moved in the matter, made a reference to the High Court, mainly on the ground that, as the case had been made over to the Deputy Magistrate, the Magistrate had no jurisdiction to do anything more in it so long as the transfer to the Deputy was in existence. The reference came on for hearing on the 16th September 1869\* before Mr. Justice Glover and Mr.

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\* Dr. Thompson, in his Report of the Hooghly District for 1869, states that there was a hurricane on 9th June, which was followed in the next day by an earthquake, causing oscillation of buildings. Beyond causing cracks in some old ricketty houses, no substantial damage was done by the earthquake, but the fury of this visitation proved fatal to some trees which were blown down.



Justice Dwarka Nath Mitter, who, agreeing with the Sessions Judge, quashed the proceedings of the Magistrate as bad in law, and ordered that the case, as brought by Shanta against Belilios, should be returned to the Court to which it was originally made over for final disposal.\*

The facts of the other case were as follows: One evening, about the middle of the year 1870, Mr. A. W. Larrymore, the Superintendent of Police, was riding along a narrow road, when Baboo Purnendra Deva Roy, the head of the renowned Mahasaya family of Bānsberia, was coming in a carriage from the other side. Mr. Larrymore called the coachman to stop, but, for some reason or other the latter did not do so, and the result was a collision, in which Mr. Larrymore was injured. The Joint Magistrate, at the instance of the Magistrate, tried the case. He held that as the Baboo did not interfere, he was liable under Section 279 of the Indian Penal Code, and he accordingly inflicted a fine upon him. The Baboo then applied to the District Judge, Mr. Bright, and he, thinking that as Mr. Larrymore did not address himself to the Baboo inside the coach, and as there was no ground for assuming that, although hearing Mr. Larrymore's calls to the coachman, he, the Baboo, who, by the bye, was sleepy at the time, tacitly assented to the coachman disregarding them, referred the matter to the High Court under Section 434 of the Criminal Procedure Code, with his opinion that the conviction and sentence were not good in law. On the 13th August, Mr. Justice Kemp and Mr. Justice Bayley heard the reference, and, after considering the arguments addressed to them by the pleaders on both sides, held that the coachman, and not the Baboo, was liable, under Section 279, and accordingly quashed the conviction and ordered the fine to be refunded to the Baboo.†

Fast friends as Messrs. Cockerell and Bright were, the stern exigencies of Government service brought about a separation between them in 1870. Mr. Cockerell was transferred from the Hooghly District, and his place was occupied by Mr. F. H. Pellew. After the latter had joined office, the Village Chaukidari Act (VIII, of 1870)‡ was passed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, thereby giving large powers to the District Magistrate. True, the chowkidars were placed under the direct control of the village punchayet, but the thread of their destiny was in the hands of the Magistrate. Mr. Pellew exercised his powers of superintendence with great care and discretion, and

\* 12 W. R. Cr. Rulings, p. 53.

† 14 W. R. Cr. Rulings, p. 32.

‡ This Act is still in force, being only a little modified by Acts I of 1871, and 1886 of the Bengal Council.

the result was a considerable improvement in the character and efficiency of the village watchmen. Dacoity, which had again reared its head, was considerably repressed. The number of dacoities previous to 1870 averaged forty a year, but in 1871 \* it was reduced to ten. Thus the District became comparatively quiet and peaceable. But, though it was fortunate in the matter of the repression of crime, it was very unfortunate in another respect. Fever, which had begun to rage in 1860, went on increasing, and reached its height in October 1871.

While Mr. Bright was Judge, a very important suit was decided in the Civil Courts. The Deputy Magistrate of Jehanabad, Baboo Issur Chunder Mitter, having cut away a *bund* which had been erected on the Mundeswari river for *boro* cultivation by Baboo Taruck Nath Mookerjee of Jonai, the latter brought a suit for damages as well as for declaration of prescriptive right to erect the *bund*, making the said Deputy Magistrate and his two subordinates, *viz.*, the Ferry Fund Overseer, and the Police Inspector, defendants. The Government had not been made a party, but it elected to interfere in the matter, and was, agreeably to its prayer, placed on the record. The suit was brought in the Court of the Sub-Judge. Mr. Money, of the Calcutta bar, led the plaintiff's party, while the Government pleader, the well-known Baboo Eshan Chundra Mitter, led the defendant's party. The fight was a tough and obstinate one, and continued for days together. The Subordinate Judge, in an elaborate judgment, gave his decision on the several issues which were raised in the case, and finally passed the following order: "The plaintiff's prescriptive right to erect the disputed *bund* is declared, and the claim for damages is dismissed, and in the circumstances of the case, each party will bear his own costs." As such an order failed to satisfy any of the parties, there were no less than four separate appeals to the Judge. The plaintiff appealed as a matter of course, his claim for damages having been dismissed. The Government appealed, being dissatisfied with the declaration of right which the plaintiff had obtained. The other two appeals, which were preferred by the Deputy Magistrate, and the Ferry Fund Overseer respectively, were not of much importance. All these appeals were heard by Mr. Bright, and he, too, like the Sub-Judge, passed an elaborate judgment. He upheld the order of the Lower Court as far as the dismissal of the claim for damages went, and

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\* The Hooghly and Burdwan Drainage Act (V of 1871) was passed this year. The great Mathematician, Sir John Herschel, died in the same year. His title descended to his son, William Herschel, who, some time after, became Magistrate of Hooghly.

modified its decree as to the rest. The case then went up in special appeal to the High Court, and a Division Bench, composed of Mr. Justice L. S. Jackson and Mr. Justice Macpherson, decided it on the 5th January, 1870.\* Their Lordships held that the plaintiff was entitled to recover damages from the defendant, Issur Chunder Mitter, in respect of an act done by him in his official capacity as Deputy Magistrate of Jehanabad, and that he was also entitled to a declaration of his right to erect and maintain a certain *bund* as regards Issur Chunder Mitter and the Government. Here, however, this litigation, which had dragged its slow length along for such a long period, did not end. The Government applied for a review of judgment,† mainly on the ground that the Honourable Court's judgment was defective, inasmuch as it did not decide whether the Deputy Magistrate, in removing the *bund*, acted judicially and with jurisdiction. This ground was held to be good and valid; but as the petition of review had been made by the Government, and not by the Deputy Magistrate, it could not be admitted as it is stood. The High Court, however, deeming it proper to deal with the matter leniently, allowed the petition to be amended by adding the Deputy Magistrate's name as a petitioner. Having done so, the Court dismissed the plaintiff's suit as against the Deputy Magistrate altogether, and declared the plaintiff's right to erect and maintain the *bund* as against the Government. Thus this protracted and expensive law-suit, in which the Government, having once made a blunder at the outset, went on blundering to the very last, ended in its total discomfiture by being made to pay full costs to the plaintiff.

In the year 1871‡ a very important case was decided by the second Sub-Judge in connection with the local Imambara. Moonshee Abdool Waheb, who had served as *Khajanchi* (treasurer) of the Imambara from the 22nd November, 1860, was, on 6th March 1869, found to have embezzled seventeen thousand odd rupees. A criminal prosecution was in the first instance instituted against him, and he was committed to take his trial before the Sessions Court. Mr. Wauchope, the Additional Sessions Judge, who held the trial, however, acquitted the prisoner. Afterwards, Syed Keramat Ali, the Matwali of the Imambara, brought a civil suit for the amount so misappropriated, making Abdool Waheb and his sureties defendants. The case came on for hearing before Baboo Jagabandhu Ban-

\* 13 W. R. p. 13.

† 16 W. R. p. 63.

‡ In this year, Sir William Grey retired, and was succeeded at Belvedere by Sir George Campbell, who, like Sir John Peter Grant, had been a Puisne Judge of the highest tribunal in the land.

nerjee, the Sub-Judge. The hearing lasted for several days, and did not come to an end until the 27th January, 1871. The learned Sub-Judge, after disposing of the preliminary objections in favour of the plaintiff, held, on the merits, that Abdool Waheb had really misappropriated the amount claimed, and accordingly passed a decree for the entire claim with costs against him, and, as regards the sureties, he held that they could not be rendered liable for more than was covered by the stamp paper on which the surety-bond was engrossed, and accordingly passed against them a decree for Rs. 1,000 only with proportionate costs. Three appeals were preferred to the High Court, of which the one made by the plaintiff had reference to that portion of the decree of the Sub-Judge which held the sureties liable only to the extent of Rs. 1,000. All these appeals came on for hearing before Justices F. B. Kemp and E. Jackson ; and their Lordships, agreeing in the main in the conclusion arrived at by the Lower Court, dismissed them on the 9th January 1872. In dismissing the appeal of the sureties, the learned Judges remarked that, although there was gross neglect on the part of the Matwali in looking after the affairs of the trust committed to his charge, yet, as there was no evidence of fraud or virtual connivance at the delinquency of the treasurer, the sureties could not be allowed to go scot-free.\* The decree as against Abdool Waheb was only partially satisfied, as the dishonest judgment-debtor had fraudulently disposed of the main *corpus* of his property before it could be attached and sold in execution. Thus there was a considerable loss to the trust estate. As for the Matwali, he was, it is true, not called upon to make good the balance, but such was his high sense of honour that the censure of the High Court greatly affected him, and before long brought on a disease which only left him with his life.

Mr. Bright was Judge of Hooghly when the embezzlement of the trust funds was first brought to light, but he had left it before the civil suit which arose out of it, was finally decided by the High Court. In fact, he bade adieu to the District towards the close of 1871, when he was succeeded by Mr. H. T. Prinsep.

The year 1872† is a memorable year. In it, a census was taken of the Hooghly District, at which it was found that the town contained a population of 67,538 souls, against 70,025

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\* 17 W. R., page 131.

† In January of this year, Lord Mayo in a luckless hour started on a visit to the convict Settlement at Port Blair in the Andamans, but he landed in it only to fall a victim to the dagger of a ruthless ruffian. Lord Mayo was succeeded in the Viceroyalty by Lord Northbrook.

in 1837. This decrease in population might very well be attributed to the fearful mortality from the epidemic fever which had raged in the District for such a long period.

During Mr. Prinsep's time a very important case was instituted in the Criminal Court, though he was away from the District when the trial was held in the Sessions Court. We refer to the ugly affair in which the Mohunt of Tarkeswar stood charged with a most infamous offence. The Tarkeswar adultery case marks an important epoch in the annals of Hooghly. It would have been very strange indeed, if it had not created the sensation which it did, and the reason for it was not far to seek. The accused, Madhab Chunder Giri, was the premier priest of a very rich Hindoo shrine, perhaps the richest in all Bengal. It was not, however, for his immense wealth, but for his supposed superior sanctity that he commanded so much respect. Among his brother Mohunts, he passed for a Maharaja, and was looked upon as their spiritual liege lord. As for the reverence which he received from the Hindoo community at large, it was almost without a parallel. Even high caste Hindoo ladies did not hesitate to appear before him for the purpose of making holy salutation. When it was reported that such a highly venerated saint, who was enjoined by the rigid rules of his holy order to observe strictly the vow of celibacy,\* when people said and believed that such a vicegerent of God, whose very touch had a talismanic effect in the spiritual concerns of mankind, and whose very word could raise a mortal to eternal bliss in Heaven, or doom him to perennial punishment in Hell,—when it got abroad that such a human divinity had gone wrong with a beautiful girl of sweet sixteen, it was only natural that there should be a terrible uproar and agitation in Hindu society. One and all were anxious to know what the facts were, and the facts soon became public. Indeed, the facts lay in a nut-shell. The young woman who created this unprecedented strife and commotion in the minds of the Hindus, was a daughter of one Nilkamal Chakravarti of Kumrool, a village in the vicinity of the Tarkeswar temple. When a mere infant, Elokeshi, for that was her name, was married to a high caste Brahmin, named Nobin Chandra Bandopádhyá. Nobin was an employé in the Government Printing Office at Calcutta, and, as usual with such men, generally resided in his place of business, occasionally paying visits to his wife at his father-in-law's. In 1873, having obtained leave on the Queen's birthday and for some days subse-

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\* A Mohunt has no zenana, and ought not to have any intercourse with women whatsoever. Thus he resembles the Roman Catholic priest, and like him, unfortunately, often goes wrong.

quent thereto, he came to Kumrool on a visit to his wife. As people are generally fond of publishing their neighbours' shame, he before long heard slanderous reports of his wife's misconduct. Suspicion soon passed into certainty. On the fatal night of the 27th May, the much-afflicted, but not the less enraged, husband, stung by the hornets that were tearing him within, suddenly asked his wife point-blank what the real state of the case was, and, on her repudiating the imputation, though not with the bold consciousness of offended innocence, made her pay the penalty of her guilt with her life. This brutal murder was soon bruited about in the village, and the result was that the culprit was caught red-handed by the Police, or rather be it said to his honour, he, of his own accord, surrendered himself to them. He was brought up before the Joint-Magistrate of Serampore, who ordered him to *hajut*. While there he preferred a charge of adultery against the Mohunt, under section 497 of the Indian Penal Code, and accordingly in August a preliminary enquiry was held by Mr. William Fitzpatrick Mees,\* the Joint-Magistrate of Hooghly. The Mohunt, who had disappeared after the murder of Elokeshi, did not appear in Court until the 1st August.† The enquiring officer, Mr. Mees, thinking that a *prima facie* case had been made out against him, committed him to the Sessions. This commitment, however, was quashed by the Sessions Judge of Hooghly, Mr. Prinsep, purely on the technical ground of non-jurisdiction, he being of opinion that the preliminary enquiry should have been held by the Joint-Magistrate of Serampore, within whose jurisdiction the offence was said to have been committed. But Nobin was a very determined opponent. He renewed his complaint, upon which a second enquiry was held by the same Magistrate, especially empowered in this behalf, and the result, as had been expected, was a second commitment. This time, the trial came on before Mr. Charles Dickinson Field, who was then officiating for Mr. Prinsep in the District Judgeship. The Judge was assisted in the trial by two native Assessors, Baboos Shib Chandra Mullick and Shumbhoo Chandra Gargory, both residents of Chinsura. The trial commenced with considerable "pomp and circumstance," quite befitting the rank and respectability of the accused person. The crowd that used to assemble during the period that it lasted was immense. There was a sea of human heads in and about the suffocated Court-house

\* This officer, who earned great popularity in Hooghly, rose to be a District Judge. He was the son-in-law of Mr. R. Thwaytes, the then Principal of the Hooghly College.

† A warrant for his arrest had been issued as far back as the 16th June,

and the place looked, indeed, like a great *mela*. Baboo Eshan Chandra Mitter, the able Government pleader, conducted the prosecution, while Mr. W. Jackson and Mr. (now Sir) G. H. Evans, who are still practising at the Calcutta bar, defended the prisoner. The main points for determination were, *first*, whether the accused Mohunt had intercourse with Elokeshi or not; and *secondly*, whether at the time he had such intercourse, he knew or had reason to believe her to be the wife of another man. There was no question as to Elokeshi having been the wedded wife of Nobin, or of consent or connivance on the part of the husband. Gopinath Sing Roy was the most material witness in the cause. He was in the employ of the Mohunt as durwan, when the adultery was said to have been committed. His evidence disclosed certain circumstances which raised a strong presumption of the Mohunt having really played the gay Lothario. The prisoner's counsel fought tooth and nail to demolish the testimony of Gopinath, but truth triumphed in the end, and the Judge fully believed him. There were some other material witnesses, but before the second enquiry began they had somehow or other disappeared from the scene. Only Gopinath clung fast to the post of honour. Some attempts would seem to have been made to buy him over, but he stood firm and unmoved, and his evidence turned the balance in favour of the prosecution. The Judge, after a very patient and careful consideration of the evidence and the surrounding circumstances, found the prisoner guilty on both the counts. Baboo Shib Chandra Mullick concurred with him, but the other Assessor, Baboo Shumbhu Chandra Gargory, gave a different opinion, on the ground that there was no direct evidence as to sexual intercourse, quite forgetting that in such a case, such evidence could hardly be expected to be forthcoming. Indeed, if the direct fact of adultery were necessary to be established before a conviction could be had, "there is not" as remarked by Lord Stowell in *Loveden, versus Loveden*, "one case in a hundred in which that proof would be attainable."\* The Judge, disregarding the opinion of the dissenting Assessor, convicted the accused under section 497 of the Indian Penal Code and sentenced him to undergo three years' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 2,000.† This order, which gave general satisfaction to the country, it was passed on the 20th November, 1873.‡

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\* 2 Haggard's *Consistory Reports*.

† The maximum punishment as provided in the Code, is five years' imprisonment, with or without fine.

‡ In June, there was an agitarian rising in Pubna, the ryots of that district having broken out into a serious revolt. Moving in hundreds and thousands from place to place, headed by three ringleaders, they not only

There was, of course, an appeal to the High Court, but the Mohunt was not enlarged on bail. He was made to put off his holy canonicals, and put on the ignoble dress of a convict. The Jail is a great leveller; it makes no distinction between a pariah and a priest. As was the case with convicts of his class, he had to play the meanest part of the bovine companion of his deity, being yoked to the oil-mill and made to tread the rounds.

The appeal of the Mohunt was heard by a Division Bench, consisting of Mr. Justice Markby and Mr. Justice Birch, on the 15th December, 1873. His counsel, Messrs. Jackson and Evans, fought hard to get him off, but their Lordships held that the conviction was good and valid. As regards the sentence, they observed that, speaking generally, though it might be considered to be severe, still, taking the peculiar position of the accused into consideration, it ought not to be mitigated. The observations of Mr. Justice Birch on this point being very proper and pertinent, we insert them here. His Lordship said: "To my mind the offence of which I find the accused guilty is considerably aggravated by his position as head of a venerated shrine, by virtue of which he is regarded by his co-religionists as an impersonation of the Deity whose shrine is in his charge. A man in his position has immense power and influence in this country. If he is faithless to his trust, and if under the cloak of religion, and regardless of the decided prohibition of such conduct in the writings which he holds sacred, he employs his opportunities to debauch married women, he merits condign punishment."\* Surely, if persons, who from their peculiar position are supposed to possess special sanctity, so far forget themselves as to commit foul offences, the Court ought to inflict exceptionally severe punishment upon them.

The Mohunt's senior disciple, Sham Chand Giri, took his place on the *guddee* at Tarkeswar, while he himself passed his hard and laborious days in the local jail. The term of imprisonment, however, at last expired, and he was released in the latter part of November, 1876. His *locum tenens*, Sham Chand Giri, having refused to vacate the *guddee* in his favour, he forcibly re-entered the temple premises and resumed possession of them and of the landed property. Sham Giri brought a

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*looted* goods and chattels, but sometimes cruelly took men's lives and ignominiously committed outrages on females. The young widowed sister of a zemindar was taken away by force, and treated most brutally. In fact, no one in the District considered himself safe. In this trying time, Sir George Campbell, who had, as we have already stated, succeeded Sir William Grey, was the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

\* 21 W. R. pp. 13-21.



summary suit for recovery of possession under Section 15 of Act XIV of 1859, in the District Court at Hooghly. Mr. G. P. Grant, the Judge, decreed the suit on the 28th August 1877. On the 3rd September, the defendant, Madhab Giri, moved the High Court under Section 15 of the Charter Act, whereupon a rule was granted, calling upon the other party to show cause why the order of the District Judge should not be set aside. This rule was heard by a Division Bench consisting of Mr. Justice R. C. Mitter and Mr. Justice W. Markby on the 24th November 1877. Their Lordships, while finding fault with the Judge as to the way in which he tried the suit, held that they could not interfere with his decision under their general powers of superintendence, and they accordingly dismissed the application. Thus defeated, Madhab Giri brought a civil suit for declaration of title and recovery of possession, and in this he was signally successful. He was restored to the *guddee*, which he occupied up to the time of his death, which took place only lately in Calcutta.\*

As for poor Nobin, he was tried for the murder of his wife, and was convicted and sentenced to transportation. He was deported to a lonely and desolate island; but, in view of the peculiar character of his offence, he was released in 1877, on the occasion of the assumption by the Queen of the title of Empress, when, according to a time-honoured custom, upwards of three thousand prisoners were set at liberty before the expiry of their term in the exercise of royal mercy.

Orissa had, as we have already stated, been depopulated by a terrible famine in 1866. Before seven years elapsed, a similar visitation overtook the two other Provinces of the Bengal satrapy. Taught by bitter experience, the heads of Government were on the alert this time. Relief measures were promptly adopted, and the result was, that there was not much distress or death. Only a little scarcity was felt in Hooghly, and it was of a short duration, the price of food-grains soon coming down to its normal rate.

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

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\* Since his death, there has been a scrambling for the *guddee*. True it is, Satish Chandra Giri has taken possession of it upon the strength of an alleged Will of the late Mohunt, but his position is anything but secure. The fight is raging high, and is likely to continue for some time.

## ART. IX.—LIFE OF MICHAEL M. S. DUTT, IN BENGALI.

BY BABU JOGINDRA NATH BOSE, B.A.

**I**T is a standing blot on Hindu literature that it does not possess a good history. It may also be observed that it is equally deficient in point of individual biography. Sanskrit literature, voluminous as it is, cannot boast of a single work like Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. In later times Abul Fazl wrote a book which distances all others of its kind in any Oriental language, but he and his subject were not Hindus. The neglect of biography among the Hindus can be accounted for only by the fact that the study of the history of a great man's public or private life was not considered to be of importance as a help towards educating and forming the principles and character, and guiding and regulating the lives of posterity, so much as the study of the works left behind by the sages. With the advent of Western literature this current of thought has undergone a complete change. But while gratefully tracing the innovation to the influx of Western ideas and modes of thinking, we must not omit to mention a solitary exception. The earliest biographical work in Bengali, or rather a series of works, were written more than 300 years ago, all celebrating the deeds of that wonderful man, Chaitanya, who has received the worship of his followers as an Avatar; and consequently his memoirs have passed from secular into theological literature. Of late years a few books have been published recording the life-histories of our great men, but we have to confess sorrowfully that, without exception, they are all disappointing. The short sketches that have appeared of the lives of even such men as Ram Mohun Roy and Dwarka Nath Tagore, the like of whom Bengal will not look upon for many a long day to come, are all unsatisfactory. We, therefore, cordially hail the appearance of a seemingly memoir of the late Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt, the author of the greatest epic poem in Bengali. We have read this book with unfeigned delight, and we really wonder at the immense fund of valuable information brought together by the author, Babu Jogindra Nath Bose, Head Master of Deoghar School. It may safely be said that the book before us is the only good biography in Bengali; and as such it deserves special notice.

Madhu Sudan Dutt was born at Sagoredandy, an obscure village in the district of Jessore, on the 25th January, 1824. The same year another eminent man, who has left an enduring mark

in the annals of his country. Harrish Chunder Mukherjee. was born. Madhu came of a very respectable family. His father, Rajnarayan Dutt, was a Vakeel of the Sudder Dewany Adawlat, and was renowned in the profession ; and Madhu's mother was a daughter of the zemindar of Katipara. The Dutt's were a family of single-minded, charitable and hospitable individuals, who had earned a reputation in the district by their acts of piety and liberality. There was also a vein of poetry ingrained in the family, and a pretty anecdote is told of one of Madhu's ancestors stealing the heart of a Mahomedan damsel of rank, by his skill in writing verses in Persian.

The boy Madhu was sent to the village *Patshalla* or Grammar School, and at the age of 12 or 13 was brought down to Calcutta and at once admitted into the Hindu College, the best educational institution of its kind at the time. As the Hindu College has turned out some of our ablest men, such as Ram Gopal Ghose, the Rev. K. M. Banerjee, Peary Churn Sircar, and many others, it would not be uninteresting to turn our attention for a moment to its status at the period of Madhu's entrance. A discussion had been going on amongst Government officials as to whether the Western or the Oriental system of training was best for the youth of India. One party held that the endless stores of Western thought and learning, science and philosophy, should be opened up to the Indian youth through the medium of English ; the opposite party contended that to the moral and intellectual advancement of the Indian races, the cultivation and development of Eastern literature and philosophy was the most conducive. The divergence of opinion on the subject was widespread, and there were a great number of highly learned and intelligent men ranged on either side ; amongst others we may note the names of Dr. Alexander Duff, who sided with the first-named party, and the famous Orientalist, Horace Hayman Wilson, who espoused the cause of the latter. The controversy raged with some warmth for a considerable time, until Lord Macaulay took up the cudgels on behalf of the Western party ; and his appearance in the arena decided the contest in favour of English education. The decision arrived at was proclaimed to the world by a Resolution of Lord Bentinck, dated 7th March, 1835. The results of this Resolution have been incalculable ; it is needless, however, to attempt to enumerate them here. Suffice it to say that, under its auspices, the reflection of the learning of the West on indigenous literature has been immensely beneficial. But the immediate result of the impetus thus given to English education was to ripen the seeds of repugnance towards Sanskrit literature and philosophy, and hatred of all national customs and practices

in the minds of the students of the Hindu College, which had been already sown there by the teachings of DeRozio. This extraordinary young man, an East Indian, held wonderful sway over the minds of his young pupils, and that justly; for DeRozio's mode of teaching was excellent, and his treatment of his boys affectionate. The reign of cram had not yet dawned upon the young hopefuls of Bengal; and DeRozio taught his pupils to think and judge for themselves and not take anything upon trust. In short, he infused into the minds of his pupils a scientific turn. Himself an ardent poet, of much promise, and a true well-wisher of India, which he loved as his mother-country, his popularity may be well conceived. The defect of his method lay in his oversight of the essential truth, that the transition from one system of established beliefs to another, if not based upon and accompanied with adequate moral instruction, involves, and generally ends in, the most undesirable and unexpected results. The present case was not an exception to the general rule. The pupils of DeRozio attacked whatever is considered most sacred upon earth with their new-fangled ideas, and, following out their peculiar, and, it may be said, most fallacious course of reasoning, came to the conclusion that the Hindu Scriptures were a series of hyperbolical and worthless poems out of which no good could be evolved, and snapped the bonds of society, religion, and morality. Their attitude of enquiry gradually gave place to one of wholesale mistrust, which induced scepticism, if not atheism. Freed by their own hands from the trammels of religion, which they had never been taught to regard as salutary, and drunk with joy at the publication of the Government Resolution, which they probably regarded as a triumph of their own overfoolish Sanscritists, the young students committed untold excesses. Drinking was to them an index of the new civilisation, and became a common vice. We will not trouble our readers with a record of all the follies the young collegians indulged in. It is more our duty to state that, in spite of this general moral depravity which prevailed in the Hindu College for some time, and which deterred many people from sending their children to it, these young men made, in after life, when their misplaced enthusiasm had cooled down, most useful citizens. They held expanded ideas about social questions which they could express boldly, and grappled with political problems in a masterly and fearless manner; and they have had the satisfaction of their services being honoured with recognition by Government. They were indisputably the most learned body of men turned out by any Indian College. To DeRozio, therefore, much praise is due, for it was he who inaugurated a new era in the history of the progress and deve-

lopment of thought in the country ; he who sowed in the minds of young men of his time the seeds of a love of right judgment, a love of justice, a love of learning, and a love of unshackled thought, although he failed to pour the water of righteousness over the prepared soil,—seeds which grew into handsome trees that in course of time bore ripe fruit. But our duty would still be scarcely done if we withheld our praise from the other lights among the galaxy of teachers who illumined the old college. Our space will hardly permit us to pay due tribute to all of them, but there is one other amongst them who stands prominently above the rest and urgently demands notice. If DeRozio was extremely popular with his pupils, D. L. Richardson was their idol. Never, perhaps, in the annals of Indian Colleges was master more honoured or better loved by his pupils. A ripe Shakspearian scholar, a judicious critic, and a literary man in every sense of the term, he loved learning for its own sake, strove to engender a similar sentiment in others, and by precept and example encouraged original composition to the best of his power. He was connected with all the principal literary journals of his time ; and his famous “Selections” and “Literary Recreations” testify to his fine taste and judgment. It is impossible, however, to do full justice to “the Captain” or his compeers within the limits of this paper, and we must tear ourselves perforce from this pleasant task.

DeRozio had left the college two years before Madhu entered it ; but the good as well as the bad influence of his teachings still pervaded the college precincts like an ambient atmosphere. In about six years Madhu rose from the lowest form to the highest classes of the college,—no man progressed and made himself famous by acquiring within so short a period a wonderful command over the English language. He was a voracious reader, and at the age of 17 began to try his hand for a literary journal. At the same time he threw himself headlong into the vortex of the vices in which his fellow-collegians had learned to wallow. Nursed in childhood and early boyhood in the lap of luxury, and petted by his fond parents, Madhu had been accustomed to see all his boyish whims gratified, and had never been taught to check and control his passionate temperament. He always lived in a romantic world of his own creation, and the sad experiences of mature age, did not suffice to dispel the illusion. The aspiring boy, who had already sent certain poems to Blackwood's Magazine, dedicating them to “William Wordsworth, Esquire, the Poet,” now took Byron for his model, and poured out his heart in verses after the manner of his original. We have endeavoured to show above, how Madhu had his moral and

intellectual character formed for him by his surroundings. It was Captain Richardson who, with his fine sense of appreciating merit in others, detected something in Madhu, and encouraged his versifying proclivities. But, ever unstable, Madhu did not stay to complete his career at the Hindu College. A little before his full term was up, in February, 1843, he suddenly and most unexpectedly embraced Christianity. He then removed to Bishop's College, Sibpore, and there continued his studies for four years.

The subsequent facts of his life, his estrangement from his father's affections, his journey to Madras, his struggles and ultimate return, are still in the memory of living men. He remained eight years in Madras, and during that period developed an astonishing facility for penning verses. But "The Captive Ladie" was out of the ordinary run of poems, and showed unmistakeable signs of much talent, power, and even that rare thing, inspiration. It at once brought fame home to poor Madhu, and realised for him the poet's dream. It also gained him powerful friends, one of whom was Mr. George Norton, the Advocate-General.\* A reviewer in the *Athenæum* wrote that the poem contained passages, which "neither Scott nor Byron would have been ashamed to own." This was no small praise for a young man of twenty-five, writing poetry in a foreign tongue. Want and poverty, due to his careless and intemperate habits, coupled with the fact of his father's death, compelled him to return to Calcutta, where he hoped to recover by litigation his paternal property which had been usurped by distant kinsman during his absence.

Many of his countrymen are not aware that it was after his return from Madras that Madhu took a fancy to the Bengali language. The occasion was singular. The *Ratnavali* (a drama) was being represented on a magnificent stage constructed for the purpose at the Belgachia villa of the Rajas of Pikepara; but the piece was not worth the immense amount of labour, trouble and money devoted by the Rajas to getting it up. Madhu had, at their request, translated the piece into English, in order to make it intelligible to the European portion of the audience, which was composed of the most influential persons of the day—Sir Frederick and Lady Halliday included. The translation was creditably done, and henceforward Madhu became a constant visitor at the Belgachia Theatre. But the rest of the story we will relate in the words of Babu Gour Das Bysack, an intimate friend of the poet. "Here it was that Madhu's muse was

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\* It was through the kind intercession of Mr. Norton that Madhu succeeded in winning over the friends and relatives of an English lady to give her in marriage to him.

roused to a sense of the duty he owed his country, and here it was that Madhu received his first inspiration to sing in his mother-tongue. After his admission to the first rehearsal, and before he had entered upon his task of the English translation of the *Ratnavali*, Madhu . . . exclaimed to me 'What a pity the Rajas should have spent such a lot of money on such a miserable play. I wish I had known of it before, as I could have given you a piece worthy of your theatre?' I laughed at the idea of his offering to write a Bengali play, and chaffingly asked, if it was his wish to see us introduce a wretched *Vidya Sundar* \* on our stage. Conscious of the dearth of really good plays in our language, he could not but feel the sting of my remark as a home-thrust, and simply muttered, 'We shall see, we shall see.'

"The next morning he called on me at the rooms of the Asiatic Society for the loan of a few vernacular and Sanscrit books, dramas specially, and in the course of a week or two, read to me the first few scenes of his *Sarmistha*, which struck me as having the ring of the true metal. I wished to take the MS. with me to Belgachia, but he said I must wait till he had finished the first act. It was, I believe, the very next week that he handed me the MS., with a request to show it to my friends the Rajas and Babu (since Maharaja) Jotindra Mohun Tagore. On my reading out to them the first few MS. leaves, they were not a little astonished and delighted at the proofs of his poetical genius and power of writing in the vernacular, and told me to encourage him in his attempt."

*Samistha* was performed on the boards of the Belgachia Theatre in 1859. Madhu translated his own piece into English for the foreign section of the audience. Public enthusiasm for this novel kind of entertainment rose to the highest pitch. But Madhu was destined for higher honours. Another play followed quickly. "Now that I have got the taste of blood, I am at it again," Madhu wrote to a friend. It was while conversing with the Maharaja one day, that Madhu gave out as his opinion, that, until blank verse was introduced into the Bengali drama, there was very little hope of its improvement. The Maharaja, who had himself courted the muse with success, expressing a doubt as the capacities of the language and the practicability of the proposition, Madhu was provoked to undertake the task himself. The outcome of his efforts was the publication, in May 1860, of the *Tilottama Sambhava*, the first Bengali poem in blank verse. We shall quote Babu Gour Das once more :—

"Madhu's muse created a new era. How a trifling incident roused her to warble to the tunes of our *Vina*, has been des-

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\* An infamous play.—S. C.

cribed by you \* at length. It is one of the instances of what mighty things from trivial causes rise. The memorable Belgachia Theatre, with Rajas Pratap Chandra Singha and Issur Chandra Singha, Moharaja Jotindra Mohun Tagore, and myself (the decrepit Yogandharayan of the Ratnavali stage, with tottering limbs), are inseparably associated with Madhu's writings. Blank verse, once the target of wiseacre Pandits and carping critics, has, notwithstanding their ominous head-shakings and gloomy vaticinations, come forth bodied in 'flesh and blood,' to mark a new epoch in the annals of our literature—a literature that, nurtured in its rich native soil, is destined like the gigantic banian to spread out its umbragious branches over the vast Province of Bengal, though not to strew its leaves, like 'the leaves of Vallambrosa' over the world. Blank verse, like the stately steed, has outstripped the trotting jennet of rhyme that capered and cantered with jingling bells, for ages past."

Let it not be imagined that the novelty of the metre was the only recommendation of the *Tilottama*. As purity of sentiment and diction and ability of characterisation at once put his dramas above those effusions which had taken that name before, so, grandeur of conception and an abundance of stately and poetically picturesque passages, which readily possess the imagination, placed the poem in an elevated rank. The public had become disgusted with the flat and uninteresting poems of a corrupt kind, which then possessed the field, and so Madhu's refined productions found a ready and eager welcome. Madhu hit upon classical, *i. e.* *Pauranic* subjects for his theme. Thus his manner and his matter both considered, the appearance of Madhu's works marks a new epoch in Bengali literature. It is also worthy of note that, while the *Tilottama* was in course of preparation, its author was engaged in writing a farce on the European model. "The farce is exquisite," commented Dr Rajendra Lala Mitra, "and it is a wonder to me how the author could paint so humorous a picture with one hand, while the other was busy with depicting the Miltonic grandeur of *Tilottama*." Similarly again, when Madhu was employed on his greatest work, the *Meghnada* (an epic), he was composing, along with it, a tragedy (the best of his dramas) and a volume of odes. "If I deserve credit for nothing else, you must allow that I am at least *an industrious dog*," was Madhu's explanation of his versatility.

I will not follow Madhu to the Inner Temple. The great yearning of his heart from an early age was to visit 'England's glorious shore,' and it at last pleased Providence to

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\* These passages are transcribed from Babu Gour's Reminiscences of the poet, originally addressed in the form of a letter to the author of the Memoir under review.—S. C.



gratify it. I make no apology for quoting the following letter:—

"MY DEAR RAJNARAIN, " *Wednesday, 4th June, 1862.*

"You will be pleased to hear that I have completed my arrangements, and, God willing, purpose starting on the morning of the 9th instant per the steamer 'Candia.' You must not fancy, old boy, that I am a traitor to the cause of our native muse. If it had not been for the extraordinary success the new verse has met with, I should have certainly delayed my departure, or not gone at all; I should have stood at my post manfully. But an early triumph is ours, and I may well leave the rest to younger hands, not ceasing to direct their movements from my distant retreat. Meghnada is going through a second edition with notes, and a *real* B. A. has written a long critical preface, echoing your verdict—namely, that it is the first poem in the language. A thousand copies of the work have been sold in twelve months.

"Well—I am off, my dear Rajnarain! Heaven alone knows if we are to see each other again! But you must not forget your friend. It's a long separation;—four years! But what is to be done? Remember your friend and take care of his fame.

"Being a poetaster I would not think of bolting away without rhyming, and I enclose the result and I hope the thing is—if not good, at least *respectable*."

I will not soil my hand with depicting the conduct of certain 'friends,' his constituted agents, which threw poor Madhu into infinite trouble in that distant land.

For the story of his visit to France, his troubles and return as Barrister-at-law, and his subsequent career, I must refer the reader to the book before one. His end, like that of *Meghnada* and *Krishnakumari*, was tragic in the extreme. The tale is told in painful detail in the "Reminiscences" of his friends appended at the end of the book. It is exceedingly to be regretted that, with such rich and influential friends as Madhu possessed, he should have been allowed to die the death of a pauper in a charitable hospital.

Madhu had a natural aptitude or acquiring languages, and was conversant with six European languages. French, he might be said "to have completely mastered," says Babu Rasbihari Mukherjee,—himself a scholar of no mean attainments,—it was "the vehicle of conversation with his (second) wife and children." A sonnet in French and Italian, sent to the King of Italy, on the occasion of the celebration of the third Centenary of Dante's death, brought Modhu the cordial thanks of his Majesty.

He added Latin, Greek and German to his stock. Sufficient time has now elapsed since the first appearance of *Meghnada*,

by far the greatest of M. S. Dutt's works, to allow the first ebullition of enthusiasm in favour of the poem to subside, and the sediment of rancour and hollow-opposition of the rhyming school of poets to settle at the bottom. It is time that sober judgment should be passed on the poet and dramatist; and the unanimous verdict of his countrymen has accorded him the highest place in modern Bengali poetry; and, if not the first, a high rank in the field of dramatic composition. In grandeur, in sublimity, grace and imagery, no other Bengali poet, either before or since, has surpassed him. Blemishes there are, some of them undeniable and glaring, in his life as in his life's work; yet, with all his faults we love him still, and we return to his books again and again. Yes, we love the man: he has an indefinable but irresistible charm about him; his eyes and his talk fascinate you; the warmth of his soul diffuses itself over the company, and wins its way into the heart of the most cynical amongst his hearers. His wit, ever-bubbling up makes you burst in merriment, while, mingled with it, the genuine and refreshing poetry of his heart involuntarily calls up the sentiment of admiration; his misfortunes and his follies invest him with a tinge of romance. And you must remember that whilst this child of fancy strikes his guitar and caters for your amusement, whilst you weep with *Seeta*, or witness the grand pageantry of the march of gallant armies at Lanka, or, soaring higher, explore the mysterious regions of heaven and hell,—grim care sits lowering at his elbow, eating his very vitals imperceptibly away.

To the great credit of Madhu's biographer, be it said, he has shown us the inner man as faithfully as we know the outer man. The materials at his command have been cleverly welded together, and our sincere gratitude is due to the author for the infinite pains he has been at, to make his story unexceptionably authentic. His criticism of Madhu's works is perfectly just and appreciative, and has saved us the responsibility of speaking on them. The letters of the poet that have been published are a study in themselves. The book is written in a highly attractive style; and the get up is excellent. One remarkable feature is a number of handsome lithograph portraits of Madhu and some of his dearest friends; the best picture of all is Raja Issur Chandra Singha in riding apparel, with his favorite horse "Eclipse." We cannot help noting a few omissions of a trifling nature in the book. One could wish to know something about the children of Madhu, and something about the copyright of his works and the different editions through which they have passed. With this slight reservation, it may be said, the volume is all that could be desired by the most fastidious.

SARAT CHANDRA CHATURJEE.

# THE QUARTER.

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THE most noteworthy event of the past three months, and the most important that has occurred in connexion with the administration of our Indian Empire since the annexation of Upper Burmah, is the mission of Sir Mortimer Durand to Kabul.

It is no disparagement to Lord Roberts to say that the Government of India is to be congratulated on the series of accidents which frustrated its original intention of entrusting the charge of the mission to him. The success of such negotiations with an Oriental sovereign, and especially with one of the type of Abdul Rahman, depends largely upon personal sympathy—much more largely, perhaps, than upon mere argument. Between Lord Roberts and Abdul Rahman no such sympathy existed, while the part taken by the late Commander-in-Chief in recent events in Afghanistan would have made his very presence at Kabul a source of embarrassment, if not of positive danger, to the Amir. Sir Mortimer Durand, on the other hand, was eminently a *persona grata* at Kabul, and there can be no doubt that it is to the friendly feelings existing between him and the Amir, as well as to his tact, and suavity of manner, and to his knowledge of Orientals, that the success of the mission is mainly attributable.

The assumption by the Russian Press that the tightening of the bonds of friendship and mutual interest between the Government of India and the Ameer is directed against Russia, is evidence that, in that country at least, the favourable results that have attended the mission are viewed with anything but complacency. But upon what grounds Russia can pretend that an alliance which is purely defensive, implies any menace to herself, it is difficult to conceive. She may, and probably will, find herself checkmated in any design she may entertain of establishing a commanding position on the Pamirs by extending her out-posts beyond the Kara Kul ; but, in any case, this would have been an Imperial question, and the mission has only served to show that the Pamir question, according to Russian ideas, may present difficulties not hitherto counted upon by the Northern Power. The doubt so frequently thrown upon the reality of the alliance between ourselves and Afghanistan should be dispelled by the favourable reception accorded to Sir Mortimer Durand's mission. We are told that, apart from the hospitable treatment they received as guests of the Ameer, the members

of the mission were much struck by the reality of the friendly feeling displayed by all with whom they came into contact ; a feeling that would have been thought barely possible a few years ago.

It is probable, however, that when the mission was first projected, it was more with a view to a settlement of our own relations with the semi-independent tribes on our frontier, between Quetta and Peshawar, and our control over Chitral and other States of Yaghistan, than with an eye to what Russia might attempt on our northern frontier—although, of course, the moral effect, of a definite understanding with the Ameer with regard to the disputed Afghan claims to territory abutting on the Pamirs would not have been overlooked. The settlement with Russia regarding these claims still remains in abeyance, and although no full details have yet been made known, it is probable that the hitch to which she evidently looks forward with apprehension will occur, if it occurs at all, over the disputed ownership of Shignan and Roshan. It was probably to some misunderstanding in this connexion that Lord Rosebery alluded in his recent speech, when he said that " The negotiations at St. Petersburg are not proceeding so favourably as his more sanguine colleague at the India Office imagined." The understanding between the Indian Government and the Ameer is, we have reason to believe, in accordance with the claims put forward by the Afghans to the disputed territory ; but this is an Imperial question in no way connected with the success or non-success of the mission, and no apprehension on this score need detract from the satisfaction felt at the success of the negotiations conducted on behalf of the Indian Government.

What we in India have to congratulate ourselves upon, is the fact that many misunderstandings previously existing between the Government of India and the Ameer have been cleared up in a manner satisfactory to both parties. Our relations with the Ameer have been placed upon a more satisfactory footing, than they have ever been on before. On his part, the Ameer renounces all pretension to a right of interference with the Waziris and other border tribes, and accepts British control over Chitral and adjacent States. He cancels his objections to the railway station at New Chaman, on the Candahar side of the Khojak Pass, and he withdraws the soldiers and officials sent to Chagar, in Northern Beloochistan. In return, the Indian Government increases the subsidy of twelve lakhs of rupees paid to the Ameer annually, by an additional six lakhs, and undertakes that, in future, no embargo shall be laid on arms, ammunition, and military stores imported into Cabul through British India. Of these two undertakings, the latter will have the greater influence.

with the Afghans, for our rules in this respect have been somewhat arbitrary and exacting from the Afghan point of view. It is well known that the Ameer has established extensive workshops and gun-factories under the supervision of Mr. Pyne, who for the past eight years has been mainly instrumental, by teaching the Afghans the uses of machinery, in converting a city of intriguers and murderers into an industrial centre. But hitherto the restrictions imposed by the Indian Government have had a somewhat deterrent effect in limiting the development of the new industries.

But these are only a few of the questions which, apart altogether from Imperial considerations, the mission had to discuss with the Ameer. The matters of detail may well be left for future settlement, so long as the broad fact remains, that, in the Ameer, we possess an ally capable of controlling his subjects, and ruling with an authority and power hitherto unknown to the Afghans—who, above all things, respect power and the rule of the iron-hand. A man less strong, and less inclined to use his strength as occasion demands, would probably have plunged Afghanistan into civil war long ago, and this probability should be taken into consideration when Exeter Hall advocates denounce the Ameer as a "human tiger."

To turn to the other extreme of the Empire, the difference which has arisen with France, as a consequence of her recent annexations of Siamese territory, has been the subject of prolonged negotiations with that Power, the result of which is not yet accurately known to the public. According to a recent extra official Ministerial utterance, the negotiations, which are understood to concern the establishment and neutralisation of a buffer State, between British and French territory, had not proceeded so satisfactorily as was expected. It is believed, however, that the principle of a buffer State has been accepted by both nations, and it has since been reported that a Commission, on which the Government of India, strangely enough, will not be represented, is to be appointed for its delimitation.

Next to the Kabul Mission, perhaps, the most important event of the past three months, has been the speech delivered by the Viceroy at Agra in reply to an address presented to him by the Municipal Board of that city on the 10th ultimo.

The first subject dealt with by His Excellency was the results of the magnificent works for the water-supply of the city, the opening of which has been followed by a remarkable reduction in the death rate. Adverting to the heavy pecuniary burden, which the works had imposed on the people of Agra, Lord Lansdowne expressed his regret at the inability of the Imperial Government to come to their relief. "In the first place," he said, "I am bound to point out to you that the practice of

assisting purely local enterprises from Imperial funds, would be an extremely dangerous one. If the Government of India once commenced it, I do not quite know where we should stop. The result would, I am afraid, in the end, be that we should have to take a great deal more money out of the pockets of the tax-payers of India in order to give it back to them, or to the more favoured portion of them, in the shape of local subventions and subsidies. In the next place, I am afraid I must confess to you that, to the best of my belief, the state of our finances during the next year or two will be such, as to make it necessary for the Finance Minister to resist strenuously any attempts to introduce new and unforeseen items of expenditure; and, in the third place, I must remind you that a Viceroy who is, as I am, on the eve of his departure, will be wise if he avoids making promises which he must obviously himself be unable to fulfil." And he added: "Whether your prayer, when it comes to be made, falls upon deaf or willing ears, I am convinced that these works will so greatly add to the comfort and convenience of your citizens, and to the health of the city, that you will never regret the sacrifices which they may involve. And I feel bound to express my admiration for the manner in which, throughout these provinces, no doubt, in a great measure, owing to the personal influence of Sir Auckland Colvin, but also owing to the public spirit of the Municipalities, these great sanitary improvements have been carried out in most of the principal cities."

But even the blessing of pure water may be purchased at too great a sacrifice; and it is more than questionable whether works on this magnificent scale are adapted to the needs of a people with so low a standard of living as the population, even of a comparatively wealthy Indian city like Agra.

This, however, was not the most important part of the Viceroy's speech; nor, had it stood alone, should we have thought it necessary to refer to it here. After disposing of the water-works, Lord Lansdowne went on to deal with the politically far more momentous question of the recent cow-killing riots; and much of what he had to say on this subject was worthy of the highest statesmanship, and deserves to be pondered deeply by every native subject of Her Majesty in India. Unfortunately, as it seems to us, he spoke with a double voice, and said some things which, though they are true enough, might have been more appropriately reserved for a different occasion, or at all events would have been better left unsaid on this occasion. After congratulating the people of Agra on their having kept themselves free from the disgrace of these riots, he said: "It is not my intention, upon an occasion of this kind, to attempt to distribute blame amongst those who have been

concerned in these occurrences. There is a familiar English proverb which says, 'it takes two to make a quarrel,' and it is fair to suppose, and, indeed, all evidence points to this conclusion, that it is in some cases the Mahomedans, and in others the Hindus, who have been to blame for the conflicts which have taken place in different parts of the Empire. It would, indeed, probably be difficult to find a case in which the fault was entirely on one side. But, on whichever side it may be proved to lie, we shall not be afraid of bringing the offenders to account, because of accusations of partiality, which we may thereby draw down upon ourselves. Let me tell you in the plainest language that the Government of India has no intention of permitting these exhibitions of lawlessness to be renewed. Our policy is one of strict neutrality and toleration; but that toleration does not extend to disorder and crime, and, whoever is at the head of affairs in India, depend upon it that disorder and crime will be put down with a strong and fearless hand. The Government of India is under a two-fold obligation. We owe it to the whole community, British and Indian, to secure the public safety, and to protect the persons and property of the Queen's subjects from injury and interference. We are also bound to secure to both the great religious denominations freedom from molestation or persecution in the exercise of their religious observances. The law secures to Mahomedans the right of following the ritual which has been customary for them, and for their forefathers, while it secures to Hindus protection from outrage and insult, and for this reason it forbids the slaughter of cattle with unnecessary publicity, or in such a manner as to occasion wanton and malicious annoyance to their feelings. Let both sides understand clearly that no lawless or aggressive conduct on their part will induce us to depart by an inch from this just and honourable policy. Do not let it be supposed that the slaughter of kine for the purpose of sacrifice, or for food, will ever be put a stop to. We shall protect the religions of both sides alike, and we shall punish, according to law, any act which wantonly outrages the religious feelings of any section of the community. Let it also be clearly understood that we shall not permit any disturbance of the peace, and that, wherever violence is exhibited, we shall not be afraid to put it down by force. In acting upon these lines, we shall merely give effect to principles which have again and again been affirmed by the Government of the Queen, and which have received the sanction of successive Acts of the Legislature. Let it not be forgotten that in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, which people in this country, with good reason, regard as the great charter of their civil and religious liberties, it is laid down that throughout the Indian Empire

none are to be in any wise favoured, molested, or disquieted by reason of their religious faith, or observances, but that all shall enjoy alike the equal and impartial protection of the law. Let it not be forgotten that practical effect is given to these great principles in the provisions of our Codes, which render liable to severe punishment, without distinction of creed, those who desecrate places of worship, or disturb religious assemblies, or who, by their words or acts, deliberately wound the religious feelings of their neighbours. Do not let it be imagined that under pressure of an agitation like that which has lately taken place, we are going, in the face of these sanctions, to take away from one side, or the other, rights which they possess under the law, or that we shall allow one creed to persecute, or to terrorise another, merely because it happens to be numerically strongest in a particular part of the country. Let those who form the majority in any town or district, remember that, if their co-religionists are the stronger party in one place, there are other places in which they are few and their opponents numerous, and that both sides are interested in securing the protection of the minorities."

The last sentence seems to us to strike a distinctly false note; and we think it is to be regretted that it was uttered, and that the Viceroy did not content himself with appealing to the terrors which the strong arm of the British Government holds in reserve for the peace-breaker, instead of also appealing to their fear of the vengeance which, under certain circumstances, they might draw down upon themselves at the hands of their antagonists.

But it is more especially in what followed that we trace the other voice to which we have referred, and the expression of which, at such a juncture, we regret, because, it is certain that it will be interpreted as a sign of weakness. "There is one other observation," said Lord Lansdowne, "which I should like to make. When I tell you that the policy of the Government of India is one of neutrality and toleration, I entreat you not to believe that our attitude towards these questions is one of mere indifference—that is not by any means the case. We know well that the religious feelings of the people of this country are strong and deep-seated; we recognise the fact that, in the eyes of a majority of the inhabitants of this country, the cow is a sacred animal, regarded with a feeling of affection and veneration, the intensity of which we can scarcely fathom; we know that they worship the animal, not only as an emblem and embodiment of their faith, but on account of the place which it occupies in the economical system of India. We have never sought to dwell upon what may seem to us the incongruities and inconsistencies of their creed. We accept the fact that it



is the creed of more than 200 millions of the Queen's Indian subjects, and we are determined that nothing shall be done to outrage it gratuitously. We know also how deep is that faith which carries Mahomedan pilgrims from the remotest parts of this Continent to Mecca, which leads them to face sufferings, privation and disease in order to fulfil a religious obligation, and which causes Mahomedans to adhere to the ritual of their religion even at the risk of life and limb. I can well understand that the religious feelings of men whose convictions are so strong should at times be difficult to control ; but it is the business of the Government of India to see that these feelings are not wantonly outraged, and you may depend upon it that this duty will not be neglected. The law is clear. It is our duty to enforce the law : it is yours to obey it. I appeal then earnestly to those gentlemen whose position in the Indian community enables them to exercise influence over their neighbours, and I would implore them to impress upon those who are less well informed than themselves, the folly and disastrous consequences of such acts as those which have lately taken place in these provinces and elsewhere."

Never, surely, was so apologetic a tone so unfortunately timed, and the same remark applies equally to some of the remaining sentences of the speech, which need not be quoted here

The Royal Commission on Opium, after holding some sixteen sittings in Calcutta, between the 19th ultimo and the 8th instant, and examining a large number of witnesses, European and Native, official and non-official, members of the medical profession and laymen, adjourned on the latter date, to the 20th instant, certain of the members having in the interval, proceeded to Rangoon, to take evidence there on the question as it affects Burmah. The evidence has disclosed an extraordinary conflict of testimony not only between lay, but also between professional witnesses. But the balance of the evidence, whether as regards the number of the witnesses or the weight of their testimony, is strongly in favour of the view that, taken in moderation, the use of the drug is unattended by any serious ill effects, moral or physical ; that it is extensively and beneficially employed for medicinal purposes throughout the greater portion of the country ; that the tendency to excess in its use is less frequent than in the case of alcohol ; that any attempt to restrict its use to medicinal purposes, would probably be unsuccessful, and, so far as it might be successful, would lead to the substitution of more injurious stimulants or narcotics, and that the loss which the suppression of the trade would entail on the Government, could not be made good by any other form of taxation which would not be intolerably oppressive, or compensated by any economy consistent with efficient

administration. Much of the evidence has been of an irrelevant or otherwise wholly worthless character, and there does not appear to be the smallest prospect of the result of the enquiry being such as to justify the appointment of the Commission, or of its adding anything of importance to the information on the subject which previously existed, and might readily have been made available to the Home Government or the public without recourse to any such elaborate and costly device.

The course of exchange, since the date of our last retrospect, though it does not justify despair, creates very serious apprehension as to the ultimate result of the closure of the Mints. Except for a few days, towards the end of November, during which Council Bills to the amount of about half a million sterling were sold at 1s. 3¼*d.*, rates have ruled steadily below the Secretary of State's minimum, the wants of the trade having been amply supplied from other sources. Had these consisted entirely of rupees accumulated previous to the passing of the Currency Act, and awaiting investment, or of such rupees, plus the proceeds of the silver which was in transit at the time of the passing of the Act, and which the Government took over, the result might be regarded with comparative equanimity. Its real gravity arises from the fact that, almost throughout the period, indeed, ever since the closing of the Mints, a continuous importation of bar silver, far in excess of previous conceptions of the normal consumption, has been in progress. For a short time last month, there was a slight pause in these transactions, and hopes were raised that the extraordinary demand had at last come to an end. But at this point a fresh stimulus was imparted to it by a widespread rumour, that the Government was about to impose a heavy import duty on silver, and the importations were immediately renewed on an increased scale.

To what extent the importations are required for the ordinary purposes of consumption; to what extent they depend upon the profit which, for the time being, the Native States find themselves in a position to make by coining rupees, and to what extent they are attributable to the speculative demand created by the rumour in question, it is impossible to say. It is, of course, only so far as they are justified by the normal demand, that they can be permanent; but, unless steps are taken, on the one hand, by closing the Native Mints, and on the other, by making the intentions of the Government in the matter of an import duty clear, to arrest the extraordinary demand, it may continue quite long enough to wreck the Government scheme, through the injury that will be done to the trade of the country in the interval. The effect on exchange has already been so great as entirely to neutralise the rise that must otherwise

have been caused by the application of the Secretary of State for power to raise a sterling loan of ten millions, to enable him, if necessary, to meet the balance of the Home charges for the current year without recourse to Council Bills.

There are overwhelming arguments against the imposition of a duty. But even the imposition of a duty would be less fatal than a prolongation of the present uncertainty ; and, unless the Government can make up its mind definitely to impose one, it should disavow the intention imputed to it without further delay.

The difficulty created by Sir Henry Norman's withdrawal of his acceptance of the Viceroyalty, has been met after a prolonged period of suspense, by the appointment of Lord Elgin, who leaves England, to assume charge of his high office, on the 5th January. Lord Elgin will bring with him the heritage of a great name, won by his father ; and, from the little that is known of him, there is reason to hope that it is associated with some share of his father's resolute and independent character.

On the 15th ultimo the Viceroy left Calcutta, in the *I. M. S. Warren Hastings*, on his last Indian tour, and his first visit to Burmah. Landing at Rangoon, where he met with a magnificent reception, His Excellency extended his journey to Mandalay and Bhamo, and returned to Calcutta on the 14th instant.

Mr. James Westland, the newly-appointed Finance Member, assumed charge of his office, in succession to Sir David Barbour, on the 27th ultimo ; and on the 30th of the same month Sir Charles Elliott returned to Calcutta and resumed his duties as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal ; while the seat in the Viceroy's Council vacated by Sir Philip Hutchins has been conferred on Sir Antony MacDonnell.

The obituary for the quarter includes the names of Prince Alexander of Battenberg ; Marshal Macmahon ; M Gounod, the celebrated musical composer ; Sir Andrew Clarke ; Sir Robert Morier, long our Minister at St. Petersburg ; Dr. Jowett, the late Master of Balliol College, and Lord Ebury.

*December 12th, 1893.*

## SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

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### *Annual Report on the Police Administration of the town of Calcutta, and its Suburbs, for the year 1892.*

FROM the Annual Report on the Police Administration of the Town of Calcutta and its Suburbs for the year 1892, it appears that in the town 27,352 cognizable cases were tried, of which number 25,031 ended in convictions in the Magistrates' Courts, and 19 in the High Court. In the suburbs 6,890 cognizable cases were tried, of which 6,518 resulted in convictions before the Magistrates, and 28 in the Sessions' Court. There has been a satisfactory decrease in serious crime, which fell below the average recorded for many years past, while there was an improvement in dealing with serious offences, in respect of the number of both cases detected and persons convicted, as well as in the amount of stolen property recovered. The number of cognizable offences under the Penal Code shows a decrease of 558, as compared with 1891, while in non-cognizable cases under the Penal Code there is a decrease of 226 in the same period.

Sixty-two false cases are adjudged to the town and 27 to the suburbs, against 58 and 18, the corresponding figures for 1891. Out of 22 town prosecutions instituted under the Penal Code for bringing false complaints, convictions were obtained in 11 cases, in two of which the offenders were sentenced to imprisonment. In the suburbs prosecutions were instituted in 16 cases, of which 9 resulted in convictions, and in 6 of these the complainant was sentenced to imprisonment.

The value of the property stolen in the town was Rs 1,13,974 against Rs 1,17,901 in 1891. There was a satisfactory increase in the percentage of property recovered from 57.82 in 1890 and 58.05 in 1891 to 72.02 in 1892.

The number of cognizable cases reported as true was 28,472 against 28,356 in 1891. There were five cases relating to coin against seven for the preceding year, but all were unimportant, and the maximum sentence imposed was only six months' rigorous imprisonment. There were six cases of murder against four in 1891. In two of these cases the accused were convicted and executed, one resulted in an acquittal, and in another the accused was found to be insane and was ordered to be confined in an Asylum. In the fifth case no clue to the murderer could be obtained. In the remaining case two men were committed to the Sessions for having murdered and robbed an old woman, and

although they each made incriminating statements before the Magistrate which led to the recovery of some of the stolen property, they were acquitted by the jury, mainly on account of some discrepancies in the police evidence. There was no case of murder by poison, and only one of attempt at murder, in which the accused was convicted and sentenced to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment. Of the four cases of culpable homicide reported, one should not have been shown in the return, as it was found by the Coroner's Jury and by the Magistrate who held the enquiry, that the death was the result of natural causes. Of the other cases, the conviction in one was for simple hurt only, under section 323, Indian Penal Code, while in the remaining two the accused were convicted of culpable homicide and sentenced, one to transportation for life, and the other to rigorous imprisonment for seven years. There was one case of unnatural offence against three cases in 1891, and in this the offender was convicted and sentenced to transportation for life. There were 31 cases of grievous hurt in which 38 persons were sent up, of whom 16 were convicted, 21 were discharged, and one was under trial at the close of the year. There were four cases of administering stupefying drugs, of which three ended in the conviction of the accused, who were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from three to seven years. The remaining case should not have been returned as true, as no trace of any poison was found, and the accused was discharged by the Magistrate. There were 14 cases of kidnapping against 22 in 1891. In the 51 cases of hurt by dangerous weapons reported, 80 persons were arrested, of whom 41 were convicted and 29 acquitted. The number of true cases of burglary and lurking house-trespass was 106, the same as in the preceding year, but the number of cases detected rose from 79 to 92, and that of convictions from 93 to 97. The number of thefts reported as true was 1,382, being a decrease of 113 as compared with 1891, and of 236 as compared with the average of the past four years. The number of cases detected and of convictions increased by 58 and 87 respectively. These results are very satisfactory.

There were 87 cases of suicide in the town and suburbs against 66 in 1891, and an average of 90 in the preceding five years. Over 87 per cent. of the suicides were Hindus. Fifty-four per cent. of the total number of suicides during the year were due to opium poisoning and 29 per cent. to hanging. The number of accidental deaths was 276 against 308 in 1891. Of these deaths, 28 were those of persons run over by vehicles, but no case occurred in which there was evidence of rashness or negligence. Out of the 99 persons prosecuted for rash and furious driving, 85 were convicted.

The number of vagrants admitted into the Government

Workhouse rose from 41 to 56, and 4 were left in the Workhouse at the close of 1891. Thirty-six were discharged on obtaining employment, 5 were deported from British India, and 6, for whom no employment could be found, were released under the first clause of section 16 of the Act. Two inmates of the Workhouse absconded and 6 were imprisoned, the corresponding figures for 1891 under these heads being 5 and 1 respectively.

The fire-brigade was employed at 34 fires against 26 in 1891, and of these 10 occurred in the town, 13 in the suburbs, and 11 at Howrah. There were 17 other small fires, at which assistance was rendered by the manual engines belonging to the out-stations. The most serious fire in the town occurred in the port of Calcutta on board the ship *Dumbarton Rock*, the value of the cargo destroyed, which consisted of gunny-bags, jute, &c., being estimated at several lakhs of rupees. At a fire at Balliaghutta in the suburbs, 86 houses, containing 2,00,000 maunds of rice and grain, were destroyed, the loss of property being estimated at 9 lakhs. At a fire which broke out at the Sibpur Jute Mills in Howrah, the value of the jute and other property destroyed is estimated at Rs. 3,35,000. The total loss of property from fires, excluding that on the ship *Dumbarton Rock*, is estimated at Rs. 12,95,045 compared with Rs. 1,97,100 in 1891. Two of these fires were attended with the loss of three human lives.

The actual strength of the police force employed in the town and suburbs was 2,873, the number being the same as in 1891. Of the subordinate police only 168 were Bengalis, and 1,936 were up-countrymen. Among native officers, however, the proportion of Bengalis is large and exceeds the number of up-countrymen. The percentage of casualties in the force was 8·38 against 11·69 in the preceding year. Sixty seven men were dismissed, one deserted and 26 died, the rate of mortality being 9·49 per mille against 11·48 in 1891. The total cost of the force was Rs. 6,30,767 against Rs. 6,22,254 in 1891.

*Report on the Calcutta Medical Institutions for the year 1892.*

FROM the Report on Calcutta Medical Institutions for the year 1892, we gather that during the year the public health was slightly better in the town of Calcutta and the amalgamated area than in the previous year, which was one of unusual mortality throughout the province; the general death-rate in those two areas having been 27·1 and 34·8 respectively, against 27·9 and 39·4 in 1891. In Calcutta the numbers of deaths from cholera, bowel-complaints, and fever show a decrease, while those from small-pox and other causes

show a slight increase. In the amalgamated area also cholera, fever, and small-pox appear to have been less prevalent, but mortality from bowel-complaints and other causes was greater than in the previous year. In Howrah the recorded death-rate has risen from 18.29 to 23.68, the increase being distributed over all the heads except small-pox and other causes. The deaths from cholera and fever increased by 281 and 369 respectively, the number of deaths from cholera having been greater than in any of the previous ten years.

Of the total number of persons treated during the year, 1,54,492 were adult males, 37,707 adult females, and 59,784 children, against 153,705, 34,678, and 56,753 respectively in 1891. The statistics according to race show that there was an increase of all classes of patients except Hindus. The increase of European patients is said to be due chiefly to the increased population of the port, brought about by the stagnation of trade and the large number of vessels detained in the river, and to the popularity of the out-door department of the Eden Hospital.

The rate of mortality among the inmates of the Medical Institutions was practically the same as in several past years, viz, 12.7 per cent. The death-rate, as usual, was highest in the Campbell and Howrah Hospitals, where pauper and moribund cases are sent for treatment. The death-rate among children was lower than that among adults which is 60 per cent. higher than the average rate of English Hospitals.

There was a slight increase in the small-pox cases treated in the hospitals, the numbers being 35 against 21 in the previous year. All of these cases were admitted into the Campbell Hospital and 10 of them proved fatal. This the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals thinks is indicative of the absence of protection by vaccination in at least half the number of cases. Seven hundred and nine persons were admitted to hospital during 1892, suffering from cholera which in 425 cases proved fatal, giving a ratio of mortality of nearly 60 per cent. The mortality among European patients treated for this disease was higher in the General Hospital than in that attached to the Medical College. The Lieutenant-Governor is glad to find that there were no cases of cholera among the patients in the Presidency, General and Campbell Hospitals, but the Medical College and the Howrah General Hospitals did not enjoy this immunity, 6 and 4 cases respectively having occurred in those institutions. These cases are said to have been due chiefly to contaminated food obtained by the patients from outside the Hospital. There was a considerable decrease in the admissions for dysentery and diarrhoea, but the mortality shows a higher percentage. Malarial fever also was responsible

for fewer admissions than in the previous year, though it is by far the most common disease in the Lower Provinces. The number of cases of venereal disease rose from 11,886 to 13,072. The Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals remarks that the "statistics of the Presidency General Hospital are significant of the greater prevalence of syphilis in the quarters frequented by European sailors." The figures produced in the report, however, show that the increase is slight, and there is a decrease in cases of secondary syphilis compared with the average of the last five years. The admissions for leprosy fell from 134 to 94, of whom all but six were received in the Campbell Hospital. Dr. Pilcher very properly objects to the treatment of lepers in the same ward with other patients, chiefly, it is understood, on account of the loathsomeness of the disease, for the danger of contagion, according to the conclusions of the Leprosy Commission, is very small, and he suggests that, when the new Leper Asylum is opened, they should not be admitted to the hospitals. The difficulty in the way is, that if they were all forced into the Leper Asylum, the accommodation which it is proposed to provide in that institution would be quite insufficient. The absence of enteric fever from the institutions, where only native patients are received, is noticeable, especially in connexion with the belief entertained by some that the natives of this country are to a great extent free from this disease. But Dr. Pilcher remarks that this does not set aside the conviction of many careful European and Native observers that enteric fever often attacks natives of this country. The difficulty of distinguishing it from remittent fever renders any definite opinion on this subject at present impossible, any poems in praise of vegetarianism are premature. Turning to Surgical cases, it is satisfactory to notice the general reduction in the percentage of death after operation from 4.5 to 3.78, and the fact that in the Howrah General Hospital it fell from 8.23 to 3.01. This result is said to be due to the care and thoroughness with which the details of antiseptic surgery have been carried out. The number of dental operations performed was 2,362 against 2,275. There was a considerable increase in the number of Europeans who sought relief for dental diseases, while the number of Eurasians fell from 894 to 760. This result hardly bears out the remarks made in paragraph 45 of the report for 1891, that the teeth of mixed are more prone to decay than those of unmixed races.

In the Eden Hospital 1,609 women and children were treated, against 1,811 in the previous year. Of these, 832 were Europeans, 746 Hindus or Mussulmans, and 31 belonged to other classes. The daily average attendance of Europeans shows the large decrease of 33 per cent. The reduction in the

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number of admissions of European and native patients is attributed by Dr. Joubert to the opening of the out-door department. There were 28 deaths among Europeans and 67 among natives, as compared with 32 and 65 of the previous year. The number of confinement cases rose from 501 to 542, the mortality among this class of cases being 26 against 21 in 1891. The number of cases of septicæmia also rose from 24 to 31, giving a percentage of 57 on confinements as against 47 in 1891: of these 21 proved fatal. These figures show that the precautions reported as having been taken against the occurrence of this disease have unfortunately not had much effect, and the Lieutenant-Governor would again dwell on the necessity of using all possible means to minimize the chance of its appearance or extension in the hospital. His Honour has already suggested that isolation is the best way of treating it, and if funds can be provided, the necessary steps will be taken to erect a separate ward for the treatment of this disease.

The steady increase in the number of out-patients treated in the Shama Churn Law Eye Infirmary, points to the growing popularity of the Institution. The principal operations performed were extraction of lens, iridectomy and excision of the eye-ball. The operations for cataract were successful in 61 per cent. of the cases, which compares unfavourably with the results in the Howrah Hospital, where the operations were successful in 87 per cent. of the cases treated.

In the Ezra Hospital, which is intended chiefly for the sick of the Jewish persuasion, 1,555 out-patients and 350 in-patients were treated, the daily average attendance being 10.6 and 16.91 respectively against 12.63 and 16.73 in 1891. These low figures, in Sir Antony Macdonnell's opinion, hardly bear out the Inspector-General's remarks that the Institution has fulfilled the beneficent objects of its founder.

Sir Antony is made to say in the Resolution accompanying Dr. Pilcher's Report: The nursing arrangements of the Medical College and General Hospitals continue to work satisfactorily: grateful testimony to the efficiency and skill of the nurses is frequently received, and the Lieutenant Governor desires to place on record his appreciation of the good work done by them. The encomium only proves to us that neither Sir Antony nor his Secretary has ever had the misfortune to be a patient in a Calcutta Hospital.

Mention is made that the existing provision for meeting the medical wants of the town has more than once been declared to be insufficient by the Local Government, and this opinion was endorsed by the Government of India in July 1892; that accordingly, after the close of the year under review, a Committee was appointed to report on the necessity for providing

further accommodation, and the localities where it should be afforded, and that it has suggested the establishment of a hospital at Bhowanipur, and four out-door dispensaries in Wards Nos. 3, 19, 20, and 22 respectively—proposals which have received the full assent of Government. The difficulty of providing funds for the work alone retards its commencement.

The report brings into striking prominence the insignificant extent to which the medical charities of Calcutta are supported by voluntary contributions. Out of a total income of rather more than five lakhs of rupees, as much as Rs. 3,15,000 were contributed by Government, while the subscriptions from Europeans and Natives aggregated only Rs. 11,818 and Rs. 1,371 respectively. In other words, out of every Rs. 100 spent in 1892 on the Medical Institutions of Calcutta, the proportion voluntarily contributed by those whose countrymen form 81 per cent. of the patients treated was less than five annas.

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*Annual Report on the Sansia Reformatory School at Fatehgarh for the year 1892.*

THE only portion of the miscellaneous exhibits that have gone to the making up of the Annual Report on the Sansia Reformatory School that is worth special notice, is the following pronouncement, by Mr. E. Rose, the District Magistrate :—

My own impression is that if anything like personal freedom is allowed to these Sansia men and women when they leave the Reformatory, they will sooner or later, and sooner rather than later, return to the criminal gangs from which we have endeavoured to dissociate them. It is not a question of their training and discipline, it is not even a question of their own wishes and tendencies, but it is altogether a question of their future environment and the pressure of the conditions in which they will be placed. I am not myself sanguine enough to suppose that the discipline the children have received in the Reformatory will eradicate their hereditary tendencies, or that it will altogether obliterate the lessons of their earlier life. I do not for one moment believe that it will, but even assuming that it does (and some of my colleagues on the committee seem to think so), you will have a few married couples among a community where, if they are not altogether avoided, they will suffer more or less from their comparative isolation. They may be able to earn a living, but they cannot expect to be more free than other persons are from the struggle for life. When, therefore, they find that life outside the Reformatory is by no means so easy and pleasant as life within its walls, and when, in all probability, before they have been twenty-four hours beyond the Reformatory gates, they will have been met by other members of the criminal tribe to which they belong, or of criminal tribes so closely allied to it, as to make it difficult to distinguish where the difference lies, and when every inducement and temptation which can be brought to bear will have been sedulously applied for the return of the converts to the old life and the old pleasures, I, for one, doubt very little in which direction the choice will be. Respectability is a most uncom-

fortable garment to a person unaccustomed to wear it, and, as I think, these Sansias will certainly return to their old associations unless it is made *physically impossible* for them, this object would not be gained in any of the ways suggested by the members of the committee. The only approach to its attainment is made by the suggestion that the men should be recruited in the army. I see no objection to this if the military authorities will give their permission. The training which the boys have undergone admirably fits them for military employment, but will military authorities accept the men of a criminal tribe, however good their character may be, more especially, if they have wives to accompany them? I am afraid that it will be difficult to give practical effect to the suggestion. I doubt whether social pressure might not even make a career of this kind distasteful to the Sansias; it certainly would if they were enlisted in the police, and once their lives become disagreeable in this way, they will easily find a way of changing them. We must ensure first, entire dissociation from the criminal gangs, Sansias and others, who now wander about the country, and secondly, we must give them occupation. In my opinion, the first of these objects can only be gained by removing the Sansias beyond the limits of British India. I doubt whether within these limits complete dissociation from the criminal tribes could be ensured. Possibly their employment in the Bombay or Madras Presidencies might be safe, and in this connection the Bombay Mills may be worth attention. It is also possible that occupation might be found for them *under engagements of at least five years* in the tea plantations of Ceylon. But I can myself see no reason why they should not be sent as emigrants to the Mauritius, or some other colony to which emigration is sanctioned. The life they would lead there and its conditions would be suitable for them, and they would be surrounded by members of their countrymen. The training they have received in the Reformatory—and this remark applies to both boys and girls—has been an excellent one for the life they would lead in a colony. The boys have learnt agriculture, gardening, and shoe-making, and the girls sewing, knitting, spinning, and so forth, and, in their colonial home, these are just the qualifications they would find most useful.

Seeing that large numbers of respectable agriculturists (in the eastern part of the Benares Division, for instance) are constantly leaving India for the colonial plantations, that the life is comparatively easy and the pay good, it seems to me that no more suitable occupation could be found for the converted Sansia, than this life in a new home with surroundings which must thoroughly dissociate him from his tribe and their practices.

There is no reason why, after fulfilling their engagement with the colonial authorities, the Sansias should not return to India. Their residence, without restraint in India, would be a very different matter then.

*Report on the Excise Administration of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th September, 1892.*

THE "outstill" and "farmed" area decreased by 370 square miles in the districts of Bijnor, Pilibhit and Gorakhpur. In each case the facts were carefully considered by the Government before accepting the proposals made by the local officers and the Board. In Bijnor it was thought desirable to exclude the important towns of Sherkot and Najibabad from the outstill

area : in Pilibhit outstills approached the head-quarters town so closely, that smuggling into it was very easy : in Gorakhpur the retention of outstills in the sadar tahsil was considered inexpedient by the Board, in view of increasing facilities of communication, and the general development of the district. In each case a loss of revenue was accepted as unavoidable. The Commissioner of Excise reports that this loss exceeded Rs. 17,000 in 1891-92. But, as the Board point out, this calculation is based on the receipts from the actual areas from which outstills were withdrawn, and does not take account of improved receipts in the adjoining tracts which formerly drew illicit supplies from the suppressed outstills.

The increase in the still-head duty on country spirit in 1891-92 was due, not to increased consumption, but to the higher rates in force from the 1st October 1891. The decrease in the license fees for vend of country spirit was due to the same cause, the licensed vendors, in anticipation of smaller sales and reduced profits, having bid less for their licenses. Under other heads the receipts for 1891-92 were much the same as in the preceding year, though, on the figures for the previous four years, a marked decrease under "farms of country liquor," and an increase under "rum," "hemp drugs," and "opium" are noticeable.

The real receipts for 1891-92 were virtually identical with those of 1890-91, though the gross receipts were larger by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs.

With regard to the effect of revised still-head duty, a noticeable point in the figures quoted for the year under report, is the close correspondence of its real receipts with those of the preceding year, and the considerable deficiency which the receipts of these two years show on the average receipts of the previous five years. In 1890-91 the deficiency was attributable wholly to hard times and the high price of raw materials. In 1891-92 the seasons were good and the prices of raw materials moderate. That the receipts failed to rise to the level of former years must be mainly attributed to the changes in the excise system, which were introduced from the 1st October, 1891. The first effect of these was a decrease of Rs. 4,23,737, or 33·5 per cent., in the sums paid for retail licenses, compared with the payments for the year immediately preceding. The second was an increase of Rs. 5,04,000 in the still-head duty receipts on account of country liquor, conjoined with a decrease of 75,000 gallons in the quantity of liquor on which the duty was paid. On these figures the still-head duty paid in 1891-92 averaged Rs. 1·42 a gallon against Re. 1 in 1890-91. But as the Commissioner shows, the real rise in the still-head duty was much higher than this comparison

indicates. In 1891-92 no country liquor of strength exceeding 25° under proof was allowed to be issued, and of the issues, 13 per cent. were of a strength of 50° below proof. In 1890-91 no such restriction was in force, and it is believed, on good evidence, that the average strength was as high as 15° below proof. Reduced to proof spirit, the comparative gallonage of the two years would therefore give a decrease of 200,000 gallons, or 20 per cent., in 1891-92 on the consumption in 1890-91, and an increase of 70 per cent., or from Re. 1·17 to Rs. 2, in the still-head duty per gallon of proof spirit. If to the still-head duty the incidence of the license fees in each year be added, the total tax on each gallon of proof spirit is represented by Rs. 2·8 in 1891-92 against Rs. 2·1 in 1890-91. The reforms introduced were not made in the interest of the revenue, but for the sake of sound excise administration. The improved methods of distillation practised by country distillers, the increasing strength at which liquor was issued from their stills, the high profits made by retail vendors, through the opportunity thus afforded of watering down liquor before its sale to the consumer, and the gambling element thereby introduced into the competition for retail licenses at the annual auction sales, led the Government to recast the system, whereby a uniform still-head duty of Re. 1 per gallon, irrespective of strength, was levied on all issues of country liquor. The soundness of the principle that still-head duty should be proportioned to strength is recognised by the Board and the Commissioner, and is self-evident. That its novelty in its practical application to country stills should have given rise to difficulties in making the license settlements for the year under report, and should have resulted in many districts in a heavy fall of income from this source, is not surprising. Nor is it surprising that, in the effort to pass on the higher still-head duty to the consumer, through the time honoured method of watering down liquor, or by raising prices to an extreme height, the licensees not unfrequently have overreached themselves, driven their customers away, and considerably reduced their turn-over in the year. These matters will gradually find their own solution. The Government agrees with the Board and the Commissioner that it would be a most mistaken policy to so enhance the price of country liquor as to turn the people in considerable numbers to hemp drugs or opium, or to encourage illicit distillation. But it is by no means clear that this will result from a still-head duty of only Rs. 2 the gallon of proof spirit, especially when the increase in the duty is accompanied by a large fall in the speculative outlay which the retail dealers have hitherto incurred on licenses.

The numbers of retail shops was 5,315 against 5,427 in

1890-91. Including outstills and farmed shops there was one shop for retail vend of country spirits to every 6878 persons. According to the Excise Commissioner, the corresponding figures for Ireland are one shop for every 300 inhabitants.

Could Mr. Caine, Mr. Evans, and other blatant fanatics be induced to make a note of this suggestive parallel, to read it in connection with preceding paragraph, to discover that charity begins at home, to acknowledge that the Indian demon of drink is not 10 per cent. as black as they are so fond of painting him?

On a cognate subject Mr. Stoker's conclusions are (1) that, with the possible exception of the class of mendicants and religious devotees, excessive indulgence in hemp drugs does not prevail among the population of the N. W. P. and Oudh; (2) that there is, however, a slow and irregular tendency towards the use of hemp drugs in preference to spirituous liquors, fostered partly by the pressure of high food-prices on the poorer classes of society, and partly by the increased stringency of the excise on country spirits; (3) that, too much of the drug revenue is at present left to the mercy of competition: but that, defective though it may be in this respect, the present system cannot be accused of encouraging the use of the hemp drugs by making them procurable at a low price. Compared with the cost of production, the retail price of drugs is enormously high.

The real receipts from opium license fees were about the same as in 1890-91. The number of opium shops was reduced from 1,140 to 990. The total quantity of opium taken was 1,703 maunds against 1,649, in 1890-91.

The number of licenses for sale of *madut* and *chandu* stood at 26 during the year, but has since been reduced to 14; and consumption on the premises of the licensees has now been absolutely prohibited. The Commissioner considers that the prohibition was an eminently right and beneficial measure; but apprehends that, for some time to come, chandu smoking will be carried on in private unlicensed houses under conditions which do not create an offence against the existing law. The legal question involved has already engaged the attention of the Government.

The incidence of revenue per head of the population was very much the same as in years immediately preceding, being 1'79 annas per head against 1'74 in 1890-91, and 1'96 in 1889-90. The consumption of country liquor was considerably less than in former years, and represented little more than one wine-glass per head. The Commissioner of Excise inclines to the opinion that the new system has swung too far in the direction of repression, and in causing liquor to be dear and bad.

*Report on the Administration of the Police of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 31st December 1892.*

EXCLUDING sanitary offences, which have little to do with police working, the returns show a decrease of 1,120 cases from 1888 and of 31,797 cases from last year.

The bulk of the decrease in cognizable crime has been in classes III and V. In the former class there has been a falling off of 15,903, and in the latter of 14,508 cases. Looking further into details it will be found that in class III the decrease has been entirely under Serial Nos. 36 and 37, burglary, and in class V under Serial Nos. 44 and 46—theft, and receiving stolen property.

Under cattle theft, the decrease is said to be real and to be due to the very stringent repressive measures which have of late years been adopted in dealing with this class of crime.

With regard to burglaries and thefts (ordinary), the decrease is attributed (1) to better harvests, (2) especially in the case of burglaries, to the incarceration of the Sansias and the preventive measures taken under the bad livelihood sections of the Criminal Procedure Code, which, during the last three years have resulted in the consignment to jail of between four and five thousand habitual criminals, and (3) to the removal to some extent of the practice which has been yearly growing stronger, of requiring from station officers a certain number of reports per 10,000 of population,

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*Report on the Excise Administration of the Punjab, during the year 1892-93.*

FROM the report on the Excise Administration in the Punjab for the official year 1892-93, we gather that the increase of the income from drugs has been in round numbers Rs. 30,000. Of the receipts from license fees about two-thirds are put down to opium and one-third to preparations of hemp. But as the licenses for retail vend of opium and hemp drngs are usually sold together, it is impossible to base any definite conclusions on these figures as to the comparative popularity of these two kinds of drugs. In the current year there has been a rise of Rs. 10,000 in the bids for drug licenses, which may be due in part to the cheapness of imported charas in the year under report. According to Provincial Statement C, the sales of opium, charas, and bhang effected by licensed vendors were less in 1892-93 than in the previous year.

There has been a great decline in the proceeds of the acreage duty on poppy cultivation. This is due in part to a falling-off in the area put under the poppy, in those districts in which the duty was doubled in 1889 and 1891. In six districts the tax

has been kept at its old rate of 8 annas per quarter acre. Four of these are the great opium-producing districts of the Province, where the cultivators really grow the poppy for sale and not for their own consumption. Mr. Walker has suggested that the "exceptional treatment" of the area under poppy in the other two districts, Simla and Gujrat, may now cease in view of their very small outturn of opium. But there was nothing exceptional in the treatment of Simla, where opium is manufactured for export. The total outturn is necessarily small, amounting to only some 20 maunds yearly, but the poppy is, relatively to the cultivated areas of the two districts, a much more important crop in Simla than in Umballa, which produces 700 or 800 maunds. The case of Gujrat is different. The acreage under the poppy there is small, and the outturn of opium in the year under report was only between three and four maunds.

Reports regarding the effect of the measures adopted against opium-smoking are satisfactory. In suppressing the establishments in which, as a matter of business, facilities were provided for those already disposed to smoke opium and temptations were held out to others to acquire the practice, and limiting to one tolah the amount of any preparation of opium which a private person may possess, we have gone as far as, in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, it is legitimate for a Government, and especially for a foreign Government like ours, to go towards repressing a vice of this kind. If, as has been suggested by some, we were to attempt to interfere with the smoking of opium in private houses, the remedy would be infinitely worse than the disease. Messrs Caine and Evans, and obscurantists of that sort, are invited to consider and distort the plain meaning of this Gubernatorial deliverance.

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*Review of the Trade of India in 1892-93.*

Mr. O'Connor inclines to pessimism, and is fonder of infructuous retrospects than beseems a man of demi-officially settled convictions. In his Report for 1892-93 he tells us essentially that the trade of India has been very unfavourably affected in the last three years. Because in 1890-91 its course was violently interrupted by a sudden and rapid rise in exchange followed by an equally sudden and rapid fall; because in 1891-92 exchange fell still further and heavily, and a reaction in the import trade followed the temporary stimulus given to it by the rise in exchange in the preceding year; because, thirdly, trade generally was depressed, except in wheat and seeds for which there was a large demand arising out of the failure of the Russian and other European harvests. In 1892-93 this demand no longer



existed and the depression of trade continued, accompanied by a further fall in exchange, so continuous and persistent as to create grave anxiety. Imports were greatly reduced in volume, merchants being reluctant to import and dealers to buy, while exchange remained in such a condition that transactions might involve them in the most serious embarrassments. Exports also were restricted, by reason partly of lack of demand in Europe, where trade was generally much depressed, partly of abundant supplies from other countries, and partly of more or less unfavourable harvests in India.

Mr. O'Connor states that a large number of our staple imports declined either in quantity or value, or in both, during the year of report a decline being visible in such important items as cotton yarns and piece goods, woollen goods, apparel, copper, iron, steel, tin, zinc, railway materials, coal, salt, sugar, tea, spices, raw silk, hardware and cutlery, glassware, and paper. There were increases in beer, spirits, provisions, machinery, mineral dyes, mineral oils, manufactured silk, matches, umbrellas, and some other items; but they were of no importance in comparison with the decline in the articles mentioned above. No mention is made of potato engendered whiskey, shipped from Hamburg, or of other deleterious compounds, known to the Trade and the Law Courts as colourable imitations.

It is written that in the export trade the articles which declined either in quantity or in value, or in both, were: coffee, rice, wheat, other grains and pulse, provisions, sugar, tea, opium, myrabolams, castor oil, hides (raw), linseed, poppy seed, earthnuts, coir, shell and button lac, and that there were, on the other hand, increases in raw cotton and cotton yarn and piece goods, in jute and jute goods, indigo, castor, rape, and til seed, silk and wool, teak, and skins (raw). The increases in these articles, however, did not suffice to counterbalance the decline in other staples, especially in wheat, and on the whole the export trade was less by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in value than the trade of the preceding year. In 1891-92 the failure of harvests in Europe caused such an expansion of the wheat trade as to save the export trade generally from showing an appreciable decline. Last year the position was reversed, for the export trade generally would have shewn an appreciable increase but for the restriction of the wheat trade within normal limits.

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*Triennial Report on the Working of the Charitable Dispensaries under the Government of Bengal for the years 1890, 1891, and 1892.* By J G. PILCHER, ESQ., F. R. C. S., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Bengal. Bengal Secretariat Press. 1893.

THE number of dispensaries increased from 261 on the 31st December 1889, to 310 at the end of 1892. Almost all the

new institutions belong to classes II and III, *viz.*, other than purely State dispensaries—a circumstance which possibly indicates that local bodies and private individuals have shown greater interest in affording medical relief to the people. The Lieutenant Governor is constrained to animadvert, nevertheless, that, looking to the large population of the Province, the number of dispensaries are still far too small to meet the acquirements of the people. The remedy is easy. A few more creations of Maharajahships, a few more inductions into the Companionship of the Order of India, will obviate any existent obstructions to the flow of charity. Meanwhile, we note that of the 299 dispensaries from which returns have been received, 193 were under the immediate charge of medical subordinates of the Government establishment, and 106 were under local native doctors, so that on the 31st December 1892, Government medical officers held charge of about two-thirds of the institutions, and that local bodies generally prefer to employ medical subordinates of the Government establishment in their dispensaries, and that it is only when they are unable to meet the pay of these officers that they appoint their men locally under rule 9 of the Dispensary Manual. In plain words—it is idle to expect Bengalis to disburse one pice for any object short of a Rai Bahadurship, or a Companionship of the Indian Empire, until they are obliged to do so. The old Delhi Emperors understood Bengali character a deal better than we do, and, what is more to the point, were, for their straightforwardness, *liked* a deal better than we are.

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# CRITICAL NOTICES.

*Rulers of India. Aurangzib.* BY STANLEY LANE-POOLE, B.A.,  
Author of the Catalogue of Oriental and Indian Coins in the  
British Museum, the Life of Viscount Stratford De  
Redcliffe, etc., Oxford : at the Clarendon Press : 1893.

IN the "Rulers of India" scheme of publication, as at first contemplated, Sir W. W. Hunter was to have undertaken the account of Aurangzib's reign. In the *Nineteenth Century* for May 1887, he had put forth a tentative sketch—"The Ruin of Aurangzib," and he had been at pains to collect materials for a matured history of the period. Something intervened to hinder or prevent him from the fulfilment of his initial intention. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has taken up the work ; and his name is ample guarantee that it has not suffered because of the exchange. Sir W. W. Hunter made over to the author the data he had collected, and the debt is handsomely acknowledged in a "Note on authorities" that serves as a preface.

The keynote of the monograph is an exemplification of the ruin following on the reversal of Akbar's policy of religious toleration, and welding together of race differences. Akbar's concept was a great nation, powerful, because united. His great grandson subordinated statesmanship to bigotry—according to oriental lights, a capable sovereign in other respects besides that, dissimulating, crafty, treacherous, ungrateful, with always an eye open for what seemed to his selfish outlook, the main chance. Mr. Lane-Poole's chapters are well arranged. Introductorily there is a *resume* of immediately bygone history, an elucidation of "The Heritage of Akbar," an appraisal of the prince's character, *quid* prince, and his claims to the throne, and then "The fight for the Throne."

A singular light is cast upon the instability of the imperial organization when it is remembered that no Mughal King dared to absent himself from the public levees for more than a day or two, for fear of a general rebellion. The people were satisfied only if they could see their king : if he were not seen he must be dead. Even Jahāngir, after his nightly debauch, had to 'pull himself together,' *comme que coule*, and make his punctual appearance at the levee window. Shāh-Jahān's absence from his accustomed seat overlooking the great Hall of Audience could not fail to arouse suspicion, and the rumour that he was dead, in spite of Dārā's assurances, spread rapidly throughout the provinces, and every man looked to his weapons and made ready for the fray. Bernier describes the tumult of this anxious time :—

The Mughal's illness filled the whole extent of his dominions with agitation and alarm. Dārā collected powerful armies in Delhi and Agra, the principal cities of the kingdom. In Bengal, Sultān Shujā' made the same vigorous preparations for war. Aurangzib in the Decan and Murād-Bakhsh in Gūjarāt also levied such forces as evinced a determination to contend for empire. The four

brothers gathered round them their friends and allies ; all wrote letters, made large promises, and entered into a variety of intrigues . . . Meanwhile the King's distemper increased, and it was reported that he was dead. The whole Court was in confusion ; the population of Agra was panic-stricken ; the shops were closed for many days ; and the four Princes openly declared their settled purpose of making the sword the sole arbiter of their lofty pretensions. It was, in fact, too late to recede : not only was the Crown to be gained by victory alone, but in case of defeat, life was certain to be forfeited. There was now no choice, but between a kingdom and death.'

"Kingship counts no kinship." The oriental universality and popular acceptance of this proverb appears to Mr. Lane-Poole to justify the murders that paved Aurangzib's way to the Throne, and lie at the root of the denunciations of his detractors. Aurangzib was lucky, in short, successful to the end. An oriental prince, says our historian, cannot be happy without a throne, and so "it becomes a matter of sheer necessity, and not a question of jealous suspicion, to make it impossible for him to attain his ambition. In the present day this is done by imprisoning him in the *seraglio* till he becomes idiotic. The old, and perhaps the most merciful way, was to kill him outright." On like lines of arbitration successful treason is no longer treason, and the "elect" of some dissenting Christian denominations can commit no sin, whatever the criminal law of the country they are domiciled in, may declare adversely to that assumption. In short, everything is for the best, in this best of all possible worlds. We do not see our way to sharing this comfortable belief, even with respect to the teachings of history.

Worthier moral may, we think, be derived from study of the following passage, in judicious comparison with the known effects of getting religion amongst European potentates of the same period—Charles the ninth of France, and Philip the second of Spain for instance.

Aurangzib was, first and last, a stern Puritan. Nothing in life—neither throne, nor love, nor ease—weighed for an instant in his mind against his fealty to the principles of Islam. For religion he persecuted the Hindûs and destroyed their temples, while he damaged his exchequer by abolishing the time-honoured tax on the religious festivals and fairs of the unbelievers. For religion's sake he waged his unending wars in the Deccan, not so much to stretch wider the boundaries of his great empire, as to bring the lands of the heretical Shî'a within the dominion of orthodox Islâm. To him the Deccan was *Dâr-al-Harb* : he determined to make it *Dâr-al-Islam*. Religion induced Aurangzib to abjure the pleasures of the senses as completely as if he had indeed become the fakîr he had once desired to be. No animal food passed his lips, and his drink was water ; so that, as Tavernier says, he became 'thin and meagre, to which the great fasts, which he keeps, have contributed. During the whole of the duration of the comet [four weeks, in 1665], which appeared very large in India, where I then was, Aurangzib only drank a little water and ate a small quantity of millet bread ; this so much affected his health that he nearly died, for besides this he slept on the ground, with only a tiger's skin over him ; and since that time he has never had perfect health.\*' Following the Prophet's pre-

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\* Tavernier's *Travels*, transl. Dr V Ball (1889), vol. i. p. 338.

cept that every Muslim should practise a trade, he devoted his leisure to making skullcaps, which were doubtless bought up by the courtiers of Delhi with the same enthusiasm as was shown by the ladies of Moscow for Count Tolstoi's boots. He not only knew the Koran by heart, but copied it twice over in his fine calligraphy, and sent the manuscripts, richly adorned, as gifts to Mecca and Medina. Except the pilgrimage, which he dared not risk, lest he should come back to find an occupied throne, he left nothing undone of the whole duty of the Muslim. Even the English merchants of Surat, who had their own reasons for disliking the Emperor, could only tell Ovington, that Aurangzib was a zealous professor of Islam, 'never neglecting the hours of devotion nor anything which in his sense may denominate him a sincere believer.' \*

A contemporary native historian declared that he never put on clothes prohibited by religion, or used vessels of silver and gold. Tavernier has left it on record that he *saw* the Emperor drink out of a rock-crystal cup, with a gold cover and saucer, enriched with diamonds, rubies and emeralds. Apart from his religious fanaticism, Aurangzib is adjudged to have displayed in state concerns, the wisdom and judgment of a clear and thoughtful mind. It is confidently asserted that, "according to the law of Islam," no act of injustice has been proved against him, and that, although avaricious and niggardly, he could on an emergency be generous to his poorer subjects.

Soon after his accession to the throne, he found that the late devastating movements of the contending armies, combined with a drought, had produced a famine in the land. He at once established houses for the distribution of free dinners, and ordered the remission of about eighty taxes, including the vexatious highway and ferry tolls, the ground cess on houses and shops, &c. Other taxes, such as those on Hindû and Muhammadan fans, licences for spirits, gambling-hells, and houses of ill-fame, were probably abolished from religious motives: the Puritan King would not take toll for iniquity. But the rest could only have been remitted for the sake of helping a necessitous population. Aurangzib had too strong an army at his back to be obliged to cultivate popularity at the cost of a serious loss to his exchequer. It is true the remission of many of these taxes was evaded by the local officials and landowners, who continued to collect them with the connivance of the imperial inspectors; but this was the fault of a defective or corrupt executive, not of the Emperor's good intention. When such infractions of his orders came to his knowledge, the offenders were fined; but the royal anger was shortlived, and the culprits were too soon forgiven, and returned to their old ways of oppression.

Cynical critics have explained Aurangzib's ineffectual generosity as an ingenious contrivance to curry favour with the people, without impoverishing his Imperial Treasury. One commentator on his reign Dr. Careri, seems to incline to the opinion that he connived at his Amirs' misdeeds in order to gain their support. "The plain interpretation, however, of the remission of taxes as an act of bounty, dictated by the Koranic injunction of benevolence to the needy, and the son of the road, is simple, and more consistent with all we know of the Emperor's disposition." At the same time his abnormally suspi-

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\* Ovington's *Voyage to Surat in the year 1689* (Lond. 1669), p. 195.

cious disposition should be taken account of in State business as well as in his private life. He had, of course, a taster—some say his daughter—to test the wholesomeness of his food, and, if he took medicine, his physician had to give him a lead, and take pill for pill, dose for dose, in order that their operations on the *corpus vile* of the medico, might be apparent before he ventured on swallowing them.

Mr. Stanley Poole throws no new light on the acts, the facts of Aurangzib's reign, and no useful purpose would be served by following him step by step through the two hundred and odd pages of his careful history. The pith of it lies in his analysis of the monarch's character and its disintegrating effects on the Empire which Akbar had built up and consolidated. As, of course, severely orthodox Muslims of his own and of later days have sung his praises, and extolled his virtues abundantly. His courtiers and other of his subjects who knew him, lived in constant dread of awakening his suspicions, and thereby ruining themselves, and, while they feared, resented his prying distrustful scrutinies. He was, as Emperor, universally respected, but never loved.

The very loftiness of his nature kept his people at a distance, while his inflexible uprightness and frigid virtue chilled their hearts.

This cold austerity of Aurangzib destroyed his influence. Few kings have had better intentions, but the best will in the world will not bring popularity, or make men do what you think right, merely because they know you think it so. The people saw through the suave manner and placid amiability of the judge who listened so indulgently to their petitions, and perceived a bigot's atrophied heart behind the gracious smile. It has been usual to call the character of Aurangzib a puzzling compound of contradictions. Yet there is no inconsistency in his acts or words. His character is that of the Puritan, with all its fiery zeal, its ascetic restraint, its self-denial, its uncompromising tenacity of righteous purpose, its high ideals of conduct and of duty; and also with its cold severity; its curbed impulses, its fanaticism, its morbid distrust of 'poor human nature' its essential unlovableness. Aurangzib possessed many great qualities, he practised all the virtues; but he was lacking in the one thing needful in a leader of men: he could not win love. Such a one may administer an empire but he cannot rule the hearts of men.

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*The Life and Enterprises of Ferdinand De Lesseps.* By G. BARNETT SMITH, author of "The History of the English Parliament," "Victor Hugo, his Life and Work," "The Biographies of Gladstone and Bright." London, W. H. Allen & Co. Limited, 13 Waterloo Place, S. W., 1893.

**I**N our ignorance we had hitherto supposed that the author of the Suez Canal scheme was a Civil Engineer professionally, as well as by temperament—a mistake we have shared, we take it, with not a few of the genus, general reader. It appears, however, from Mr. Barnett Smith's story of the life and enterprises of Ferdinand de Lesseps, that the grand old Frenchman began life, like his father before him, in the Diplomatic

Service, and was in 1825, when he was twenty years of age, appointed *Attaché* to the French Consulate at Lisbon. Thence he was transferred to Tunis, and shortly afterwards to Algiers. Seven years—1832 to 1838 inclusive—he spent in Egypt. For a time he officiated as Consul General at Alexandria, where he acquired influence and popularity with Mehemet Ali and his court. The knowledge of the country and the people at this time secured stood him in good stead when he undertook the great achievement of his life. Meanwhile, he went as Consul to Rotterdam, to Malaga, and Barcelona; thence as Minister Plenipotentiary to Madrid; after a year there, to Rome, accredited to the newly constituted Republican Government of Italy. Louis Napoleon was then Prince President, and played a double part at one end of the wire; Mazzini doing the same at the other. The first time the latter was unmasked, he “threw himself into his visitor’s arms, and they continued their negotiations,” a more strict regard for promises being guaranteed by the Italian. Next day DeLesseps learnt that Mazzini had on his table several small sheets of very thin paper, upon which were written appeals to the French soldiers to mutiny. He promptly went to the palace of the consulate, as if paying a call, and was able in the course of an interview to lay hold of one of the incriminating documents and to secure it in the crown of his hat. Here is the rest of the story.

He then said to the Triumvir, “Do you know what I am told? You were twice led away by your friends, conspirators by habit, and you have twice tried to deceive me. This is the third time. I am informed that you have meditated sending proclamations to the French troops. The French soldier would burn down his mother’s house if he received orders to do so. Despite your experience, you do not know the French soldier, and you have consequently made a great blunder.” He denied the accusation. Whereupon I said, taking the proclamation out of my hat, ‘What do you mean by No? I have done to day a thing that I will never do again, and that is, to lay my hands upon this sheet of paper.’ Again Mazzini embraced his accuser, and again they vowed a vow of eternal friendship—as in the comedy—, and the negotiations were resumed.

Straightforwardness seems to have been impossible to Mazzini—even when he was conscious that want of candour had an injurious effect on his plottings. The end of the diplomatic duello was that DeLesseps was discredited, recalled, put on his trial before the Council of State, condemned, “for reasons of State”, and driven out of the Diplomatic Service. Retiring into private life, he became land-agent to his mother-in-law, who owned a considerable estate. Son-in-law Ferdinand, built a model farm on it, and restored an ancient castle which had belonged to Agnes Sorel. He was always an odd amalgam of practicality and sentiment.

Farming leaves abundant room in a man’s head for extraneous



thought. In the comparative leisure of his life on the farm in Berry from 1849 to 1854, DeLesseps conceived the idea of the Suez Canal. Studying every thing connected with the flow and returns of trade between the worlds, of the West and East, he noted that the traffic was doubling itself every ten years : and came to a conclusion that the time had arrived at which the formation of a Company for canal construction could develop that traffic in a marvellous manner.

In 1852 he submitted his views to the Sublime Porte. but was snubbed for his pains. Two years afterwards Saïd Pasha became Viceroy of Egypt and invited the Canal Projector to draw up a formal memorandum on his scheme. This was done, the total estimated cost for the Canal being set down at £200,000, and for the port and harbour of Suez, £500,000. The scheme was approved of, and an Act of Concession for the land, etc., required, legally executed on the 30th November 1854.

Once in possession of his concession, M. de Lesseps said to the Viceroy, "I am not a financier, or a man of business. What do you think I had best do?" The engineer had many colleagues and friends who were rich, so he got a hundred of them to join him, and proposed to found a Company with them. Each put in a share of £200, which share by the year 1887 was worth £40,000. This sum served for the preliminary investigations which were made by engineers brought from Europe to examine the ground. This had never before been done, as no one had ever dreamt that the canal could be made. But DeLesseps had always been of opinion that, as the two seas were on the same level, the work to be undertaken must be a purely maritime one. He never wavered from this, and his perseverance had its reward. When the money subscribed by himself and his friends had all been spent, he said to the Viceroy—"The question as to the possibility of making the Canal settled, would you like me to put myself in the hands of financiers at Paris, who would probably get the better of me?" Saïd replied that he had a good reserve fund.—Egyptian finance being not then in the terrible condition into which it afterwards fell,—and he would bear all the cost. In forming his Company, De Lesseps introduced a clause according to which a certain percentage of the profits was to go to the Egyptian Government. Matters being arranged, the engineers set to work, and began to make their surveys for the Canal. The opposition of England, however, was for a time so pronounced and persistent, that the Viceroy was almost at his wits' end.

At the head of that opposition was Lord Palmerston, then the Premier: at Constantinople again, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the all powerful ambassador, was a vehement opponent. DeLesseps had many adverse influences arrayed against him, but was not without friends and supporters, even in England—notably Mr. Roebuck (Punch's dog Tearem) Mr. Rendel, the leading Hydraulic Engineer in England, Mr. Thomson Hankey, Governor of the Bank of England, Messrs Anderson Wilcox, and de Zulueta, Directors and Founders of the P. and O. Steam Company, Captain Welch, R. E., Secretary

of the Admiralty, &c., &c. Napoleon the third and his countrymen in France from the first looked with a favourable eye on the project. The Porte was not averse to it, but considered its interests in the matter bound up in those of England, which country—it was just after the Crimean War—it felt bound to consult before committing itself to action. Finally a subscription list was started in France. Some amusing incidents are recorded with reference to it thus:—

“I had rendered M de Rothschild some services while Minister at Madrid, and he was good enough to recognise them.

“‘If you wish it,’ he said, ‘I will open your subscription at my office.’

“‘And what will you ask me for it? I answered, enchanted.

“‘Good Heavens! It is plain you are not a man of business. It is always five per cent.’

“‘Five per cent on two hundred million (£8,000,000); why, that makes ten millions! (£400,000.). I shall hire a place for 1200 francs, and do my own work equally well’ (*Approving laughter*).

“Well, the Grand Central had just left the Place Vendôme. There I established my offices, and thither the capital flowed in an abundance.

“By the advice of the Viceroy, I had reserved for foreign Powers a portion of the shares. But France alone took of the whole amount 220,000, the equivalent of 110,000,000 francs (£4,400,000).

“I witnessed in the course of the subscription some curious facts full of patriotism. Two persons in particular wished to subscribe. One was an old bald headed priest, doubtless an old soldier, who said to me—

“‘Oh, those English!—(*Laughter*)—I am glad to be able to be revenged on them by taking shares in the Suez Canal.’

“The other who came to my office was a well-dressed man, I know not of what profession.

“‘I wish,’ said he, ‘to subscribe for the railway of the island of Sweden’ (*le chemin de fer de l’île de Suède*).

“‘But,’ it was remarked to him ‘it is not a railway, it is a canal;’ it is not an island, it is an isthmus; it is not in Sweden, it is at Suez.

“‘That’s all the same to me’—(*Renewed laughter*)—he replied; ‘provided it be against the English, I subscribe.’

“The same patriotic eagerness was found in many priests and military men. At Grenoble a whole regiment of Engineers clubbed together to have its share in a work so eminently French. Even men of letters, and retired public servants, who generally do not invest a sou in business, showed their desire to encourage our efforts.

The close of the year 1858, saw the Universal Company of the Maritime Suez Canal in full swing; considerably over half the capital had been raised in Europe, chiefly in France: the Khedive contributed the remainder.

*The National Review.* W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, Publishers to the India Office, 13, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, London, S. W., November, 1893.

TO all well-wishers of India, we would recommend study of an Article in the *National Review* for November by Mr. H. E. M. James. After nearly thirty years of administrative experience, he, while reluctant to assert that “any

direct connection between political agitation and the Hindu revival has as yet been traced," unburdens his mind after a manner that may be gleaned from the following excerpts:—

Agitators, themselves eating beef and drinking brandy, utilize Hinduism as a means for attacking the Government, on the ground that it is interfering with religion. Witness the outcry against the "Age of Consent" Act. One would have thought that enlightened Hindus would have been shocked at the revelations; but no, they raised a long-drawn howl of religion in danger, not because they believed it, but merely because they hated the Government. Recently the barbarous practice of hook-swinging, which was stopped thirty-five or forty years ago by executive order, has been revived in defiance of the known wishes of the Government, and affords another instance of growing disrespect for authority.

That the heart of the masses is sound, I have no manner of doubt. That the best of them, whether advanced or conservative, regret religious excesses or silly political scheming, I make no question. As a race they would protest with terror against any proposal to diminish the number of their English rulers and to hand them over to their own ambitious countrymen. Nor do I look on any connection with the Congress or similar meetings as a crime. One of my most valued old friends, an excellent and useful citizen, once attended a congress, and read papers on reducing drunkenness and the institution of more model farms, which being non-political subjects, were scarcely noticed by the more ardent spirits. But I repeat that danger comes from the windbags. With a few rare exceptions the principal result of Lord Ripon's local self-government experiments has been the production of the thing by the hundred, and ill-informed people in England are inclined to trust them. Yet I make bold to say that there is not one municipality or local board out of twenty in which, if the English or official members left it, any progress would be made save a job now and then. How often have I entreated English business men to join such bodies, and been told that they cannot stand the talking, the waste of time, the perpetual adjournments of questions, instead of coming to a business-like decision, and the cliques. If a rate has to be imposed, say for a new water supply, the ordinary native will always propose octroi on some necessary of life, or if forced into a rate on property, fashions it so that the poor pay much more in proportion than the rich. However he may bluster against his rulers, he is timidity itself when he goes amongst his caste-people and his women-folk, for he dare not face unpopularity. The British officer, perhaps, does not always make sufficient allowances for the local pressure that is brought to bear on native members by people who are conservative to the backbone, and want to stew in the same juice as their forefathers, and he expects too great sacrifices. On the other hand, paradoxical though it appears, if you handed over a province to the control of a native administration, entirely free to follow their own traditional methods, they could raise two or three times the revenue that we do. They would double the land revenue and the income-tax, cover the country with shop-taxes, transit-duties, customs, cesses, and monopolies, and would grind the poor tax-payer, as distinguished from their own neighbours and rate-payers, to their hearts' content.

Windbags do especial harm by retarding true progress and the efforts made by British officers and sensible natives to develop local self-government. But, in Bengal, there is a worse class than windbags. A certain number, as I have already said, are animated by genuine

spite against the British. In Lower Bengal, when I was there, a few individual officers were marked men, and the slightest slip was sure to be followed by an attempt to ruin them.

The November number of the *National Review* is both bright and solid, although bright is a very inadequate epithet to bestow on Alfred Austin's charming prose idyll, "The garden that I love," and solid is hardly the right word in connection with H. D. Traill's pithily humorous "In Cabinet Council." Of the dozen articles contained within the yellow covers of No. 129 not one need be skipped; and an Irish Girl's letter, "The Silver Lining" is fully as good as the articles. Mr. Arthur James Balfour's on Golf is sure to attract attention.

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*Essays on Indian Social Reform.*—By an Indian with which is presented, for the consideration of the Indian people generally, a very easy Practical Beginning of a most important Social Reform comprised in the scheme, of the New India Association. Bombay: Printed at the Ripon Printing Press, Kalkadevi, 1893.

A TRACT has been sent us from Bombay, entitled *Essays on Social Reform, by an Indian*, who propounds "three processes by which really useful social reforms can be brought about in the country." To wit:—

- 1stly—by legislation, which will be the most expeditious in its results; or
- 2ndly—by empowering and recommending Municipalities to bring them about; or
- 3rdly—by a voluntary movement of the people themselves.

As to the first process, we may remark that Legislation is not a God, and cannot affect the workings of men's and women's souls.

As to the second process, we would suggest for the author's regard, consideration of the fact that Municipalities have not hitherto shown capacity for the management of their own petty vestry business.

As to the third process, the author, in his "1stly," more than implies that he himself has no faith in the saving virtues of his "3rdly."

The "Essays" are prefaced by advertisement of a New India Association, "with ramifications all over the country," anyone desirous of "enlisting" a member of which, is required to affirm as follows:—

If a married man, he has to affirm that he will not marry at least one of his sons, if he has more than one, till he has an income of his own sufficient to provide for all the wants of a family.

If a single man, he has to affirm that he will not allow himself to be

married till he has competence of his own sufficient to provide for all the wants of a married state.

For two generations past postulants for notoriety have from time to time promulgated similar requisitions. Nothing came from them save backslidings, scandals, more pegs for the coffin of the simulacrum styled Social Reform.

*The Rival Powers in Central Asia.*—Or the Struggle between England and Russia in the East. Translated from the German of Josef Popowski, by Arthur Baring Brabant, and edited by Charles E. D. Black, late in charge of the Geographical Business of the India Office, with a Map of the North-Western Frontier of India, showing the Pamir region and part of Afghanistan. Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co. Publishers to the India Office, Parliament Street, S. W. 1893.

MORE than seventeen years having gone by since the publication of Sir Henry Rawlinson's *England and Russia in the East* awoke public opinion in Great Britain to a livelier sense of the responsibilities and dangers attaching to our Empire in India and the Pamirs question, and Sir Mortimer Durand's embassy to Kabul having accentuated the importance of the subject, this has seemed to Messrs. Archibald Constable & Co., publishers to the India Office, fit time for the issue of a translation of Herr Popowski's work, *England and Russia*. \* The work is valuable as being a Continental expert's analysis of the Central-Asian imbroglio. Here is a sample of the author's style:—

The English, according to their own report, are above all things practical people, and not, like the French, disposed to sacrifice themselves for humanitarian objects. Consequently, they left both the Poles and Circassians to their fate. They hoped that the tenacity and patriotism of the Poles would create difficulties for the Russians for long years to come; and that the savage courage, fanaticism, and love of home of the Circassians, would enable them to defend their inaccessible mountains. Lastly, they hoped that the Russians would not be able to cross the extensive, arid Kirghiz and Turcoman deserts. In so doing, they overlooked the fact that the result of an unequal contest must prove disadvantageous to the weaker, if the stronger has time enough to complete his preparations unmolested. The English regarded Poland as a ball at Russia's feet. The resistance of the Poles may possibly act as a hindrance to Russia's internal development, but it is of no importance to the external policy of the Tzar's Empire. The Poles paid their taxes just like the Russians, and fought under the Russian flag both in Europe and Asia, just as they fought in France under the German flag in 1870. The resistance of the

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\* The German title of his book is *Antagonismus der Englischen und Russischen Interessen in Asien Eine Militair-politische Studie*. Vienna William Fricke. 1890.

Circassians was overcome, and on their refusing to migrate to the country allotted to them, the great majority of them were expatriated, and the Caucasus lost to its heroic defenders. The Russians succeeded at length, with great perseverance and small expenditure of power, in possessing themselves piecemeal of the deserts of Central Asia. But a few years have elapsed since the Peace of Paris which ended the Crimean war, and England's position confronting Russia in Asia, has become a much more difficult one.

A further motive for England's policy is to be found in the mistaken idea that Russia is very weak in Asia, and in the exalted opinion of the defensive power of the Mahomedan races. The small force with which Russia operated against Persia both in 1811 and 1826, gave rise to the opinion that she was unable to place large armies in the field in Asia. In forming this opinion, the fact was overlooked (1) that since the beginning of the nineteenth century Russia's forces in the Caucasus have continually increased. They amounted in 1800 to 3,000, in 1804 to 15,000, and in 1853 to 280,000 men; (2) that Russia retains the bulk of her troops in Europe in readiness for objects of European policy, whilst in Asia she endeavours to do with forces numerically as small as possible, though in an emergency she can considerably increase them; (3) and lastly, that after the conquest of the Circassians, the Caucasian army must become available for employment elsewhere. Further, the defensive power of the Mahomedan races was judged by that of the Circassians and Algerians. It must, however, be observed that the military value of Asiatic races varies very considerably. The English themselves rule over more than fifty millions of Musulmans in Asia who are far from being a match for either Circassians or Algerians. And even these latter only rouse themselves to any considerable exhibitions of strength when led by able men.

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*The Channel Islands.* By the late DAVIT THOMAS ANSTED, M.A., F. R. S. etc late Fellow of Jesus' College, Cambridge, and the late Robert Gordon Latham, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., etc. late fellow of King's College, Cambridge, revised and edited by E. Toulmin Nicolle, London: W. H. Allen & Co. Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W.

**I**NTEGRALLY, the book before us is a reprint of a lapsed treatise on the Natural History, Ethnology, Archæology of the Channel Islands, put forth (somewhere in the fifties, if we remember rightly) by the late Professor Ansted and the late Dr. Latham, the former a scientist, the latter a pioneer in the since become fashionable study of early Norse language and literature. Its first part treats of the physical geography of the islands, its second of their natural history. Part III contains an epitome of their civil history, Part IV is devoted to economics and trade. All are lucid and informing. Illustrative woodcuts and photogravures abound. The list of authorities cited to buttress the positions taken up in Part III, is a formidable one.

The scenery of the islands has picturesque affinity with that prevailing on the Cornish coasts. Thanks to a more equable tempera-

ture than almost any other part of the western shores of Europe enjoys, and no larger rainfall, they afford unique facilities for the development of delicate plant life. Although there is no intense heat in summer, still the absence of cold in winter is sufficiently marked to admit of orange trees bearing fruit in the open air, and the camellias, in sheltered garden, are loaded with flowers from December to March. 'Tis a pity Charles Kingsley never visited them, and wrote about them in his inimitable style, for, "owing to their geographical position, they are rich in certain departments of natural history. They are surrounded by shallow water, and sands at a temperature very favourable for animal life. The water is always well aerated, there is abundant vegetation, and plenty of shelter in little caves and nooks. In this respect few parts of the coast of Europe, or its adjacent islands, are more rich." Zoophytes of almost all kinds, crustaceans, molluscs, and sponges, may be studied to perfection in natural rocky basins and caverns, and may be easily removed for study; while the seaweeds and lichens are equally abundant, and equally available for natural-history investigation."

Part III is a historico-ethnographic mine, well worth the students investigation. He may not—probably, he will not—find himself in agreement with all the conclusions arrived at, but where he dissents, there will be no angry dissonance over the fracture, and it will be odd if he does not gain something from his quest.

The polyglot authors of the book summarise the early history of the islands thus:—

1. At first, the occupants were Bretons; few in number, pagans, and probably poor fishermen.

2. Under the Romans, a slight infusion of either Roman or legionary blood may have taken place, more in Alderney than in Jersey, more in Jersey than in Sark.

3. When the *Litus Saxonicum* was established, there may have been on them lighthouses for the honest sailor, or small piratical holdings for the Corsair, as the case might be. There were, however, no emporia or places either rich through the arts of peace, or formidable for the mechanism of war.

4. When the Irish Church, under the school of St. Columbanus, was in its full missionary vigor, Irish missionaries preached the Gospel to the island, and among both the missionaries and the islanders there may have been a few Saxons of the *Litus*.

5. In the sixth century, some portion of that mixture of Saxons, Danes, Chattuarii, Leti, Goths, Bretons, and Romanised Gauls, whom the Frank kings drove to the very coasts of the ocean, may have betaken themselves to the islands opposite.

Apops of kings, these said polyglot authors have begun the whitewashing of King John, of Runnymede renown, and predict for him eventual canonization, as assured as that which Mr. Froude has bestowed on Henry the Eighth. They have no faith in the ultimate triumph of "the tendencies of the modern school of what is called history, too often the narrative

of events which never happened." Neither have we; yet in this the present day of their triumph we, too, would fain deprecate and condemn their growing itch for superimposing their own glosses on, or incorporating their own characterizations into the existent record of past events. Not to deprive King John of such benefit of clergy as may now be available for him, we may mention that, liberal municipal charters are said to have been granted by him *of his own free will* to Jersey and Guernsey.

Here follows a Breton legend from the "*Livre Noir de-countances*," redolent of the soil and its queer interminglings of sentiment and the main chance; of survivals of snake worship, side by side with mediæval Mariolatry; of Scandinavian eddas and Zolaesque sentiment.

In the island of Jersey, there was a moor or fen, which took its name from that holy man St. Lawrence, and in this fen lay a huge serpent, which did great mischief to flocks and herds, but which no man dared to attack. A brave Norman seigneur, hight De Hambye, undertook to rid the island of the pest, and ventured across the raging seas from Normandy taking with him a single servant. The knigh of Hambye slew the serpent and cut off its head. The wicked servant, seeing this, thought, that if he killed his master and vaunted himself as the slayer of the dragon, he might woo the widow. All which he did. He murdered his master in his sleep, and then told his lady that the terrible serpent had destroyed her lord, but that he, the faithful servant, had killed the dragon. The knight, he added, had, with his last words, praised the valour and fidelity of his servant, and sent by him a message to his lady, enjoining her, as she loved his memory, to become the wife of so true a follower. So the wife gave her hand to the knave, to whom speedy retribution was to come. As the varlet was sleeping, he was disturbed by a dream, and he cried out in his sleep, "*Oh! wretch I am; I have killed my master!*" This he did, night after night, till the lady suspected his crime and took him to trial, where he was condemned. Then, on the spot where her true husband was killed, she had him buried, and over his remains, in token of her affection, caused this mount to be raised—and herself retired to a convert.

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*Here and there in Italy and over the Border.* By LINDA VILLARY, Author of "Tuscan Hills and Venetian Waters," "When I was a Child," etc., London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13 Waterloo Place, S. W., 1893.

A CHATTY, sensible, companionable book. Here is a quotation:—

Magnified Sussex downs spread in huge billows about us, sink into wooded hollows, and rise eastward to a lofty ridge, capped by the cone of Purga di Velo. In spite of the Italian sky, Lombard plain and the grand bulwark of Garda's mountains climbing in slow curves to misty summits, downs, chalk-pits, and oak copses give a familiar English aspect to the landscape. So on for miles; then the way is steeper, pines are taller and the bones of the world break through the turf in limestone reefs. There is a glimpse of grey peaks to the north above an amphitheatre of forest, houses gather near the gaunt, white barracks of the "Alpine regiment"; and here at last is Chiesanuova, the



capital of the "Thirteen Communes," formerly known as "I Monti del Carbon," or Charcoal Mountains.

It is an untidy townlet, with a fringe of raw new houses, loose stones, and timbers; but it is enchantingly placed on a height commanding half Lombardy, clasped by rocks and woods, and backed by the Lessini range, which divides this corner of Italy from Austrian Tirol. To the west, beyond broken land scored by the limestone gullies peculiar to the district, long-flanked Monte Baldo rears its bulk; and at the foot of this noble mountain a stretch of Lake Garda is seen; and the Peschiera forts, and the tip of Catullus's island home thrust forth like a tongue in the blue water. It is the Lombard plain that gives life and variety to the prospect. The glory of it, and the vastness, seem to widen one's mental horizon and sweep petty cares away. Ever-changing effects and colours play over its surface (on clear mornings even the far-distant Apennines are visible); the Adige and lesser streams on their way to the sea, inscribe the great green level with a hundred silvery scrolls; and rice-fields and lagoons gleam like mirrors beyond.

On the plain of historic fights, these watery arabesques might be runes recording the deeds of the dead on a grander scale than the memorial tower—that white speck away to the right—raised to the heroes of Solferino and San Martino.

Here is another instance attuned to a different key:—

The men are packed apart in choir and transept, for the old custom of dividing the sexes still obtains in Chiesanuova. High mass is always accompanied by brisk operatic airs, and the "Traviata" drinking song is thought appropriate to the elevation of the Host. When the preacher appears in the pulpit, the congregation compose themselves for the sermon by turning down the seats of their praying stools; during this clatter the orator has time to blow his nose, and his acolyte to settle comfortably on the pulpit stairs. From the enlightened parish-priest one is sure to hear kindly, well-delivered teachings suited to the needs of his flock; but sometimes a burly Capuchin, with dramatic gesticulation and rhetoric, takes his place, or a Jesuit missionary calls sinners to repentance by declaring that recent floods, earthquakes and hailstorms had been sent to punish them for taking God's name in vain.

Chiesanuova is the Italian town that Linda Villari delights to honour. Its worst fault, one that some of us who have lived long in India, are able to sympathise with, is a scarcity of water. In Chiesanuova there are "no beggars, no tramps, and, seeing that all the doors are left on the latch, apparently no thieves." Thirty years ago, Helston in Cornwall was just such another town, front door locks as unknown to it as pilfering.

Popular education and the spread of liberal ideas have deprived Helston of that liberal expansiveness; radical distrust reigns there in its stead. It is refreshing to find that there is still left in Italy some healthy primitiveness of life, not yet adulterated with Board schools. Albeit, "a world of dreams," in which "mists suddenly floated from below, and half veiled the lovely scene, and swung up in filmy traits over the opposite crags and fields"—delightful spurs to imagination. Do you incline rather to the prose of butter and eggs and a pound of cream? Here they are:—

The dairy farms scattered about are different from the picturesque woodland "Maighe" of South Tirol. These of the Lessini are rough stone shanties on treeless slopes, with internal arrangements of a primitive sort; but their cream and curds are delicious, and send us on refreshed to the Croce di Malera.

Here is a different sort of vignette.

Then for eleven years, from A.D. 26 until he went to his death at Misenum, A.D. 37, Tiberius made this lonely rock the seat of the Roman Empire, centre of the world's power. Scornfully rejecting the usual machinery of Government, the Emperor reduced his official suite to one senator, a few knights, and several Greek pedants, while keeping a host of slaves and concubines to minister to his wants. Thus Tiberius asserted his personal rule, and boldly showed Rome and the world that he was the State, his coadjutors mere puppets danced by the strings in his grasp.

---

*Hindústani as it Ought to be Spoken.* By J. TWEEDIE, Bengal Civil Service. Calcutta Thacker, Spink & Co. London: W. Thacker, & Co., 87, Newgate Street. 1893.

GOOD wine needs no bush, and Mr. Tweedie's *Hindústani as it ought to be Spoken* stands in need of no advertisement from us. The first edition went out of print in no time; a second meets a real demand. Mr. Tweedie has improved the opportunity, added to the number of exercises, and revised glossaries and indices. But a preface informs us:—

The chief new feature of this Edition is "The Reader," which contains a collection of modern extracts of fable, story, dialogue and oratory. These should be enough to satisfy all those who have ventured to ask for more.

As the First Edition was complete in its exposition of the grammatical structure of the language, much could not be added on this subject. Some sections however have been now more fully treated than before; as for example, the Pronoun 'apna,' on page 30.

Thus has the Author endeavoured to give some return to the public for its kind reception of the First Edition, by making the Second Edition more copious, more complete, and more convenient than the First.

---

*Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on the Portuguese Records relating to the East Indies, contained in the Arquivo Da Torre, Do Tambo, and the Public Libraries at Lisbon and Evora,* by F. C. Danvers, Registrar and Superintendent of Records, India Office, London. 1892.

APPENDED to Mr. Danvers' Report is a voluminous index which may perhaps prove of use for reference to students interested in the bye ways of Colonial Portuguese history. Readers not thus charitably disposed will find but little in his exhortation to repay them for the trouble of reading it. The only item in it worth thinking about, that we have been able to light upon, is contained in a footnote to page 21. It reads:—

The application of the term "rebeldes" to the Dutch can be easily understood, as Holland was at this time in rebellion against the King of Spain, who



then also ruled Portugal. I have been unable to discover the origin of the term "piratas" as applied to the English. Their system of maritime commerce at this time was not such as would have been countenanced at a later date, but in this respect they were no worse than the Dutch or the Portuguese themselves. It is a curious fact that during the recent strained relations between England and Portugal, the term "piratas" was revived towards the English as a term of contempt. It was also subsequently applied to the English sovereigns, which constitute the principal currency in Portugal.

*The Currencies of the Hindu States of Rajputana.*—By WILLIAM WILFRID WEBB, M. B., Surgeon Captain, Indian Medical Service, Bengal Army. Illustrated by a Map and by twelve Plates of Coins, after Drawings made by the Author from Specimens in his Collection. Westminster, Archibald Constable and Co., Publishers to the India Office, 14 Parliament Street, S. W., 1893.

TO the bookshelves of numismatists and men enamoured of archæological bye-ways, Surgeon Captain Webb's exhaustive monograph on the currencies of the Hindu States of Rájputana should prove a worthy and acceptable addition.

As far as we are capable of judging, the information it contains has been well-found, digested in scientific, scholarly spirit, furnished with pertinently elucidatory commentary, which steers clear alike of the Scylla of dilettantism and Charybdis of dryasdust. Instead, we get common sense suggestions for a reform in the direction of uniformity with Imperial standards, avoidance of base metal debasements, consequent check upon forgery and dishonest dealing, and simplification of native traders' book keeping and adjustments of accounts.

Several plates accompany the letterpress, and they reflect credit on the publishers, Messrs Archibald Constable and Co.

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## VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

*Kurukshetra Kāvya.* By NABINA CHANDRA SEN, Publisher, Sannyal & Co., 26, Scott's Lane, Calcutta.

BABU Nabina Chandra Sen is undoubtedly *the* poet of the Hindu Revival. He is doing in his province the same work which Babus Bamkim Chandra Chatterji, Bhūdeva Mukharji and Chandra Nāth Basu are doing in theirs. The Babu's facility in versification is wonderful. Not a year passes in which he does not present his countrymen with a neat and handy volume, either of original matter, or of translation. He is now writing on Jesus Christ, now translating the *Gītā*, now making a Bengali version of *Mārkaṇḍeya Chandra*, and one absorbing purpose runs through all these works, namely, that of reviving in the minds of his educated countrymen a respect for Hinduism. Before this movement was set on foot, Babu Nabina Chandra distinguished himself by writing poems on artistic models, such as *Palāshir Yuddha*, *Rangamati*, and so on—not to speak of his exquisite short pieces—works which would have given him a very high place in Bengali literature. But powers like those of Babu Nabina Chandra should not be wasted in aimless works of mere art, which are admired and then forgotten. The Babu wanted an aim and a purpose, and that has been supplied to him by the Hindu Revival movement. His new works possess a deep moral purpose of abiding and absorbing interest to his countrymen, and are likely to last as long as the language. The present volume is only a sequel to his other work, the *Raivataka*, with which this is to be read together.

The *Bhagavadgītā* is the gospel of Hindu Revival, and in his works entitled *Raivataka* and *Kurukshetra*, Babu Nabina Chandra shows how the liberal and philosophical doctrines of the *Gītā* supplanted the illiberal preachings of the Aryan conquerors on the one side, and the wild and meaningless fetishism of the conquered non-Aryans on the other. He interprets the story of the Mahābhārata, and that of the great war at Kurukshetra, as signifying a successful attempt at fusing the contending nations in India into one great nationality on the bases of a catholic religion and a liberal social organisation. Krishna is the central figure in this new dispensation, Vyāsa is the great preacher, and Arjuna is the great organiser. Krishna represents the moral, and the other two the intellectual and physical powers necessary for any great movement for guiding the action and regulating the conduct of large masses

of human beings for long generations in any wide tract of land. Durvása, the embodiment of Aryan narrowness, would sooner agree to ally himself with Vāsuki, the last representative of independent non-Aryan life than accept the liberal principles of the *Gita*. He and his followers were gradually being driven to the wall; but to the last their aim was to arrest the march of progress for their own selfish ends by every means in their power, fair or foul. But they are doomed to failure. Their wicked plots only rouse popular hatred against them, and they perish without being in the least regretted. The result of their last plot was the inhuman slaughter of an innocent lad, by the combined efforts of seven of the greatest warriors in the Kaurava army, simply because he was the darling of the Pándavas and had all the benefits of a liberal and catholic training under the guidance of his uncle, Krishna, who designed him to be the first great king under the new creed. But this wicked act roused the Pándavas and Krishna to renewed activity, and the war, which was dragging its slow length along, was vigorously prosecuted and put an end to in five or six days more. Yudhishthira begins the war with great reluctance. He would gladly exchange his share of the Kaurava Empire for five villages. But the Kauravas would not give him even this, and so a war became an absolute necessity. At the commencement of the fighting Arjuna refused to bear arms against his own kith and kin, and he was prevailed upon to engage in the war by Krishna's demonstrating to him, that it was duty's imperious call. The Pándavas fight, but in strict accordance with the rules of Hindu chivalry. They bow down to an aged warrior, they embrace their equals, they pronounce benedictions on young soldiers before they engage in fight. To such chivalrous heroes and conscientious men, the Aryan and non-Aryan conspirators oppose all that is mean and detestable. The Pándavas bear everything with patience, but the murder of their son rouses them to vigorous action.

It would carry us beyond the limits of a critical notice in a quarterly review, if we were to enter into a detailed examination of the characters in the poem. They are all ideals. The ideality of Krishna, Vyása and Arjuna has already been explained. But the most charming figures are *Subhadrá* and her son *Abhimanyu*. *Subhadrá* organises a party for the relief of the sick and the wounded, and works day and night, affording whatever comfort men can enjoy at their last moment. At the death of her son, while the whole camp was in the deepest mourning, she alone was perfectly composed and perfectly resigned. She is the embodiment of the spirit of the *Gita*. She is the impersonation of duty: tender to others, but stern to herself.

Abhimanyu was designed for an ideal Kshatriya sovereign under the new cult. He was only sixteen, but he had already mastered the sciences of the time, and was such an adept in martial exercises, that he regarded the Kurukshetra as his playground, where he could go and play the warrior at his pleasure. In drawing up these characters the poet has introduced the ideas and notions of the nineteenth century into the Mahábhárata, and so the reader is asked not to be disappointed if his idea of Subhadrá or Abhimanyu, or of any other Mahábhárata character, does not agree with that of Babu Nabina Chandra. Our poet's characters are to be appreciated on their own merit, and not in reference to those in the Mahábhárata.

We stop here in order to look at the work from another point of view. This is, we believe, the first attempt to write a great poem, embracing the events of the whole of the Mahábhárata, and to work up these events into a work of art for a definite purpose. Western philosophers are of opinion that the stupendous mountains and grand rivers of India have contributed greatly to mould the characters of the Indian people. If that is true, the stupendous works of art, the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata have also contributed greatly to the same end. The Rámáyana has had endless imitators. There is scarcely a poet of note in India, writing either in Sanskrit or in any of the vernaculars, who has not tried his hand at the Rámáyana and culled a poem or two out of it. The episodes of the Mahábhárata have also been utilised by poets from very remote times. But none had, up to this time, ventured to compress into one or two volumes the events of the whole Mahábhárata, and Babu Nabina Chandra Sen has made a bold venture. How far he has succeeded, posterity will judge. All that we can say is that, it is a bold venture—verging on audacity.

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| 2.—A Short Account of the Land Revenue and its Administration in British India ; with a Sketch of the Land Tenures. By B. H. Baden-Powell, C.I.E., F.R.S.E., M.R.A.S., late of the Bengal Civil Service, and one of the Judges of the Chief Court of the Punjab. With Map, Oxford : At the Clarendon Press. 1894 ...                                                            | ix  |
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| 6.—Sights and Shadows, being Examples of the Supernatural. Collected and arranged by Frederick George Lee, D.D., Author of "The Other World, or Glimpses of the Supernatural," "More Glimses of the World Unseen," "Glimpses in the Twilight," &c., &c. London : W. H. Allen & Co., Limited. 13, Waterloo Place, S. W., 1894 ... ..                                             | xv  |

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- 1.—Memories of the Mutiny ; by Col. Maude, v.C.  
C.B. and J. W. Sherer, C.S.I., 2 vols. London.  
1894 ... .. xvii
- 2 —India's Princes : Short Life Sketches of the  
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- 3.—The Indian Church Quarterly Review. Edited  
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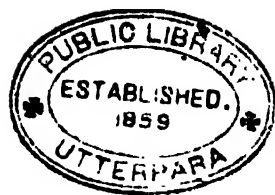
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- 6.—Mui Hyandu, —(I am a Hindu) by Beharilall  
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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

*No. 197.—JULY, 1894.*

## ART. I.—THE BUCHANAN RECORDS.

**I**N the beginning of this century (1807-14) Dr. Francis Buchanan made a Statistical Survey of South Behar and North-Eastern Bengal. The districts visited and described by him were Shahabad, Patna, Gya, Bhagalpur, Rajmahal, Sonthal Parganas, Purniah, Maldah, Dinajpur, Rangpur, including an excursion to Kamatapur in Kuch Behar, and Assam as far as Gowalpara. He also made an excursion to Sonargaon in Eastern Bengal, and he ended his survey by visiting and describing Gorakhpur in the North-West Provinces.

Buchanan was a doctor in the service of the East India Company. He was born at Branziet in Shropshire in February 1762, received his medical education at Edinburgh, where he took his degree in 1783, and was appointed to Bengal in 1794. In a paper read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in June 1821, and published in their Transactions in 1826,\* he gives some account of his Indian travels. He tells us that immediately after his appointment he was sent with Captain Symes to Ava, and that in this way he saw in 1795 somewhat of the Andaman Islands and a good deal of the kingdoms of Pegu and Ava. For 1796-97 and part of 1798, he was stationed at Lakshmipur, † in the Noakháli District where he employed his leisure in studying ichthyology. In 1798 he went, at the request of the Board of Trade, to Chittagong, and on this occasion saw something of Tipperah. Then he was stationed at Barui-pur in the 24-Perganas, where he employed his leisure in describing fishes and in collecting plants for Dr. Roxburgh. In

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\*171. It is accompanied by a well-executed map showing India according to the Sanskrit divisions. Perhaps this is the first Western attempt to illustrate Hindu geography by a map. In the first edition (1795) of Colebrooke's Essay on Bengal Husbandry, reference is made in a note at p. 2 to a map showing the ancient divisions, but if this map was ever published, it is not now to be found in the copy in the British Museum. There is no reference to a map in the edition of 1804.

† The Luckipur of Rennell. It is at the mouth of the Meghna. Rennell mentions it as the scene of a very destructive inundation in 1763.

1800 he made a survey of Mysore, of which he afterwards published a valuable account. Thereafter he was appointed to Captain Knox's Mission to Nepal, and passed, by easy stages, and with many halts, through the ancient territory of Basala, now called Saran, and through a portion of Mithila now called Tirhut. "There I carefully examined and collected such plants as were in flower, and on 1st April 1802 I ascended into Nepal."\* There he remained for a year and then returned to Calcutta. In 1803 he was appointed Surgeon to the Governor-General (the Marquis of Wellesley) and was chiefly employed in superintending the menagerie at Barrackpur, and in describing the animals there collected. In 1805 he returned to England with the Marquis, and in 1806 was appointed by the Court of Directors † to make "a Statistical Survey of the territories under the Presidency of Fort-William, usually in Europe called Bengal; but containing many extensive regions besides Bengal, taking that even in the most extensive sense of the Mogul province of that name." . . . . "In Hindu Geography, Vanga, from whence Bengal is a corruption, is applied to only the eastern portion of the Delta of the Ganges as Upavanga ‡ is to the centre of this territory, and Anga to its western limits." He commenced his survey after the rains of 1807 with the district of Dinajpur. In 1808 he visited Rangpur and halted at Gowalpara in Assam. With the dry season of 1808 he recommenced the survey of Rangpur, and when the rainy season of 1809 approached, he "retired to a house near the town of Rangpur, and there continued in a situation not very favourable for a botanist, until I had time left only to convey me to Purneah before the dry weather of 1809 should commence."¶ During the rains of 1810 he stayed at Nathpur on the borders of Nepal, and in the same year he explored Bhagalpur, spending part of 1811 at Monghyr. In 1811-12 he explored Patna and Gya. In 1812-13 he explored Shahabad, and soon after the rainy season of 1813 had begun, he went up to Agra. Before the end of the rains he returned down the Ganges and ascending the Gogra, visited Gorakhpur, and remained there during the dry season of 1813-14.

"When the rainy season commenced, I again embarked and proceeded up the Ganges to Fatehgarh. . . ."

"I was now exhausted by long continued exertion; the observation of plants making but a small part of my duty || and I required to pass

\* Buchanan published his account of Nepal at Edinburgh in 1819.

† The Despatch of the Court was dated 7th January 1807.

‡ This name occurs in the Vrihat Sanhita of Varaha Mihira.

¶ The paper read before the Society was mainly a botanical one, and these introductory remarks were made to show, how he had acquired a knowledge of Indian botany.

|| As. Researches, V. 123.

the remainder of my days at peace in my native climate. I accordingly returned to Calcutta to prepare for my journey, and in the meantime, on the death of Dr. Roxburgh, took charge of the Botanical Gardens, having been appointed his successor by the Court of Directors. While preparing for my journey, I was deprived by the Marquis of Hastings of all the botanical drawings which had been made under my inspection during my last stay in India; otherwise they would have been deposited with my other collections in the Library of the India House. By this ill-judged act of authority,\* unworthy of this nobleman's character, the drawings will probably be totally lost to the public. To me as an individual, they were of no value, as I preserve no collection, and as I have no occasion to convert them into money. In February 1815, I embarked for Europe, and in September, presented my whole collections to the Court of Directors with an order from the Lords of the Treasury for their being delivered free from duty—an order which was granted with the utmost liberality and urbanity."

The above detail shows what a large experience Buchanan had of India, and the use which he made of his opportunities well entitles him to the appellation of "the unwearied investigator," which the great geographer Carl Ritter has bestowed upon him. Buchanan was not a scholar, but he was an active minded man, a naturalist and keen observer, and one who took an interest in everything, from Sanskrit inscriptions to silkworms. His first publication (after his medical thesis) seems to have been a short paper on the Launzan tree.\* The next was on a philological subject, being "A Comparative Vocabulary of some of the Languages spoken in the Burman Empire."† The third was an elaborate disquisition on the religion and literature of the Burmas. Buchanan makes a slip in speaking of his having taken charge of the Botanic Gardens on the death of Roxburgh. Roxburgh left India for ever in 1803, and according to Chambers' Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotchmen, Buchanan was appointed his successor in 1807. Buchanan seems to have taken charge of the Gardens in 1814, and at all events he went home in February 1815. But Roxburgh did not die till 18th February 1815 (at Edinburgh) and of course his death was not known in India till many months afterwards. I am unable to say whether Buchanan's remarks about the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings are just or not, but if the Marquis's action was dictated by a desire to keep the drawings in India, and for the benefit of the Botanic Gardens, then I should be inclined to think that he was right in preventing their removal to England.

It appears from the Despatch of 7th January 1807, that Buchanan was chosen to superintend the survey on account of his having been employed by the Marquis of Wellesley in the survey of Mysore, and because the Marquis had confided to him the charge of the establishment which he had formed at

\* As. Researches, V. 219.

† As. Researches, VI. 163.

Barrackpore for investigating the natural history of India. His remuneration was Rs. 1,500 sicca a month exclusive of the pay and *batta* of his rank, and he was also allowed an establishment of a pandit and draughtsman, &c. The whole expenditure on the seven years' survey came to about £30,000. The records of the survey were sent home in 1816, and then remained almost totally neglected for many years. From a paper by Colebrooke in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, it appears that Buchanan endeavoured to have his reports published, for we are told there that the Court of Directors had, at his instance, sanctioned a liberal communication of the information contained in them to the Society. Accordingly four papers were published in the first and second volumes of the Transactions on antiquarian subjects, *viz.*, on inscriptions upon rocks in South Bihar,\* on Jain temples in South Bihar and Bhagalpur, on the Sravacs or Jains, and on the ruins of Buddha Gya. All these were edited by Colebrooke, but it does not appear that either he or his Society attempted to deal with the statistical portion of Buchanan's reports. It is much to be regretted that Colebrooke did not take up this subject. It lay in the direction of his own early studies, for his first work was on Bengal Husbandry, and it can hardly have been want of time that prevented him, for he lived till 1837. His latter years, however, were clouded by law-suits, by deaths of sons, and by ill-health.

It is perhaps singular that Buchanan did not make more persistent efforts to have his reports made use of. One thinks that if he had done so, he would have been successful. He survived his return to Scotland for many years, not dying till 15th June 1829. During most of that time he resided at Leny near Callander. We are told that he married late in life, and had children, and that he occupied himself in gardening. In the British Museum there is a letter of his in a feeble handwriting, dated Leny, 8th February 1820, forwarding a presentation copy of his *Genealogies of the Hindus*. This work, of which only fifty copies were made, was printed at Edinburgh in 1819. It consists of tables of Hindu dynasties extracted from the Puranas, &c., by his Pandit, and is accompanied by an introduction and an index in a separate volume. It would seem that the subject of Hindu genealogies set him upon thinking about his own family, for his last publication was, a "Claim of Dr. Francis Hamilton Buchanan to be considered as chief of the name as male representative of the

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\* I 201. Inscriptions upon rocks in South Bihar, described by Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton, and explained by H. T. Colebrooke, Director. Read December 4, 1821. Republished in Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, III. 256, ed. 1873.

family of Buchanan of Buchanan." It was printed at Edinburgh in 1826. Buchanan was the third son of Dr. Thomas Buchanan\* of Spittal. After his return to Scotland he took his mother's name of Hamilton, and is often spoken of as Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton. It may be worth while noting that he was in no way connected with Claudius Buchanan, who was also a distinguished Scots-Indian, and a contemporary of Francis. But Claudius was the son of a schoolmaster and born at Cambuslang near Glasgow in 1766. Apparently, he was one of the good fruits of the famous "Camb'slang Wark" of 1742, his maternal grandfather Claudius Somers having been an elder of the church there at the time of Whitfield's visit. Claudius Buchanan had an adventurous and useful life, and died at Broxbourne in Hertfordshire in 1815.

Apparently it was in India that the first use was made of the Buchanan Records. In 1831 the manuscript account of Dinajpur was made over by Mr. George Swinton, the Chief Secretary to Government, to Captain Herbert, who published it along with his "Gleanings in Science" and the Asiatic Society's Journal. The papers were then collected into a volume and published in 1833. In the preface it is stated that the original records of Buchanan's investigations, occupying twenty-five folio volumes, were sent to the Court of Directors, "a copy of the whole having been previously made and deposited in the office of the Chief Secretary at Calcuttā." In fact, there are twenty-six folios in the India Office. That is, there are twenty-two volumes of MS. in one press, including a thin volume of statistics relating to Dinajpur, and in another there are four handsomely bound volumes of drawings, &c. The first of these contains the costumes of Bihar; the second, figures and architecture; the third, maps and plans, and the fourth, inscriptions. All the inscriptions are in Sanscrit† except the first, which is a Persian inscription from Gorakhpur, and relates to a mosque erected by the Emperor Babar. It was translated for Buchanan by a Mr. Moodie, and bears the date 923 or 935 (1517 or 1529).

The important point in the Calcutta preface is the statement, that a copy of the reports was deposited in the Secretariat

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\* Buchanan's father was twice married, and Elizabeth Hamilton was his second wife. Buchanan's object in the pamphlet is to show that he is lineally descended from Walter of Spittal who was the son of Walter Buchanan, of Buchanan and Spittal, who lived in the year 1519.

† One from Buddh-Gya, and built into the wall of the Gosain's convent there, is supposed by Buchanan to be in Pali: it is No. III. It is much to be desired that the volume of inscriptions, and also that of figures, should be examined by a competent scholar. Book III contains plans of the Assam Valley by Ensign Wood. There is also a plan of Bankipore, with notes in Persian.

there. No doubt this is why the reports were not sent home till 1816. It is evident that the Calcutta copy was in existence, in part at least, up to 1832.

As the survey began with Dinajpur, it was probably intended that other volumes should be published afterwards. Unfortunately this was not done. But I beg to suggest that search should be made for the other folios. If not in the Bengal Secretariat, they may be forthcoming in that of the Government of India.

In 1838, Montgomery Martin published portions of the Buchanan MSS in the three volumes of "Eastern India." He has been blamed for substituting his own name for Buchanan's in the title-page. The procedure was foolish; but I do not think that Mr. Martin had any intention of passing off the books as his own, or of depriving Buchanan of the credit due to him, for, in his introduction to the concluding volume, he calls himself only the editor, and says that Dr. Buchanan's name will need no eulogy so long as such a monument of him exists as these three volumes of "Eastern India." He makes this remark *apropos* of his abortive attempt to procure materials for a Memoir of Buchanan. I may remark that such a memoir now exists in Chambers' Biographies of Eminent Scotchmen. Buchanan's name, along with that of Claudius Buchanan, is also to be found in the National Dictionary of Biography, though the writer (Sir Alexander Arbuthnot) is unaware of the existence of "Eastern India," and speaks of Buchanan's investigations having apparently been only made use of in the account of Dinajpur published at Calcutta! There is also a notice of Buchanan in Higginbotham's "Men whom India has known." Montgomery Martin has also been blamed for suppressing much of the MS. Of course he has abridged, for he has tried to put the substance of twenty-two folios of manuscript into three octavoës.\* But the omissions are less material than might be supposed. There is a good deal of repetition in Buchanan, and some portions of his folios are taken up with his journal, *e. g.*, his Bhagalpur and Shahabad Journal, which does not contain anything material that is not also in his report. The published report of Mysore is in the form of a journal, and it is the opinion of Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, that the book would have been far more useful, if the journal had been recast and condensed. Much space is taken up in the folios with indices, and lists of words in the Bengali character. There is also an account of Nepal in the Purniah MS. Vol. III, which probably has been incorporated in his book published in 1819. On the whole, I have not found that Mr. Martin has suppressed

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\* Each page of Martin is equal to about three pages of the M.S.

much of value in the historical or antiquarian chapters. For instance, there are no suppressions in the account of Gaur, which, by the way, is to be found in the Purniah volumes. The most serious omissions are in the accounts of Patna and Shahabad. There Mr. Martin has drawn his pencil through much interesting matter, though in not a few cases he has afterwards repented and written "stet." In all the volumes he has omitted a good deal of the descriptive matter, and he has greatly abridged the elaborate account of castes which occurs in the first of the three volumes relating to Purniah. Still one is disposed to feel grateful to Mr. Martin for having done something. He certainly did more to make Buchanan known and useful, than either the Calcutta Secretariat, the Court of Directors, or the Royal Asiatic Society. It was not his fault, perhaps, that he was not an Orientalist, and his happy audacity in undertaking the work has done more good, than the reticence of better informed and more cautious men. Where, however, he certainly failed in one of the elementary duties of an editor, was in not making an index. Owing to the want of this I have several times imagined that his omissions were greater than is really the case.

I do not suppose that Government would now incur the expense of publishing the whole of the Buchanan MS. Nor is it I think, desirable that this should be done. What is wanted is a new edition of "Eastern India." I doubt, however, if any editor working in England could be sure that nothing of value was omitted. If the manuscript is still in Calcutta, a good plan might be to send the volumes for each district to the local officers, along with the corresponding volume of "Eastern India," for correction and revision. There is much in Buchanan's account of the courses of the rivers, and of the parganas and estates, which can be appreciated and commented upon only by persons possessed of local knowledge.

I now proceed to give some extracts from the unpublished portion of the Buchanan MS. The first which I shall give relates to the discovery of two statues now in the Indian Museum. These have been described in Dr. Anderson's Catalogue \* of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum, and in Sir A. Cunningham's Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XV, p. 1, but neither author was aware of the circumstances of their disinterment.

Patna M. S. vol. I, p. 122.

"In the Ganges opposite to the suburb above the town, I found a stone image lying by the water's edge when the river was at the lowest. It has represented a male standing, with two arms and one head, but the arms and feet have been broken. The face is also much mutilated.

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\* Part I. 151, Calcutta, 1883.



It is nearly of a natural size and very clumsy, and differs from most Hindu images that I have seen, in being completely formed, and not carved in relief with its hinder parts adhering to the block from whence it had been cut. On the back part of the scarf which passes round its shoulder, are some letters which I have not been able to have explained, and too much defaced to admit of being copied with absolute precision. Some labourers, employed to bring this image to my house, informed me that it had been some years ago taken from a field on the south side of the suburbs, and had been intended for an object of worship; but that a great fire having happened on the day when it was removed, the people were afraid, and threw it into the sacred river. They also informed me that in the same field the foot of another image projected from the ground, and that many years ago a Mr. Hawkins\* had removed a third. On going to the place I could plainly discover that there had been a small building of brick, perhaps 50 or 60 feet in length, but most of the materials have been removed. On digging, I found the image to be exactly similar to that which I found in the river, but somewhat larger. The feet are entire and some parts of the arms remain, but the head has been removed. On its right shoulder is placed something which seems intended to represent a Thibet bull's tail. This is an insignia of the Yatis, or priests of Jain, but in other respects the images have little resemblance to such persons, one of whom is represented in the drawing No. 132. I rather suppose that these images have been intended as an ornament to the temple, and to represent the attendants on some god whose image has been destroyed. In the drawing No. 2, the images have been represented with the inscription on the smaller; that on the larger is totally illegible."

This account takes us back to 1811-12, which was the time when Buchanan explored Patna. It also shows that the third statue had been removed many years before. All that Dr. Anderson's industry could discover in the records of the Asiatic Society was, that the statues had been presented to the Society in 1820 by Mr. J. Tytler. Mr. Tytler presented these at the request of his brother Robert Tytler, and mentioned in the letter, that he understood that, long before they came into his possession, they were dug out of a field near Patna, and that on the same spot there was a third image still unremoved. We now know that Buchanan had the merit of rescuing one of the statues from the Ganges, and that the third statue probably disappeared in the last century. Rajah Rajendra Lal Mittra furnished Dr. Anderson with a tentative translation of the inscriptions on the statues. Sir A. Cunningham has also a reading of the letters. In his opinion the statues are those of Yakshas.

There are drawings of the two statues in Book II. They are evidently the same as those figured in Vol. XV, Plate II, of the *Archæological Reports*. The drawing is endorsed No. 2, *Shaha-*

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\* It appears from Dodwell and Miles, that a civilian named Francis Hawkins entered the service in 1783, and was Collector of Bihar in 1798, and Judge of Appeal at Patna in 1808. He seems to have remained there till 1811. Perhaps this was the Mr. Hawkins referred to.

bad, and also with the words "Images found at Patna." But it is not No. 2 in the book. It occurs just after the drawing of Ghyassuddin's Mosque, and is No. 39 in the order of drawings.

The drawing also gives a copy of the letters on one of the figures. Cunningham considers that the third statue is still lying at Agamkua, but this is disputed by Dr. Waddell.

The above quotation from the MS. should have appeared in Vol. I of Martin, p. 42. In the MS. it comes just after the words, "nothing has been discovered to indicate large or magnificent buildings."

The next extract also deals with Patna—

"In the suburbs, at a little distance from the eastern gate, are two heaps called Mathni, which are supposed to be of Hindu origin, but there is no tradition concerning the person by whom they were built, and their size is trifling. South from these heaps is a very considerable heap, which, with some small eminences in the neighbourhood, are called the five hills,\* and are attributed to the five sons of Pandu. But this is probably an idle fable. One is at least 100 feet in perpendicular height and has no hollow on its top, so that I suspect it to have been a solid temple of the Buddhas. The others are almost level with the soil, and have probably been houses for the accommodation of religious men. It is said by the peasants of the neighbourhood, that they consist entirely of brick, but the owner of the larger obstinately refused his consent to allow me to dig for its examination.

I cannot learn any tradition concerning the island Sambhalpur, opposite to Patna, having ever been a town, nor, as far as I can learn, are any ceremonies performed there, as Major Wilford had heard.† Then comes passage in Martin, p. 42 of Vol. I "It need not be wondered," &c.

The next extract refers to the temple of Pataneshwari, in Patna, and mentions the singular circumstance, that the idol worshipped there as a goddess is a Buddha. The passage occurs at p. 117 of the MS. corresponding to p. 42 of Martin's. After the words "or the son of Patali," come the words (not in Martin) "but I have not been able to learn anything concerning the time when Rajah Sundar Sen lived." Then follows the sentence: "The building is small but avowedly recent, and erected at the expense of the priests. Far from acknowledging the story of the Patali, they allege that their deity has existed here since the origin of things." The MS. then proceeds thus :—

"This, in India, is an usual pretence, but there is a circumstance attending the tutelary deity of this city, that in most parts is not so ordinary, although very much so in these districts. The image (see drawing No. 124) called a goddess, is a male, and is no doubt a representation of a Buddha, and probably of Gautama, as he has seated by him two disciples, as usual in Ava. Near the throne is placed a female

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\* The Panchpahari.

† Wilford does not say that any ceremonies of games are now performed on the island. He only speaks of past times. See *As. Researches*, V 275.

deity, but this is not the object of worship, and represents, I have no doubt, Semiramis seated on a lion, and on her knees holding the infant Niniyas (See drawing No. 125). The Pandas or priests are Kanauj Brahmins, and many goats are sacrificed on Saturdays and Tuesdays, but they have no endowment. The little goddess was placed in her present situation by Man Singh, while that noble Hindu had the Government of Behar. The temple is of no great consequence, but is much more frequented than that of the great goddess, and the priest, who is a Kanauj Brahmin, is supposed to have very considerable profit. The Pataneshwaries are properly the gram-devatas, but as the worship of these deities is not fashionable in Bihar, this is considered by many as a term too degrading. Still, however, many are aware of the circumstance; but Guriya, Pir Dumurya, Ram Thakur Damuvir, Sam Singh, Beni Madhab, Bhikari Kumar, Suiya Devata, Kuruvir, Patalvir, Jalapa, &c., are all appealed to as gram-devatas."

The drawings Nos. 124 and 125 are in the book of figures and support the above description, though there is no name to suppose that the female is Semiramis.

"Near the eastern gate, in the suburbs, is a small temple at Gauri and Sangkar, but the image represents only the generative organs of these deities. Every Monday in Srawan from 1,000 to 5,000 votaries assemble and make offerings. The priest is a gardener. At the north-east corner of the city, at a place where some lady, name unknown, was burnt with her husband's corpse, 50,000 people assemble once a year and make offerings. On the great days of bathing in the Ganges most people cross to the junction of the Gandaki, but on a certain day about 10,000 women assemble and bathe at a ghat in the west end of the city."

This extract is followed by a description of the Sikh temple. The next extract relates to Gya. Mr. Martin has omitted a good deal of the report of this district. For instance, pp. 208-231, 278-306, 338-349 and 356-378 of the MS. have been almost entirely omitted. They relate to the places of pilgrimage at Gya, Buddha-Gya, Rajgriha, the tomb of Sharaff-uddin at Bihar, the hot springs, &c. The account of Buddha-Gya, however, is to be found in the paper in the 2nd volume\* of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society. The following passage occurs in the account of the temple of Vishnupad at Gya, p. 209 of MS.

"Near this terrace is lying a broken pillar on which there is an inscription in an old character, of which a copy is given in Drawing No. 20. It seems to consist of two distinct parts. In one is mentioned a Javana Raja Deva, of a country called Khas,† but he takes no titles to imply his having been a king. It is dated Samvat 1327 (A. D. 1270)."

\* II. 40.

† Lassen I, 57 and 70 n., considers Khas as an aboriginal word, and points to its occurrence in Khasia, &c. Dera Khawaspur is the name of an island in the Ganges near Karagola. Tanda, too, used to be called Khawaspur Tanda. I believe that the name has been perpetuated in Gwás, which is the name of a large pargana in eastern Murshidabad. There was a General of Sher Shah called Khawas Khan.

There is a copy of this inscription in Book IV. It is No. 20, and is entitled "an inscription on a broken stone lying in the Court of the Vishnupad, near the Gancsa." At p. 213 of the MS., mention is made of an inscription of the date of the 15th year of Naya Pala Deva. A copy is given at No. 29.

In his report on Shahabad, I. p. 84, Buchanan describes three inscriptions. The account begins at p. 84 and then is continued at omission No. I after p. 307. The first is on a rock at Tara Cháñdi,\* near Sassaram, and on the road from there to Rohtas. The second is on a rock in the Sone at Bandu Ghat near Rohtas, and opposite to Jápil. The third is in the same neighbourhood, and is on a rock above a pool sacred to Totala Devi. All these are in Sanscrit, and are Nos. 2, 15 and 14 of the Book of Inscriptions. No. 2 is the most interesting, and is the one of which Colebrooke has given a translation.† It appears that Buchanan's Pandit altogether misunderstood this inscription, and led Buchanan to suppose that it had been put up by the father of Vijaya Chandra, the king of Kanauj. In fact, Pratap Dhavala, the author of the inscription, was no way related to Vijaya Chandra. He was the chieftain of Japil and seems to have been a haughty and plain spoken noble, somewhat after the fashion of Götz von Berlichingen. The object of the inscription, which is both in verse and prose, is to warn his descendants, that some thievish priests have no right to two villages. The prose part is as follows, according to Colebrooke's translation :—

"The feet of the sovereign of Japila, the great chieftain, the fortunate Pratapa Dhavala Deva, declare the truth to his sons, grandsons and other descendants sprung of his race ; this ill copper (grant) of the villages of Kalahauti and Badayita, obtained by fraud and perjury from the thievish slaves of the fortunate Vijaya Chandra the king, sovereign of Kanyakubja, by Swallahariya folks ; no faith is to be put therein. These priests are every way libertines. Not so much land as might be pierced by a needle point is theirs. Knowing this, you will take the share ‡ of profits and other dues, or destroy. (Signature) of the great Rajaputra (king's son) the fortunate Satrugna."

The other part of the inscription gives the date, *viz.*, Samvat 1229 (1173 A. D.) Iyest'ha, Badi. 3rd Wednesday. Colebrooke mentions in a note at p. 462 of the Transactions, that Vijaya Chandra was the father of Jaya Chandra, the king of Kanauj, who was killed by the Muhammadans in 1194.

Inscription No. 14, *i. e.* the one near Totala Devi's pool, is still older, the date on it being 1215 (1158 A. D.). It also

\* "In a narrow passage which separates the northern end of the hills from the great mass."

† Transactions, R. A. S., I. 207.

‡ It would seem from this that the system of a division of crops is of old standing in Bihar.

mentions Pratap Dhavala with the title of Naik (or leader) and gives the name of his wife (Mulhi), of another female (Somali) and of six sons and four daughters. His younger brother Tribhuvan is also mentioned, as well as the treasurer and the keeper of the gate (to Rohtas?). It seems that in the middle of the inscription there is a rude figure of Totala Devi, which purports to have been made by the family priest Viswampa. Colebrooke has given an abstract of the Sanscrit portion of the inscription, but Buchanan says that—

“Under it there are some inscriptions in a Nagari character abundantly legible, but in some language which is totally unintelligible to the Pandit of the Survey, and probably that which was spoken by the tribe to which Pratapa Dhavala belonged. Many of the names in this family are barbarous and are still in common use among the Rahtor Rajputs in the west, to which tribe it is indeed said this family belonged. Some persons of that tribe with whom I lately met, understood several words in the parts of the inscription, which to the Pandit are unintelligible, but, being all illiterate men, they could not explain the whole.”

The inscription is in the Tilotha thána at a place where the Tutrahi, a branch of the Kudra, flows down the hills.

It may be here noted that there is some confusion between inscriptions Nos. 13 and 14, and that Colebrooke has slightly altered Buchanan's phraseology. In reality there are two inscriptions at Totala Devi's pool. One is on the rock alongside of the old representation of the goddess, and is the No. 14 just described. The other is apparently No. 13, but, being very short, it is to be found in the Book of Figures, *viz.*, No II, under the drawing of the new image of the goddess. The drawing and inscription are given in Martin, Vol. I., but he wrongly catalogues it as Plate No. 9. It is No. 2 of Plate V, p. 456.

“The image and inscription are on a slab carved in relief. It represents Totala Devi or Bhawani killing a buffalo-demon (Moheshāsura). The date on the inscription is 1389 Samvat, or 1332 A. D.”

Inscription No. 15 is, according to Buchanan, upon a rock or stone in the Sone, and not on its bank as stated by Colebrooke. It is situated near Bandu or Bandhu Ghat (also called Manda Ghat by Buchanan) near Rohtas, and apparently opposite to the confluence of the Koel and Sone. It is near a lingam known by the name of Dasasirsa.

Buchanan's description is as follows:—

“Another inscription illustrates much further the history of this family (Pratap Dhavala). It is found on a rock in the Son at Bandhu Ghat opposite to Japil. and in the country it is usually alleged that, when any governor of Rohtasgar died, his name spontaneously appeared on the rock and formed the inscription of which a copy is given in the 15th drawing. It, in fact, seems to relate to the persons who have governed the fortress and the neighbouring country. At the top, this inscription mentions that Maharaj Singjamata \* Raj, and

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\* Colebrooke reads the name as Nyunata Rai, or Nyunta Raya.

Maharaj Pratap Raj went to (here the M. S. turns back to p. 85) heaven in the year 1646 (1589) and that in the year 1626 (1569) they had been preceded by Pratapa Rudra. These persons being after the time when Sher Shah reduced Rohtas (A. D. 1539) are of little importance, and have no titles of consequence. As they are followed by a very different description of personages, I presume these three names have been prefixed in after times, and that the inscription originally commenced as follows."

Buchanan then gives a list containing the names of eleven Mahanripatis, the second of whom, Protap Dhaval, is said to have reigned 21 years up to Samvat 1219 \* (A. D. 1162). Then come the name of four Dwarpāls or gatekeepers, whom Buchanan supposes to have been the warders of the four principal passes to Rohtas. After them come the names of several Maharajas, ending with Mandan Singh, Samvat 1653, (A. D. 1596). There is also a reference to the mild government of Man Singh, and a list of priests, astrologers, &c.

Buchanan conjectures that the last of the eleven Mahanripatis, *vis.*, Udai Chandra, may have been the prince from whom Sher Shah took the fortress by a treacherous stratagem. In the second volume of the report on Shahabad, pp. 162-64, Buchanan gives an account of a family which claims descent from Pratap Dhavala. Colebrooke describes it as the family possessing the principality of Bilonja.

I am not aware whether these inscriptions have been copied by Mr. Beglar, or whether they have been published. If they have not, Buchanan's copies in the India Office might be advantageously referred to. Mr. Fleet has noticed and described a seal-matrix of Mahananta Sasánka, which Mr. Beglar has discovered, carved on the rock at Rohtas. It has been supposed to refer to the Sasánka of Karna Suvarna mentioned by Hiuen Tshang, but it may be as well to note that there was, according to Buchanan,† a Khatauri Rajah of Kharakpur, named Sasangka‡ who was put to death by his servants in 1503 (910 Fusli).

The Bhagalpur volumes contain the reports on Rajmahal and the Sonthal Parganas. There is much interesting matter in them, but most of it has been given by Martin. There is a curious legend about the origin of the name Teliyagarhi, which Martin has not reproduced, but it is too long for extract in the present place. The only extracts which I shall give are a short account of an old fort called Lakragar, and a reference to pargana Mangalpur. Lakragar was situated in the Rajmahal hills, and it seems to me very likely that it is the

\* Colebrooke thinks that the date is probably 1229 (1172).

† This certainly may be the Sasánka of the tank in Bogra, if indeed Socong Díghi means Sasánka's tank. Arch: Reports, XV. 102.

‡ M. S. Bhagalpur, I. 183.

Lakhnor of Minhajaddin which has so long been vainly sought for. See Cunningham, Arch. Reports, XV. 44, for an endeavour to identify it with Kakjol.\* The passage in Buchanan is Bhagulpore II., 296.

"The only antiquity in this division is Lakragar, an old fort in the central arable land, where a Rajah of the Nát tribe, termed Duriyan Singha resided, and governed the mountains as well as the Náts, some of whom remain in the vicinity, and seem originally to have been of the same race with the mountaineers. He was driven out by the Khatauris who now possess the country, and who had a fort at Majhuya, about two miles from the former. There they resided for some generations, until the father of the present Zamindar, being inflamed with jealousy, excited the mountaineers to murder a Mogal officer. After this, the mountaineers discovering the imbecility of Government, became too turbulent for the management of the zamindar, who was compelled to retire to the low country."

It may be noted that there is also a thana in South Bhagulpore which goes by the name of Lakaradiwani.

In the first volume of Bhagulpur, Buchanan describes pargana Mangalpur, in Sarkar Otambar,† and says that the original proprietors belonged to the medical tribe (the Seins) and that they had no doubt possessed it for a very long time, and that they claimed descent from the Hindu Kings of Bengal. "The present members of the family have become mere peasants, and in their accounts contradict all chronology and probability. One of them told me that he was the 25th in descent from Mangal Sen, who married a daughter of Lakhyan (Lakshman) the king. This Mangal having gone on a pilgrimage to Benares and other places, when he returned, found his estate in possession of a Tiyar, whom he had left in charge, but who refused to deliver up the land to his master. On this Mangal applied to Husein (one of the last Mahammedan Kings of Bengal)."

No doubt if Mangal was the son-in law of Lakshman, he must have lived long before Husein Shah, and the mention of his name is probably only an instance of the Bengal habit of ascribing every thing to Husein Shah. But the interesting thing is that, Buchanan's informant, Mahan Rai, gave a list of his twenty-four ancestors, and that their names are preserved in the Buchanan M. S. Another descendant of Mangal Sein told Buchanan that his ancestor received the estate in the 624th year of the Bengal era (A. D. 1217). Buchanan recurs to the subject in the second volume at p. 278, where he men-

\* At p. 313 of 2nd Vol. on Purniah, Buchanan describes Kakjol, and says it originally belonged to two Rarhi Brahmans, Ganeshyam and Mohesh, and that the former having been deprived of his estate by his brother, went to Delhi and got a grant of 7½ parganas. He turned Muhammadan and took the name of Abdullah.

† This is the way in which Buchanan spells Sarkar Audambar.

tions Mangalpur as having been the residence of Lakshman Sein's son-in-law.

I have looked to see whether Buchanan said anything about the ancient kingdom of Khajogara mentioned by Hiuen Tshang, and which Vivien Saint-Martin proposed to identify with the Cudjery\* of Rennell. But I cannot find anything on the point. He however mentions a large tract of country, extending on both sides of the Gumaní river, which is known, as Tappa Kangjiyali. This is the Big and Little Kangjiyali of Hunter,† and may be the missing kingdom. Buchanan also speaks of a river called the Kangjiya.

The following extracts are from the volumes on Purniah. The first is from addition No. II, to the topography of Purniah, page 353 of Vol. I, and relates to the Pal Rajahs :—

"There can, I think, be little doubt but that the Pal Rajahs possessed the whole of Mithila, and confined the Kirats within the limits of their mountains. The Brahmans of Magadha still form a considerable part of the agricultural population, and although there are no traces of works attributed to the Pal Rajahs themselves, there are many remains attributed to chiefs of these Brahmans, probably descendants of the nobles of the Pal Rajahs, some of whom retained more or less independence until a much later date, and after the overthrow of the dynasty of Adisur, seem to have recovered much authority."

Then follows, "in the confusion which immediately followed the overthrow of the Hindu kingdom of Bengal," as in Martin p. 46.

The next extract relates to the Muhammadan town of Tanda,‡ whose site has now been swept away by the river, but which lay in what is now the district of Maldah.

"The only ruin is that of Tāngra, a place of no considerable antiquity §. When the family of Sher Shah was deprived of the Government of India by the Mogul Humayūn, the Kingdom of Bengal again threw off its subjection to Delhi, and the new dynasty left Gaur and retired across the old Ganges to Tāngra. The distance is so small that they could not be said to have changed the seat of Government, but only to have built a new palace or country residence, and,

\* The chart of R. H. Colébrooke, Surveyor-General, in 7th Vol. of Asiatic Researches, is better than Rennel's. Colebrooke's survey was in 1796-97. He spells the name Cajureah, and represents it as below Farrakhabad and on a char. I doubt its ever having been a place of importance.

† In the Southal Parganas.

‡ When Fitch visited Tanda in 1587, it was a league from the Ganges.

§ According to Wilford, Asiatic Researches, XIV, 419, it is old, and was the Tondota of Ptolemy. Wilford's conjectures are always interesting, and sometimes they seem very happy. His identification of Katadupa with Katwa has been thought probable by Vivien Saint-Martin. In Asiatic Researches, V 269, he suggests that pargana Gankar, in Jungypur Sub division, is the origin of the word Gangaridae. Gankar is certainly a very old and large pargana, and Lassen does not believe that the word Gangaridae was coined by the Greeks from Ganges.

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although Gaur is said to have been plundered by the first of these princes, it was by no means destroyed, nor did the people follow the Court to Tāngra, which would never appear to have been a large place. Nor are there any considerable ruins to denote that these princes lived in splendour or erected great works. Their government was indeed remarkably insecure. but they seem to have been men of vigour, and notwithstanding their want of security from the intrigues of their officers, resisted the efforts of the great Akbar for half his reign. The contemptuous manner in which the courtly Abul Fazl mentions these princes, is a pretty convincing proof of the vexation which they had given to his king. Tāngra stood west from Gaur, opposite to the suburb of Firozpur, and to the southern part of the city."

Buchanan spells Tanda টাঙ্গা. The extract is from Vol. I., p. 353, and is in the account of the division of Kalya Chak. At p. 250 of Vol. I., Buchanan notes that in his account of Rangpur, he has mentioned that Husein Shah, King of Gaur, was born in the division of Boda in that district. He then goes on to say that, immediately on the borders of that territory, but on the Purniah side of the Karatoya, there is a fort called Gāngrárigar (spelt in margin in Bengali as Gánrigar) which is said to have been built by Husein Shah's mother. The notice of Husein Shah's birthplace here referred to, is to be found in Vol. I, p. 215 of the MS. account of Rangpur, and has been published by Montgomery Martin, III, p. 448. It is to the effect that Husein Shah was born at Dev' Nagar, about sixteen miles north of Kumarirkoth. I do not know whether this statement has ever been properly noticed. If not, it is desirable that inquiries should be made about it in Boda, for everything connected with Husein Shah is interesting.\* The statement in the Riyaz-us-Salatín, p. 131, is that Husein Shah, his brother Yusuf, and his father Saiyid Ashraf, came from Termiz (a town on the Oxus, and north of Balkh) and settled at Chandpur (Chandpara) in the Rárh country, *i. e.*, in the Sub-division of Jungypur. But this does not absolutely contradict Buchanan's account, and may also be partially incorrect. According to Buchanan, Husein Shah's grandfather was Sultan Ibrahim, and was killed by Jallalludin. Relying upon the Riyaz, I formerly thought that this was wrong, and that the only Sultan Ibrahim was the ruler of Jaunpur. But it now seems not improbable that it is the author of Riyaz who is incorrect. It is certain that his chronology is at fault. The Jaunpur histories seem to make no mention of any attack on Bengal by Sultan Ibrahim, and the one which is referred to by Abd-ar-Razzak in the Matla-Assadin† as having been made or contemplated, seems to have occurred about 1440,

\*The Dinajpur reports contain one or two notices of Husein Shah's sons-in-law.

† See Major's India in the 15th Century.

and therefore long after the time of Rajah Kans or Ganesh, and his son Jallalluddin. The attack was averted by the intervention of Shah Rukh, son of Taimur, and many years after the death of the saintly Nur Qutb. It is then possible that there were two Ibrahims, and that the one of Jallalluddin's time was Husein Shah's grandfather.

The next extract is from the long account of Castes in Vol. I, of the Purniah Report. It occurs at p. 370 and refers to the Sarvariya, a cast which sprung into existence out of the great famine of 1770:—

"In the terrible famine which happened in the year of the Bengal era 1177 (A. D. 1770) many Hindus, unable to resist the cravings of appetite, ate food from impure hands and lost caste. These and their descendants have now united into one tribe, which is called Sarvariya,

সরবরিয়্য because, in every revolution of sixty years, a famine or some other great calamity is supposed to occur in the year called Sarvariya, as happened at the time above-mentioned. The Sarvariya amount to about 130 or 140 families, confined to the western parts of the district. They have instructors and priests of their own. They now follow the Hindu customs so far as to abstain from beef, but eat everything else. They cultivate the land."

It would be interesting to know if this caste still exists. I have not found the name in the report on the Census of 1891. In his book on Castes, Mr. Risley has the heading Sarwaria or Saryapari, and describes it as a sub-caste of Kanaujia Brahmans and Telis in Bihar. This seems to be the caste mentioned by Buchanan, but its origin has probably been forgotten. The name comes from Sarvarin, which is the 34th year of the Brihaspati Chakra or Jovial Cycle. The cycle consists of sixty years, and every year has a distinct name. It appears from Warren's Kala Sanhita, that Sarvarin and Plava, the 34th and 35th years of the cycle, corresponded, according to the Bengal reckoning, to 1769-70 A.D. Sarvarin is probably an inauspicious year, for it is derived from Sarvari, meaning night, a word which is supposed to correspond to the Greek Cerberus.

#### THE KOSI. \*

"The Kosi being near the mountains is very subject to sudden and great risings and fallings in its stream, and in summer its water, even at Nathpur, retains a very great coolness. On 12th September, although the river was then uncommonly low, I found its stream in the evening eight degrees of Fahrenheit lower than the stagnant waters in its vicinity. Early in the morning the difference would, of course, be more considerable."

H. BEVERIDGE.

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\* MS. additions to Topography of Purniah, p. 353.

## ART. II.—THE UNKNOWN EROS.

BY COVENTRY PATMORE.

THERE was a time when we had the honour of being instructed by the late John Addington Symonds. We were not among his more favourite pupils, and perhaps scarcely realised at the time what a privilege it was to be instructed by him. But now we know that all the brighter part of our life—all our feeling for Art and all our taste in literature has been somehow influenced by him. And so it has happened that, reading in a magazine article of his, the praise of these poems called the Unknown Eros—we have come to read them, to know them, and to love them. It is true that the *Edinburgh Review*, after selecting one or two of the most obvious of them for 'faint praise,' has damned the rest of them. But this fact may inspire Mr Patmore's supporters with more confidence. For this Review seems always mindful of the old traditions of the time when it 'snuffed out' John Keats and failed to see any poetry in the 'Ode to Immortality.' And yet it may be said that, most lovers of poetry, if they had to make a selection, would select this ode as the greatest poem of the century.

As the poet of the domestic affections Mr. Coventry Patmore has attained the dignity of being a classic in his life-time, and his two principal works, the 'Angel in the House' and the 'Victories of Love,' may be purchased for three pence each, at which price nothing that is not a classic can be sold. The 'Unknown Eros' finds a smaller audience and is not yet reduced to this price. It is also necessary to explain to those acquainted with the other volumes, that the poems collected under the latter title have no connection with them. The 'Angel in the House,' which ought to be, and, perhaps, at its low price, is read by most of the couples engaged to be married, deals with the loves of one Felix, a small landed proprietor, and one Honoria, the daughter of a Dean. Everything is quite happy and simple. The 'Victories of Love' is a continuation of this. The aforesaid Honoria has a cousin called Frederick Graham, who was in love with her, but, finding that his affections are not returned, bestows them (he being a sailor) on his chaplain's daughter Jane. Considering how light is the touch, there is no where, except in the 'Scenes from Clerical Life,' where a character has been so slightly yet so clearly delineated as this of love. As some of the poems in the 'Unknown Eros' treat of the same sort of subjects, we might expect that they would contain some reference to these people, but this is, we

believe, not the case. Some of the poems might, it is true, be written by any man to any woman, but the general theory of the personal poems in the 'Unknown Eros' is that the poet was first married to one Millicent, who died, and then that he married one Amelia. In the preface it is said that all the poems which are written by the author in what he called 'catalectic' verse, are included. This 'catalexis' means practically that the lines may be of any length that the poet pleases. And it has also suited him to arrange the poems without apparently any regular sequence, logical or otherwise. Those which are most generally interesting are the poems which are personal in character. There are certain 'words' of love addressed either to Millicent or Amelia, or to any one else. There are poems of regret for Millicent, and the gradual process of change by which the poet accommodated himself to the thought of marrying another. Then there is the poem which is called Amelia in which the courtship of the latter is described.

After the poem, in which the poet modestly says—

'Therefore no 'plaint be mine,  
Of listeners none,  
No hope of render'd use or proud reward  
In hasty times and hard ;  
But chants as of a lovely thrush's throat  
At latest eve,  
That does in each calm note  
Both joy and grieve ;  
Notes few and strong and fine,  
Gilt with sweet day's decline.  
And sad with promise of a different sun.'

The other poems open with 'Saint Valentine's Day,' which states that the day of this saint which, as is well-known, is consecrated to love at firstsight, is properly kept in February, when the earth shows of its treasures only the snowdrop—the emblem of virginity—and so appears to be making 'the rash oath of virginity which is first love's first cry.' Even so a maiden may swear that she will never love any one at all, because she already loves some one too much. The 'Day After To-morrow' follows out the idea of Browning's 'Three Days.'

'One day's controlled hope and then one more,  
And on the third our lives shall be fulfilled !  
Yet all has been before :  
Palm placed in palm, twin smiles and words astray,  
What other should we say ?'

And there is a poem called 'A Farewell' in which the poet is bidding farewell to some one in the hope, or rather in the sentiment,

'We will not say  
There's any hope, it is so far away,'

that, as they are going in opposite directions, they may meet at the antipodes.

These are the chief poems which treat of the affections in general. The death of Millicent is described in 'Departure,' which reproaches her because 'it was all unlike her great and gracious ways,' to go

' With sudden, unintelligible phrase  
And frightened eye,  
Upon her journey of so many days  
Without a single kiss or a good-bye.

And in the 'Azalea,' the poet, in his dreams, confuses the scent of an Azalea at his window with the favourite scent of his lost wife, and awakes to find her absent, and a letter of hers which ends:

' So till to-morrow's eve, my Own, Adieu !  
Parting's well paid with soon again to meet,  
Soon in your arms to feel so small and sweet,  
Sweet to myself that am so sweet to you. '

Even the Edinburgh Review approves of 'The Toys ;' and, indeed, this poem has some of the elements of universal popularity such as attend the Pied Piper of Hamelin and the May Queen among those who may not love Browning or Tennyson. It describes how, after the poet had struck his little boy and dismissed him 'with harsh words and unknissed,' for disobedience, he went to see him in bed and found that—

' On a table drawn beside his head,  
He had put within his reach,  
A box of counters and a red veined stone,  
A piece of glass abraded by the beach  
And six or seven shells,  
A bottle with blue bells  
And two French copper coins, ranged there with careful art,  
To comfort his sad heart ?

In 'Tired Memory,' however, the poet prays that he may be permitted to crucify himself by bliss in which his lost wife has no part. He knows it is treason, but cannot help it. And then, in 'Amelia,' he describes how he obtained Amelia's mother's permission, by promising to behave as though she were by, to take Amelia to the grave of Millicent. There he put a ring on her finger, and

' Nay I will wear it for *her* sake,' she said :  
' For dear to maidens are their rivals dead. '

And then he kissed her lips three times and her sandalled foot nine times before he determined to keep his promise to her mother. Yet, as a sequel to these, and to show that Millicent was not even then altogether forgotten, there are these lines :

' If I were dead, you'd sometimes say, Poor Child ? '  
The dear lips quivered as they spake,

And the tears brake  
 From eyes which, not to grieve me, brightly smiled,  
 Poor Child, poor Child !  
 I seem to hear your laugh, your talk, your song,  
 It is not true that love will do no wrong,  
 Poor Child !  
 And did you think, when you so cried and smiled,  
 How I, in lonely nights, should lie awake  
 And of those words your full avengers make ?  
 Poor Child, poor Child !  
 And now unless it be  
 That sweet amends thrice told are come to thee,  
 O God, have thou *no* mercy upon me !  
 Poor Child !'

So much for what we can gather of what may be called the personal history of the poet as disclosed in these poems. It is not at all in accordance with the theories which are elsewhere put forward. Those are called in one place *Deliciæ Sapientiæ de Amore*, or 'delicate morsels of wisdom about love,' and may be described in one word as erotosophy. This word means wisdom as to love, just as theosophy means wisdom as to God. The doctrine laid down in the 'Unknown Eros' itself and in *Deliciæ Sapientiæ de Amore* is that, generally, it is better to burn than to marry, and that the highest crown of love is unfulfilled desire. Thus the perfect lover is described as :

'Ineffably content from infinitely far  
 Only to gaze  
 On his bright mistress's responding rays,  
 That never know eclipse ;  
 And once in his long year  
 With præter nuptial ecstasy and fear,  
 By the delicious law of that ellipse  
 Wherein all citizens of ether move  
 With hastening pace to come  
 Nearer, though never near,  
 His Love  
 And always inaccessible sweet Home.'

And in a poem called 'The Contract' it is said that Eve warned Adam that their spousals should be virgin, and said—

'And when my arms are round your neck like this,  
 And I, as now,  
 Melt like a golden ingot in your kiss,  
 Then, more than ever, shall your splendid word  
 Be as Archangel Michael's severing sword !'

And the Unknown Eros itself 'the same tale repeats,' though in rather different tones.

Nevertheless there is another side to this Erotosophy. In certain poems called *Eros* and *Psyche*, *De Naturâ Deorum*, and so on, there is a description of the loves of *Psyche* with a god scarce known to her as a god, and of her doubts as to her behaviour, and her visit to a Pythoness for advice. And she is advised by *Eros* himself—

'To lay her foolish little head to rest  
On his familiar breast.'

'Feeling her nothingness her giddiest boast  
As being the charm for which he loves her most.'

And by the Pythoness that Eros—

'Ever loves his little maid the more  
The more she makes him laugh !'

This, it will be seen, gives quite a different view of the relations between the sexes. Woman is not to be the focus of an ellipse, not the distant object of admiration, but a mere play-thing.

There is still another view, more esoteric than these, in a poem called 'Sponsa Dei.' This begins by asking—

'What is this maiden fair,  
The laughing of whose eye  
Is in man's heart renewed virginity ?'

And proceeds in one of the most melodious passages of modern English verse :—

'What gleams about her shine  
More transient than delight and more divine !  
If she does something but a little sweet,  
As gaze towards the glass to set her hair,  
See how his soul falls humbled at her feet !  
Her gentle step, to go or come,  
Gains her more merit than a martyrdom ;  
And if she dance, it doth such grace confer  
As opens the heaven of heavens to more than her.  
And makes a rival of her worshipper.  
To die unknown for her were little cost !  
So is she without guile,  
Her mere refused smile  
Makes up the sum of that which may be lost'

And the answer is :

'What if this Lady be thy soul, and He  
Who claims to enjoy her sacred beauty be  
Not thou, but God ?'

Which means, apparently, that human love is an Avatar or manifestation of the creative spirit of the Universe: which also is not impossible. This theory would suit with either of the others, but it is not easy to reconcile the teaching if so it may be called of the 'Deliciæ Sapientiæ de Amore' with that of the 'Eros and Psyche' and the 'De Naturâ Deorum.' It may be, indeed, that in the former poem and those connected with it, the duty of man is suggested, while in the 'Eros and Psyche' group, it is indicated how women ought to behave. But we do not ourselves think that the same man who regards women in the higher chivalrous way which is elsewhere suggested, as :

'When to take her hand  
Is more of hope than heart can understand ?'

or who thinks of her as :

'The tear-glad mistress of his hopes of bliss  
Too fair for man to kiss,'

would find much delight in that sort of Psyche whose only care is to make him laugh.

And, in another passage which we have failed to find in any of the collected editions of the poet's works, but which is quoted in Mr. Ruskin's 'Sesame and Lilies,' he takes a much higher view of woman's mission :

'Oh wasteful woman ! she who may  
On her sweet self set her own price,  
Knowing he cannot choose but pay,  
How hath she cheapened Paradise !  
How given for nought the priceless gift,  
How spoiled the bread and spilled the wine,  
Which, used with due respective thrift,  
Had made beasts men and men divine !'

But the truth seems to be that there is no intention to reconcile the theories. Indeed, the subject of love is full of contradictions. We love woman for 'her great and gracious ways' and for her simplicity. We love her because she is like 'a bright particular star,' on whom we are content merely to gaze, and because 'she feels her nothingness her giddiest boast' and is ready—

'To lay her foolish little head to rest  
On our familiar breast.'

We love her because she is 'too fair for man to kiss,' and because she permits us to kiss her 'sandalled foot.' We love her for her strength and for her weakness. We love her because we think that we understand her, and most of all, because we feel that we cannot understand her at all.

'For maidens shine,  
As diamonds do,  
Which, though most clear,  
Are not to be seen through.'

And we think that Mr. Patmore has intended to exhibit the reflections from the facets of those diamonds in varying lights, rather than to focus them into one harmonious whole. So that the conclusion of the whole matter seems to be, that Eros is unknown because he is unknowable.

We have written so much about those poems which appear to have some connection with the title, that now there is little space left in which to discuss the others. Some of these are political, and some religious, and some represent various moods of the poet's mind. The political poems are written from the aristocratic point of view, and exhibit great jealousy of the modern democratic spirit. Thus the year 1867 is spoken of as :



'The year of that great crime  
 When the false English nobles and their few,  
 By God demented, slew  
 The Trust they stood twice pledged to keep from wrong.

The poem called 'Peace' is all in praise of war, as opposed to dishonourable peace, and in '1880-5' there is much praise of England in the past, before the era of the new democracy. In such matters poets are not fit subjects for criticism. They are to be forgiven because they love much, and because they feel for their country as Wordsworth felt—

'What wonder if a poet, now and then,  
 Among the many workings of his mind,  
 Feels for thee, as a lover or a child?'

More interesting than these, as they are certainly more difficult, are certain poems which appear to be attempting to solve certain psychological problems. In 'Crest and Gulf' it is stated that, whatever a man may do, it is quite impossible to tell what its result will be, and

'Good or evil seed is like to grow  
 For its first harvest quite to contraries.'

So, in 'Let Be' we are advised not to interfere with other people, because we cannot tell what they are about, and 'grace may sometimes lurk where who could guess.' And in 'Faint yet Pursuing' thanks are to be given, because things though bad might yet be worse. On the other hand, in 'Victory in Defeat,' it is said that we should never relax our efforts, whatever the result may be, because—

'The man who, though his fights be all defeats,  
 Still fights,  
 Enters at last  
 The heavenly Jerusalem's rejoicing streets  
 With glory more, and more triumphant rites,  
 Than always conquering Joshua's, when his blast  
 The frighted walls of Jericho down cast;  
 And lo, the glad surprise  
 Of peace beyond surmise  
 More than in common saints for ever in his eyes.'

And in the last of this series, the doctrine of election seems to be inculcated. The poem is called 'Remembered Grace,' and it is said 'whom God does once with heart to heart befriend, He does so to the end.'

On the religious poems, generally, I shall forbear to touch. But there is one of them called 'Regina Coeli,' which will have a special charm for those who, at Dresden, have seen the picture of the Madonna whom San Sisto names. For this poem seems to translate into words the supernatural wonder in the face which lives for ever on Raphael's canvas:

'Say, did his sisters wonder what could Joseph see  
 In a mild, silent little maid like thee?

And was it awful in that narrow house  
With God for babe and spouse?'

It will be apparent that there is too much sweet in some of the poems. The poet 'makes faint with too much sweet those heavy winged thieves,' words which are the thieves of thought. And some of them are difficult. For it is the practice of certain *fin de siècle* poets, of whom Robert Browning is the greatest, if not the first, to suggest rather than to state, and to appeal to the understanding rather than to the heart. But of such of these poems as are to be found in this volume, we may say, in simili, though not in *pari materia*, what has been said of Shakspear's sonnets :

"There are many that will not be understood without some earnestness of thought on the reader's part. But he is not likely to regret the labour."

H. F. T. MAGUIRE.

### ART. III.—SONGS OF THE INDIAN STREET.

IT is a matter of regret, that a thick screen must often hang between the Englishman and the native of this country. Of course, there are weighty reasons why the native should find it difficult to make us his confidants. It has been well stated that the road to the heart lies through the stomach. So far, however, from dining in our company, the great mass of natives reject as utterly defiled the food on which even our shadow has fallen. In view of such feelings, there may be deference, and perhaps respect; but confidence must and will remain out of the question. The practical result is that the authorities cannot be in touch with popular feeling to the extent, which is possible to their compeers in Europe. The sources of information open to a police-officer in England are closed to the head of a district. Whatever information he receives, is stamped with the individuality of its bearer. The local paper probably echoes little beyond the murmurings of a handful of pleaders, and of discontented aspirants for the spoils of office. The police-inspector's position contains too much of the *imperium in imperio* to warrant him in giving away every item of information to his superior. He buckles on his sword, gives an extra twist to his turban, practises his salute before a mirror, and rehearses, for his visit those *sesquipedalia verba* which sound well and mean little. In fact, should the right of interpellation ever become inconvenient, and should it become necessary to conceal, while professing to afford information, the members of his Honour's Council might well consider whether answers might not be given with advantage in the language of a police diary. Few persons, I suppose would have the hardihood to assert that they ever elicited information of real value from the well dressed visitor who, having politely listened to every topic of conversation, rises with clasped hands, and that unflinching watch-word, which might serve him for a motto: "*Ek 'ais hai*"

There exists, however, a source of information, to which hitherto no adequate importance has been assigned. The real feelings of the masses of the people are embodied in the ballads which are chanted to the tambourine by griny and tattered singers, on the shady side of the street, or amidst the dust of the market place. It may be news, and possibly a shock, to many people, that every event of average importance in the district becomes the subject of such an unwritten ballad. This street-poesy is the press of the poor. It is not intended to flatter the holder of office. It criticises his words and acts with the utmost freedom. The singer wears his heart on his sleeve.

English officials, as a rule, know little and care less about him. Natives, if they condescend to notice him, accord his sallies a good-humoured licence, which finds its counterpart in the ribaldry of the Carnival. In these ballads, the native of the lower orders ceases to be the passionless and neutral-tinted creature that bows before us on the outer verandah with accents of the most unctuous respect. He is taken off his guard. He reveals a deep tenderness and pathos. He displays a keen sense of the ridiculous. He seizes on weak points with a humour for which we would not give him credit. To quote the old fable, he shows us the struggle of Hercules and the lion, as the lion painted it. For once he shows a side of human nature that laughs and weeps without reference to a Government circular. In fact, all the records of our offices, with their quarter-margins and their dotted i's and their crossed t's, are the veriest bare-bones of local history, which none but the street-singer, with his tattered cloak and his thrumming tambourine, is able to enrobe in the forms of living flesh.

For purposes of illustration, I have selected a few out of the many ballads which were sung in the bazaars of Benares, at, and shortly after, the time of the memorable Water-works riot of 1891. Three years have now elapsed since those riots occurred; and it has been stated by high authority, that all interest in the matter has passed away. Under these circumstances, they may serve, without objection, to indicate a source of information to the authorities in connection with those dangerous agitations which have lately simmered in the Eastern Districts. I have carefully suppressed those portions which, either by name or by obvious allusion, dealt hardly with particular persons. The residue I trust, can wound no man's feelings, and I can only hope with Fabian:

How with a sportful malice it was followed,

May rather pluck on laughter than revenge.

The briefest outline of the facts of the riots must suffice for the purpose of explaining the allusions. Above all, it is foreign to my purpose to discuss any matter which may fairly be regarded as debateable. At the beginning of the year 1891 the site of a temple of Ramchandra had been taken up by the Benares Municipality, under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act, for the purposes of the Water-works, then in process of construction. The temple is situated in the Bhadeni quarter, near the confluence of the Assi with the Ganges. It faces the stables of a wealthy merchant, named Rae Sita Ram, and persons interested in disorder managed to spread abroad the idea that Rae Sita Ram had procured the destruction of the temple, in order to preserve his own stables. This rumour, following upon a wide-spread objection to polluting the sacred

river, and to apprehension of the proposed water-tax, worked up the Hindu public to fever-heat. On the morning of Wednesday, the 15th April, there was a meeting of the Municipality at the Town-hall; and, after it had broken up, about noon, a general impression was abroad that a secret resolution had been passed to the effect that the temple, or at least its staircase, was to be forthwith destroyed. An immense multitude, including Gopal Das and Ram Shar Datt and Lachman Das amongst its ringleaders, collected at the temple, where an agitator fired the mine by proclaiming that the destruction of the temple had been ordered. The crowd attacked and demolished the adjoining pumping-station of the water-works, flinging the engines into the river, and pulling from his horse the Sub-inspector in charge of the armed police-guard. The police-guard, hopelessly outnumbered, retreated inside a building, while the mob fired the stables of Rae Sita Ram, and plundered his dwelling-house, with the two adjoining, from top to bottom. After a few shots, blazed off at random by the police-guard, and wounding only one person in the heel, the multitude poured down the Bhadeni road, smashing street-lamps in all directions. A demonstration of debateable character occurred outside one of the two residences of Raja Shiva Prashad, C. S. I., wrongly stated in the ballad annexed to have been the *Barahdari*. This demonstration had the effect of drawing off the police of the adjoining station of Kalbhairo, thereby enabling a gang of marauders utterly to ransack the Government Telegraph Office. The Eurasian Telegraph Master was hustled and insulted; but his wife and children were fortunate enough to escape into the Kalbhairo police station, though, in the flight, a native nurse was brutally cut across the face with a cudgel. The mob thereupon attacked and plundered the City Railway Station, removing, amongst other articles, a chest of silver-bar, valued at some four thousand rupees. Shortly afterwards, the District Magistrate, having at last received information, arrived on the scene, with his Assistant and the Superintendent of Police, followed by the 12th Bengal infantry on foot, and a wing of a British regiment, conveyed, on account of the glaring heat, in four-wheelers.

The rioters had fled at the first rumour of the approach of troops. On the way home, Babua Pande, leader of a notorious gang of cudgelmen, attacked, more to frighten than to hurt, a head constable at the Dasawamedha outpost. On the same night, over two hundred prisoners, secured, in default of handcuffs, by huge ropes, were lodged in the Central Gaol. It is a matter of common notoriety that, for some days afterwards, the subordinate police were accused of practising the grossest oppression and extortion. A terrible incident occurred in the

course of their arrests. Hari Ahir was the door-keeper of a native princess, who was an ardent patron of the temple. On the morning of the 17th April, an attempt was made by two armed constables, aided by two outsiders, to arrest him at his post for having been concerned in the plunder of Rae Sita Ram's dwelling-house. Hari suddenly snatched up a sabre from behind the wicket, and, at one stroke, cut down the first constable. As the second constable was tugging away at the hilt of his rusty police cutlass, Hari all but slashed off his hand at the wrist. The two outsiders fled panic-stricken. Hari chased them down a lane to the banks of a large bathing-tank. The first, who turned to guard himself with a bamboo-pole, he simply hacked over the fingers, while the second he felled with a sword-cut over the back of his head, inflicting no less than ten slashes on his prostrate and helpless body. By little short of a miracle all his victims recovered. On the 19th, he was arrested without much difficulty, it is supposed, on the information of Hannu Sinh, who, by the irony of fortune, was imprisoned, some months later, as a professional extortioner. Matters soon settled down to the hum-drum business of trying the immense batches of prisoners. The gigantic trial of the ringleaders, and the appellate proceedings in the High Court, are probably still fresh in most people's recollection. It is interesting to observe, that the voice of the people, as represented by the ballad-singer, endorses the High Court's acquittal of Rameshar Datt with respect to a shawl which he claimed to have obtained as a present, but which he was accused of having received well knowing it to have been the proceeds of dacoity.

The following is a paraphrase of some portions of a street-song, giving a bird's eye view of the leading facts as above described :

For Rama's sake in Kasi did a mighty riot rage ;  
 That in Ind all men bethought them : 'Tis in sooth the Iron Age ;  
 And, I trow me, goodly revels did our hallowed Rama hold,  
 In a twinkling to the Assi as the frenzied masses roll'd ;  
 Lamps smash'd—policemen scamper'd—o'er the engines waters swirl'd—  
 Pipes burst—pumps flew to shivers—from his horse the Naib was hurl'd.  
 In a cab drove up the Cutwaul, but so warm a welcome found  
 That his men went off on business, not a man that stood his ground.  
 Then ev'ry purse-proud huckster Rama's foe the rogues declar'd ;  
 Stalls blaz'd—steeds fled—and starvelings on daintiest comfits far'd.  
 As 'twere their fathers' earnings with gems their arms they fill,  
 And his wife the city left screaming, while he sought to save his till.  
 When the whites received these tidings, each his wife and bairns 'gan hale  
 To the box, to take a ticket to the nearest place by rail ;  
 And he cried : " Let's quit Benares ! God send no mob our way,"

For Mussulmans and Hindus both for Rama fought that day.  
 But a wondrous choice made Rama, when a human form he chose :  
 For we saw but cut-throats scoundrels round the Jham's abode to close :  
 Of the " Portals-Twelve " some shutters they broke, and freed some birds,  
 And a cheap old carret plundered, ere the Post they storm'd in herds.  
 I grant they snuff'd some lanterns, and they batter'd down a pole,  
 And 'tis sure that each policeman they hunted to his hole,  
 And the man of State they flouted, as the Master fled in fear,  
 And their only thought was : " Bless us ! may the soldiers never hear." .  
 Thus the Station sought they, thinking ; " May no soldiers here alight."  
 But they found some silver ingots, and—they filch'd the lot on sight.  
 Yet for all this neither party got a scratch or bruise or seam ;  
 For the folk were empty-handed, and just working off their steam.  
 They were all at home by sunset, when the pale-face warriors came,  
 And, by seizing harmless passers, proved them worthy of their name  
 The police, while work was toward, in a house lay close and still,  
 But, whenever they met folk passing, then their pockets 'gan to fill ;  
 For the wealthy they surrounded, and for bribes they storm'd and roar'd,  
 And, what Kashi lost, our rulers by the money-orders scor'd.  
 Aye, police misrule lay heavy, and the poor were sorely wrung ;  
 For whoe'er had nought to pay them, rope-bound in jail they flung.  
 On the weak their hand lay heavy, till our pray'rs took heaven by storm,  
 And of Hari Gwal, the shepherd, Ramchandra took the form.  
 Well, a catch-pole spake to Hari : " You're wanted. Come away ! "  
 " I am guiltless ! and my duty's at the queen's house-door to stay,"  
 So spake the god-man-bodied, " Come, seize me, if you dare,"  
 For his heart was sick to witness, how they cuffed and bound men there.  
 In wrath, his blade unbarring, did he smite the catch-poles sore ;  
 Half bled, half bit the green-sword, as he vanished through the door.  
 Then peace reigned in Benares ! to their cabs the soldiers run,  
 To save their fair complexions from the beating of the sun.  
 First Hannu Singh informer 'gainst Hari bore the tale ;  
 But his catch-pole friends for guerdon only sent him next to jail.  
 Then they swore, the priest Rameshar had filched his king's gift-shawl,  
 That Sita Ram and nephew never blush'd their own to call.  
 Gopal and Lachman brethren ! both, I trow, are free from stain,  
 Stout servants they of Rama, for they fought to save his fane.  
 Woe worth these days, my brethren ! when the good are thus forlorn ;  
 But for Rama's sake they suffer'd, and they laugh these woes to scorn.  
 'Gainst none their wrath our rulers, save Hindoos, have display'd ;  
 For at sight of firm-knit Moslems sinks the Sahib's heart dismay'd.  
 One boast is left us Hindoos, for all we've lost and brav'd :  
 " Stout friends in need, these Moslems ! for their skins they all have sav'd.  
 Then Dumpy spake : " Friend Swarthy ! hath not Babua earn'd a name  
 As a rogue ? Come, let's embroil him, and win us lasting fame."

Such mangy curs at doorsteps still beg for odds and ends,  
 They pick up scraps at banquets and—to Patna see their friends.  
 Well, high and low, of statesfolk from their senses all were scar'd.  
 The Judge, Collector, Council, and Chief Governor all declar'd :  
 " No time is this for justice, else th' administration's bound  
 " To be ruin'd ! " they repeal'd it, and promotion earn'd all round.  
 Thus spake Baijuath, as listened all the world, and every face  
 Was shame-flush'd. God protect me ! for his feet my arms embrace.

It will, I think, be admitted, that however poorly rendered, the above *pasquille* is a remarkable production for a Hindu beggar. There is a rugged independence in the manner in which the singer aims his cudgel-blows, in succession, at Hindus, at Mussulmans, and at Europeans. With a lightning sense of the humorous, he seizes on such points, as the action of the Cutwaul, and afterwards of the British soldiers, in marching off to suppress a rebellion on the benches of licensed hackney-cabs. He is quite ready to jeer at those Hindus whose courage consists in battling for their tills while they leave their wives screaming, or whose zeal for religion aspires no higher than to dub wealthy citizens enemies of Rama, and, on the strength of that title, to plunder them of their possessions. He scoffingly wonders why Rama, if in need of an incarnation to protect his temple, should have selected the form of cut-throats and marauders. As against all this play of light humour, however, it is a very remarkable, and a very serious feature, that he has nothing but contempt for the supposed timidity and injustice of Europeans. He records it as his deliberate opinion, that the Europeans were afraid to proceed against the Mussulmans ; and it is no light matter that, in the minds of the common people, such an impression should have arisen. It will further be observed that he extols the miscreant Hari as a hero, and as a champion of the liberties of the people. Still harping on the alleged cowardice of Europeans, he declares that Hari's act was necessary, to terrify them from their oppression. Unfortunately, there can be no question that this was the popular idea, as three ballads, devoted to the praise of Hari, will disclose. The first runs :

What man may do, full well thou didst, God knows !  
 When on each side 'gan hireling catch-poles close,  
 Outswept thy brand, and merry rang thy blows,  
 Hail, for our lives, with thine, thou from our foes  
 Hast saved. Though cries of Spare him ! Spare him ! rose,  
 And though on Hari fell not Hari's aid,  
 " See," quoth Jageshar, " not a scar he shows ! "

The second runs :

When the catch-poles came to seize him, the lad bespake them fair ;  
 But they gruffly cried, " To the guard-house ! the Inspector wants  
 thee there."



"Why, friends," he pleaded, "seize me, who in guilt have had no share?"

They heeded nought—In anger his brand the lad laid bare,  
And across three wounded foemen soon gained the open air;  
Now chief the world extols him of the men that do and dare!  
"Like his blade's yageshar's roundel; for there's point and polish there!"

### The third runs :

For Rama smite a blow I was the cry of high and low, as clash the  
gongs and cymbals, and the merry shell-trumps blow,  
Through the streets the tidings go, and with frenzy all aglow, on they  
rushed to worship Rama in a goodly wise, I trow.  
With a crash they smash the engines, o'er the pipes the waters flow,  
And the banker's locks are shivered, and his goods to sack delivered,  
ere, I ween, the surging masses their burst of madness know.  
Not a street-lamp burns to-night, and the Jain has had to fight,  
And over they roll every telegraph pole and each constable chase out  
of sight!  
At the station, too, a raid on the silver-bar they made,  
Why, look you, who's afraid? though the very deuce they play'd, not  
a man was there that turn'd a hair with fright.  
When the Judge and Magistrate heard that things were in this state,  
with a company they rushed to keep the peace;  
Then off the rabble scurried, but the bystanders were flurried, and they  
stopped, and now—pray God for their release!  
For now's the hue and cry and the searching low and high, for poor  
devils, in whose house stolen goods they may espy;  
For 'tis these they clap in jail, and to free them nought can vail—nought,  
save when Hari gazeth with pity in his eye.

The ballads, which have been so far considered, are warlike and defiant. They view the riots from the stand-point of a man who has fought and suffered. They echo his exultation over his enemies and oppressors, who, though they may, by brute force, have crushed his revolt, have been thoroughly frightened by his outburst, and, after their experience with the gallant shepherd, are not likely to provoke a second encounter. The epilogue to one ballad indeed raises a pæan of triumph over the British. It runs :

### EPILOGUE.

"Ah well, 'twas fate I we brook it so—though these streets ring shrieks of woe,  
"Saved is Ram's temple from this blow!" so spake Jageshar, "thus, I trow  
Ramchandra triumphs o'er his foe."

This is very different reading from the Government Resolution, in regard to the moral nature and the practical issue of the

rising. It certainly does not suggest that the Hindus admitted defeat, nor that the measures then taken will be likely to deter them from another rising.

I turn with some relief to the distinct order of ballads, in which the woman's version of the matter is represented. I annex two specimens, both intended to be sung by choirs of women at the Kajuri festival.

The first runs :

Howe'er I scold, my goodman will not heed ;

Yet, as he goes, a hoding sneeze I hear, coz,

The time is out of gear, coz !

All went, forsooth, the Temple but to see ;

But wires and pumps they left of sorry cheer, coz,

The time is out of gear, coz !

Full many a prince and gentle was despoiled,

That now to beg his bread is driven sheer, coz,

The time is out of gear, coz !

On Sita Ram they called at his abode,

And with his gems made over free, I fear, coz,

The time is out of gear, coz !

Cudgels and staves were broken over backs,

That never yet a wisp of straw did scar, coz,

The time is out of gear, coz !

Some seven long years in jail, and some fourteen,

Must linger—Well, to death that brings them near, coz,

The time is out of gear, coz !

Though Ram Prashad this bonnie roundel sings,

He, too, through prison-bars was made to peer, coz,

The time is out of gear, coz !

The second runs :

What Destiny inscribeth, effaced hath never been :

In the town-hall there had met

A Committee, and, you bet,

That in Ninety-one, at Kâshî, there were wigs upon the green !

Unto the Temple thronging, the surging crowds were seen,

And that Temple but to save

Ev'ry man his heart's blood gave,

For in Ninety-one, at Kâshî, there were wigs upon the green.

There were thousands, coz, and thousands on the ground that day, I ween,

Yet upon the heart of all

Did a sudden terror fall,

When in Ninety-one, at Kâshî, there were wigs upon the green.

My sweetheart, too, was taken, and to set him free I mean,

Yet to whom, say, shall I go

To pour out my tale of woe,

How in Ninety-one, at Kâshî, there were wigs upon the green ?

Why, not a single penny, not a farthing can I glean ;  
 For without a hearth or home,  
 My sweetheart, must I roam,  
 Since in Ninety-one, at Kâshî, there were wigs upon the green.  
 That's why this year my roundel is poor and weak and mean,  
 For my heart from hour to hour  
 Doth a raging fire devour,  
 Since in Ninety-one, at Kâshî, there were wigs upon the green.

There is something very tender in the sad and sweet resignation, with which alone the woman contemplates the march of events. No note of defiance is sounded. She has no bitter reproaches for the British. There is no mocking sneer at their courage. The woman knows nothing about the causes of the riot. She knows merely that her husband, or her lover, went fourth to save the temple, and that he has been cast into prison. She has no feeling except sorrow for the prisoner. A somewhat similar spirit of resignation, from the man's point of view, is breathed in the annexed ballad :—

Such is the vengeance of the Lord !  
 Mine eyes beheld what hears thine ear ;  
 We went but in the dyke to peer,  
 We came—and to the fane drew near,  
 And thronging round the stair-case pour'd.  
 Soon smash'd the engines (list my love ! ),  
 Soon dyke and river overflow'd ;  
 Town-wards the yelling plund'ers strode  
 Mid flames from Shîâ Râm's abode  
 ( Ah well ! he ne'er fear'd God above ! )  
 The station's won, the wires are torn ;  
 To sack and plunder all's a prey,  
 " We'll have a royal time ! " they say,  
 Yet now, whoe'er was seized that day,  
 His hearth-stone's cold and home forlorn,  
 " The bairns are starving ! " sobs his wife.  
 O God ! the luck of old renew,  
 They only smash'd a lamp or two,  
 And did no harm to me or you,  
 Though every catch-pole ran for life.  
 To ev'ry guard-house word was sent :  
 " These did no harm to you or me,  
 " From hell were devils on the spree ! "  
 But when they came the judge to see,  
 'Twas " Fourteen years ! " and off they went.

How few will 'scape ? how many die ?

Peace, brother ! set thine heart at ease,  
These haughty Franks do what they please,  
Their home's not here, but over seas,  
And at their feet we commons lie.

'Tis God that lendeth them his pow'r,  
Thus doth Prashad his tale unfold,  
As though 'twere fashion'd in a mould,  
And yet in Ninety-one, I'm told,  
He play'd the duke for half-an-hour.

*(a constable passes.)*

Sugar-toys for sale ! two-a-penny ! two-a-penny.

Yet here the man's defiant spirit breaks through his resignation. There is a world of human nature in the exultant glee of the beggar, that, whatever else may have occurred, he lorded it with the best of them, if only for half an hour, while, with the rest of the mob, he had the sleek citizens of Benares trembling at his feet.

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## ART. IV.—THE GERMAN CODE OF JUDICIAL ORGANISATION.

(Independent Section.)

(Continued from April 1894, No. 196)

### THE DISTRICT COURTS.

ABOVE the Court of the bailiwick is the District Court (*Landgericht*), which exercises civil, commercial, and criminal jurisdiction. It is divided into Chambers, and consists of a President, the necessary number of Vice-Presidents (*Direktoren*), and of judges (*Richter*). A *juge d'instruction* is attached to each Court (arts. 58-60). The President exercises general powers of direction and supervision. He presides over the general meetings of the Court, and over any Chamber (Bench) he pleases, and has other special functions. The Vice-Presidents preside over the Chamber to which they are attached, and act for the President in the case of his inability to preside. The President of a Chamber is not only charged with the direction of the trial, but gives all interlocutory decisions which it is necessary to give before a final judgment can be arrived at.

The District Court is the Court of Appeal from the Court of the bailiwick. It must have at least one civil and one criminal Chamber, but the number of Chambers can be increased according to the size and importance of the jurisdiction and the number of cases. When united in a general meeting, it is called to give, at the instance of Government, opinions in matters of legislation and judicial administration.

### CIVIL JURISDICTION.

As a Court of first instance, the District Court decides all suits which are not within the competence of the Courts of the bailiwicks, that is to say, as a rule, cases in which the value of the subject-matter exceeds 300 marks. Besides, it has exclusive jurisdiction in cases concerning the personal status. Finally certain suits of a special nature, irrespective of the amount of claim, go before them; notably, claims by retired Imperial officials against the Treasury of the Empire for payment of pension, and civil suits brought against such officials in consequence of acts done in the exercise of their duties. Local Legislatures can make over such suits to the District Court, if they are brought against the State, or officials of the State, and not against the Empire, or officials of the Empire. In pursuance of this principle, all States have made over such cases to the District Courts, and also claims for the suppression of privileges, and claims relating to the collection of taxes.

As a Court of second instance, the Civil Chamber hears appeals from the decisions of the Bailiwick Court, and applications for revision (*Beschwerde*). It is also a Court of revision in the case of decisions given by the Bailiwick Court in its voluntary jurisdiction. The District Court is generally the Court of discipline over attorneys, and can punish them by deprivation of the right to exercise their profession.

The Civil Benches, whether in regular contested litigation or dispensing voluntary justice, are composed of three judges, comprising the President.

#### COMMERCIAL JURISDICTION.

The District Court takes cognizance of commercial cases of which the value exceeds 300 marks.

Consular justice has never occupied in Germany the important place it has in French law. The Commission of Justice suppressed it, quoting the example of England and commercial Holland. It was argued that consular Courts are exceptional Courts, which derogate from the principle of the equality of all before justice, and in fact suppress the judicial unity which the Code proclaims. Merchants have no right to an exceptional jurisdiction. Commercial Courts might have had their practical utility in past times when the commercial law was not codified, but rested on unknown usages and customs. But now a Code of Commerce is in existence, which is not the secret of merchants. Why should not the application of a written law be entrusted to the Magistrates, and why must one be a merchant to understand it? Will the commercial judge know the law and appreciate the facts better than the judge of common law? The law can only be well applied by those who know it well, and to know it well one must have studied it. Juridical study is a necessary condition for strong justice, but one cannot demand or expect such study from the merchant taken from his desk. Again, as regards the facts, his special competence is limited to the nature of his own business, and when the litigation goes beyond this narrow circle, he will be as inexperienced as the ordinary judge. It cannot be seriously contended that the banker is well versed in all the secrets of the manufacture of industrial products, or that the manufacturer has any sort of aptitude for deciding the delicate questions raised by the constitution of banking companies. The commercial man knows the usages of his own industry and his own country, while the Court is expected to know the customs of all commerce and all countries; like the civil judge who decides satisfactorily all kinds of questions of agriculture, fine arts, construction, &c., the commercial judge too must have recourse to experts, and he judges the facts from the special light they are able to throw on them. Thus, neither in law nor in fact, can the superiority

of the commercial judge be established. On the other hand, frequently renewed, occupying their position for a short time only, commercial judges have neither the practical knowledge of judicial business, nor the general experience which time gives to the judges of the common law. Conscious of their inferiority, one will see them systematically follow the opinion of the civil judge who sits with them, or if they dispense justice alone, they will seek elsewhere from without for authority and support, and will demand an inspiration and a judgment, either from foreign jurists, or, as in Rhenish Prussia, from the clerk of the Court, who in their eyes will represent tradition and knowledge. Other difficulties may arise in the shape of frequent conflicts of competence between the two sets of Courts, leading to injurious delay in the despatch of business. The necessities of commercial life demand one thing only, a rapid procedure, and for the attainment of this, an exceptional Court is not required.

Such considerations as these induced the Commission to suppress the Commercial Courts. This decision aroused the keenest agitation and opposition in the commercial world. Addresses and petitions poured into the Federal Council from all directions. \* The Commission stayed its hand in the face of the general reprobation, and without re-establishing the Commercial Courts, voted by a majority of 16 to 12 for the optional formation of commercial chambers attached to the Civil Courts, and this decision was ratified by Parliament in its sitting of the 17th November 1876.

The Court of Commerce, then, as it exists in France, has not been introduced into the German judicial organisation ; commercial chambers can be established only in the District Courts, that is, in large centres where it may be rendered necessary by the necessities of commercial life. The rule is not uniform, and is not obligatorily imposed on the whole Empire, each State being left to appreciate the utility of consular justice, and to introduce it or not at its discretion (art. 100). The Commercial Chamber is not an independent Court, though it has a distinct competence and a special composition ; even though it sits in a different town, it forms one of the chambers of the District Court. Even so, the civil chamber retains full jurisdiction, and commercial suits are only taken before the special chamber on the formal demand of one of the parties. If the plaintiff makes no such demand, the case goes to the civil chamber, which can declare itself incompetent and send it to the special chamber on the representation of the defendant (arts. 102—108). The procedure before the commercial chamber is the same as that of the civil chamber, and the employment of advocates is obligatory ; but the period of adjournment is reduced from a month to 15 days.

The commercial chamber takes cognizance of all matters which constitute an act of commerce between the parties, and on the condition that the defendant is a commercial man. This general principle greatly limits the competence and confines it in practice to cases in which both parties are commercial men.

Commercial cases are only made over to the commercial chamber, when the value of the subject matter of the litigation exceeds 300 marks, and there is thus no interference with the competence of the bailiwick court. The general principle is maintained that cases of comparatively minor importance require the simple procedure of the bailiwick court, and the expeditious and readily accessible justice of the judge sitting singly. Appeals from decisions in these cases lie to the civil chamber of the District Court.

As has been remarked, commercial courts are not universal throughout Germany; they are attached to only 61 District Courts out of 172. Fourteen States, mostly smaller States, have no commercial justice. The majority of the other States have established it only where the importance of commercial life rendered it necessary. Thus in Prussia only 25 out of 92 District Courts have commercial chambers attached to them, and in Bavaria only 16 out of 28. Only Hesse and the Hanseatic towns (Lübeck, Brême, and Hamburg) have one or more commercial chambers attached to each Court. Some District Courts have several commercial chambers; thus Berlin has 7, Munich 4, Düsseldorf and Hamburg 3 each. There are altogether 82 commercial chambers sitting in 67 different localities.

The commercial chamber is composed everywhere of a member of the District Court as President, and two merchants. The presence of a judge, a member of the permanent magistracy, accustomed to juridical difficulties, has always appeared indispensable to German legislators, in order to direct the procedure, to watch over the exact application of the law, and assure the good administration of justice. It has seemed to them that, composed exclusively of merchants constantly changing, the Court would be in a manner too moveable, too accessible to impressions of fact, too variable in the application of the law, and they have therefore decided that the presidency should be in the hands of a judicial magistrate, charged with the representation of tradition, jurisprudence, and law. Commercial judges have the same powers and rights as ordinary judges, and are subject to the same duties and discipline (art. 116). They take an oath on the assumption of their duties. They receive neither salary nor compensation,\* their function being regarded as an honour.

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\* In Baden commercial judges, who do not reside in the place where the Court is held, receive the same travelling expenses as assessors and jurors.



The presiding judge is a member of the District Court ; but he may be, in exceptional cases, a judge of the *bailiwick*, when the chamber sits in the place where the *bailiwick* court is held. The commercial judges are appointed on the nomination of the Chamber of Commerce ; in Alsace, by the Emperor, in Prussia, Bavaria and Würtemberg by the King, in Brunswick and Baden by the Sovereign Duke, and by the Senate in the Hanseatic towns. They are appointed for three years, and may be re-appointed (art. 112). The nominations are submitted to the President of the District Court, who transmits them with his opinion to the Minister of Justice. There are no capacity or property qualifications for a commercial judge ; the only conditions are, that he must be a German, must have completed 30 years, must reside in the jurisdiction of the commercial chamber, and must be, or have been inscribed on the register of commerce.

There are altogether 382 commercial judges in Germany, as follows ; 123 in Prussia, 118 in Bavaria, 35 in Saxony, 24 in Alsace, 20 in Hesse, 18 in Bremen and Hamburg, 12 in Würtemberg, 6 in Lübeck, 4 in Baden, 2 in Brunswick and Coburg.

#### CRIMINAL JURISDICTION.

It has been seen that the Courts of Assessors try those delicts the punishment of which is comparatively light. The Criminal Chamber of the District Court tries the more serious delicts and all but the gravest crimes, which are reserved for the Court of Assize. To particularize, it takes cognizance of crimes punishable with a maximum of five years' imprisonment with hard labour (*Zuchthaus*), and of all delicts which are not within the competence of the Courts of Assessors, that is to say, delicts punishable with more than three months' imprisonment or more than 600 marks fine \* (art. 73). Such is the general principle ; and it is between these two extremes, three months' imprisonment and five years' hard labour, that the jurisdiction of the District Court is to be found. Some delicts of a special nature are also reserved to the District Court, though the punishment is light. Besides the delicts punished by the Penal Code, the District Court has exclusive cognizance of some other delicts punished by the Federal laws, the punishment of which varies from a fine of 150 to 5,000 marks and from one month to one year's imprisonment. Among these it is interesting to notice the following : certain press delicts, such as a refusal to insert official corrections† or opinions (Law of the 30th November 1874) ; omis-

\* These constitute the large majority of delicts, and it may be remarked that some of them are classed in the French Penal Code as crimes.

† There is no law in India by which a newspaper can be compelled to insert a correction. Is not such a law very necessary, and would it not, to some extent, put a stop to the dishonest, malicious, or subsidised defamation of Government officials ? There are some papers which will gladly insert attacks on officials, but will refuse to insert any reply or correction.

sion or false declaration of the name of the printer, editor, or responsible manager ; appeals to the public for subscriptions to pay fines of convicted persons ;\* fraudulent usurpation of trade marks ; organisation of forbidden associations, &c.

In addition to the above, the Criminal Chamber takes cognizance of a certain number of crimes (specified in the law) which, though punishable with a maximum of ten years' hard labour, the legislature has, with the object of securing good administration and speedy justice, deemed it necessary to bring within the competence of the District Court. These crimes are : outrage without violence on the chastity of children under 14 years of age, aggravated simple theft after previous convictions, habitual receipt of stolen property and receipt of stolen property after previous conviction, cheating after previous conviction, and finally, all crimes committed by persons under 18 years of age. Though these are grave crimes, yet experience had shown that, by reason of extenuating circumstances, the punishment awarded had rarely exceeded five years.

It is thus apparent that the District Court is the ordinary tribunal for the trial of crimes, and that only crimes of exceptional gravity are sent to the Court of Assize. During the year 1881, 86 per cent. of all crimes were tried by the District Courts, and only 14 per cent. by the Courts of Assize.

The rule which confers jurisdiction on the District Court in the case of all delicts punishable with more than three months imprisonment, might lead to inconvenience and unnecessary waste of power, as many such delicts are of comparatively little importance, and might well be left to the Courts of Assessors. It is with the object of remedying this inconvenience that the Code gives to the District Court a sort of right of correction or redistribution in permitting it to send down to the Court of Assessors all delicts punishable with a maximum of six months' imprisonment or 1,500 marks fine, and certain other specified delicts, whenever it is of opinion, having regard to the circumstances, that the punishment should not exceed three months' imprisonment.† The order for sending a case to the Court of Assessors is passed by what is known as the Council Chamber, which must act, however, in concert with the Public Prosecutor. The Criminal Chambers freely use this right, and in 1881 about 70 per cent of delicts were sent to the Courts of Assessors.

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\* Some Counsel in Calcutta gave an opinion that an advertisement for such subscriptions was not illegal. I think the opinion was given in connection with the Sham Bazar rioting cases. Had the accused persons been fined by the High Court, would not that Court have treated such appeals as an external contempt of Court ? But the High Court is perhaps more prone to uphold its own dignity and position rather than that of subordinate Courts.

† A similar provision, but of a wider application as it applies to crimes, exists in the Belgian law.

Thus, side by side with precise rules based on the amount of punishment provided in the Penal Code, competence in the Criminal Courts of Germany becomes often a question of fact, and the same infraction of the penal law can, according to circumstances, be tried by different tribunals.\*

The Code does not admit any departure from the principles laid down ; press and political delicts are subject to the same rule as delicts of common law, and are triable by the District Court. A single exception is admitted by article 6 of the law putting the Code in force, which permits those States to retain the jurisdiction of the Court of Assize for press offences in which such offences were being tried by jury before the promulgation of the Code. These States are the kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemberg and the Grand Duchies of Baden and Oldenburg. Throughout the rest of Germany, the District Court is alone competent to try press offences, and its competence cannot be modified except by a Federal law.

#### PRESS OFFENCES.

The question of the trial of press offences gave rise to the most ardent discussion in Parliament. It was urged by one party that in such cases the jury is the only impartial judge ; offences of opinion can only be properly judged by the representatives of opinion, that is to say, by juries ; otherwise there is a risk of a conflict between the Courts and public opinion, and such a conflict brings justice into discredit. It is often difficult to determine the boundary between justifiable criticism and prohibited attack, and a trial before the Court of Assize can alone secure liberty of thought and the liberty of the press. Judges, it was urged, are functionaries, servants of the Government whom they must defend ; they have not the necessary independence, and to leave to them the trial of press offences is to suppress the guarantees of justice.

Moved by these considerations, Parliament at first decided, by a majority of 122 to 105, to make over the trial of press offences to the Courts of Assize ; but it subsequently yielded to the stubborn resistance of the Federal Council, directed by Prussia. The Prussian Minister of Justice urged that the new code introduced unity ; it was desired to have the same law for all, and to give Germany independent judges universally respected. They should not introduce privileges, create exceptional courts, or discredit the new Courts by treating their judges with suspicion. "As a matter of fact," remarked the minister, "trial by jury for press offences is very

\* To give an illustration : theft, when the value of the property stolen does not exceed 25 marks, is triable by the Court of Assessors ; when it exceeds such value, it is triable by the District Court, with a discretion to send it to the lower Court ; if the theft is aggravated, it is triable exclusively by the District Court ; if it amounts to robbery, it goes to the Court of Assize.

bad. It can only take place at periodical and distant sessions, and the punishment is only pronounced when the offence is forgotten. It is much too slow. It is necessary in the case of press offences that the punishment should swiftly follow the offence, and the condemnation is only effectual when the prosecution immediately replies to the attack. A criminal judge must be firm and impartial; juries will not have the necessary qualities or they will fall into a sort of political indifference and scepticism, and will practice the doctrine of *laissez-faire* and *laissez passer*, or, carried away by the dominating opinion, they will only listen to party hatreds. With them acquittals will be numerous and often scandalous, and the most honest and called-for prosecution will frequently become impossible. They are too liable to be carried away by political, national, or religious passions, too accessible to frothy declamations and sophisms, too ready to play the rôle of legislator or sovereign, that is to say, to reform the law or pardon the guilty person."

These arguments virtually prevailed and led to the above mentioned compromise. That is, the district court was given jurisdiction except in those few states in which press offences were already being tried by juries.

The Criminal Chamber is also a Court of second instance or appeal from the decisions of the Courts of Assessors; and as such Court, is composed of five judges, including the President. But appeals in the case of contraventions and prosecutions at the instance of the Civil party are disposed of by three judges.

As a Court of first instance, the Criminal Chamber is a sovereign Judge, and no appeal is allowed against its decisions. It is in the number of judges that the German Code places the guarantees of justice, and not in recourse from one Court to another.

The Criminal Chamber is composed solely of judges, and the popular or laic element has no share in the administration of justice by the District Court. Great efforts were made before the Commission and in Parliament to introduce this element, but without success. Those in favour of it urged that it was inconsistent to admit the popular element in the lowest and highest rungs of the judicial ladder, and to exclude it from the intermediate jurisdiction. If assessors are good for the lowest Courts, they are also good for the higher Courts; if the system is bad, let it be altogether abolished. But in any case at least the same guarantees are necessary when the interests are higher and the decisions more formidable. These considerations triumphed at first, and a majority of the Commission voted for the amendment of H.H. Becker and Schwarze,

which created Courts of grand assessors, and composed the Criminal Chamber of two judges and three assessors. However the practical difficulties in the way of such an extension of the system were proved to be insurmountable apart from its demonstrable drawbacks and demerits. The mass of expert opinion was against it, for instance 24 out of 27 Courts of Appeal in Prussia, and 21 public prosecutors out of 27; in Bavaria 12 Courts of Appeal and public prosecutors out of 13. It was shown that the requisite number of capable assessors could not be found, and that the system would impose an intolerable burden on the people. It was, moreover, pointed out that the system of assessors was but an experiment in the lowest courts; and it would be madness, for the sake of symmetry and consistency, to jeopardize higher interests and compromise justice, before that experiment had proved a success. The amendment was accordingly rejected.

Other functions and duties of the Criminal Chamber of the District Court are set forth in the Code of Criminal Procedure.

#### THE PRESIDIUM AND ROTATION OF JUDGES.

The question of rotation or the formation of Benches is one of great importance. The German Code recognizes that to leave it to the President of the Court is only a degree less dangerous than to leave it to the administration.

The President of the Court selects each year, and for the whole year in advance, the Chamber over which he wishes to preside. He has not the right to sit in any other chamber, and therefore he cannot come at his will to preside in any particular case, and so bring his weight to bear on the other members, and compromise justice. The Vice-Presidents divide the other chambers amongst themselves in accordance with a majority (art. 61).

The actual rotation or roster of judges is fixed by the Presidium. The Presidium is composed of the President, the Vice-Presidents, and the senior judge (art. 63). Each year *before the commencement of the year and for the whole duration of the year*, it selects the judges for each chamber, and if the chamber contains more judges than are necessary for the validity of a judgment,\* it fixes the order in which they shall sit. It also decides what groups of cases shall go to each chamber. The rotation and distribution can be modified during the course of the year in two cases only; when the file of a chamber is heavier than it can dispose of, or when a judge goes away or is for some time prevented from sitting. A proposal that the President might modify the *personnel* of a particular chamber for any grave reason was rejected on the ground that it would

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\* Three judges for a Civil and five for a Criminal Chamber.

leave him too much arbitrary power. There was always a chance that some President might be swayed by political motives or influenced by feelings hostile to the Government ; and that he might wish some particular judge of his Court to sit in some particular case.\*

#### EXTENT AND IMPORTANCE OF DISTRICT COURTS.

Germany has 172 District Courts : of which Prussia has 92, Bavaria 28, Württemberg 8, Saxony and Baden 7 each, and Alsace-Lorraine 6. Some states are so petty that for judicial purposes they are annexed to a neighbouring State, and comprised within the jurisdiction of a foreign District Court. Other States have joined their territories together, and have established one or more common courts (*condominatsgerichte*). This is a peculiar and interesting feature of German organisation ; it is often a true judicial union, presaging possibly a political union. The appointment of judges and the expenses of justice are shared by the different States.

In almost all the States the seats and the jurisdictions of the District Courts have been fixed and can only be modified by a law.

It has been recognized that the District Court ought to have a considerable importance, derived from an extensive jurisdiction and a number of judges. The area of a District Court is generally very large, containing a mean population for the whole of Germany of 262,983† inhabitants per Court. The First District Court of Berlin has a population of 1,122,504, while that of Bückeburg, which comprises the whole of the State of Schaumburg-Lippe, has only 35,374 inhabitants. The average area of a District Court corresponds approximately to a circle having a diameter of 31 kilometres;‡ so that, if the Court were in the centre of the circle, the mean distance of

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\* The Chief Justice (President) of the Calcutta High Court exercises a power, (24 and 25 Vic. c. 104, s. 14) which in Germany would be considered very dangerous. He forms groups of Benches, and even changes their constitution during the year. Under the German system the *Bongobashi* case (to give an illustration) would have had to go to the particular chamber and the particular President specified before the commencement of the year, and therefore before the case had arisen. So as regards civil cases, the Bench for the Patna group or the Rajshahye group (under the German system), would be fixed before the commencement of the year and for the whole year, and the Chief Justice would have no power to put on the Bench any particular Judge he might, whether from proper or improper motives, desire to add to it. Under the German system, the Judges to preside at the different sessions in 1893 would be fixed in December 1892 ; so the Criminal Revisional Benches would be fixed for the whole year, and could not be altered.

† Some Thanas (Police Stations) in the Province of Bengal, have a population exceeding 300,000.

‡ A kilometre = about 1093 yards, 1 foot, 10 inches.

the various localities from it would be 22 kilometres. In jurisdictions so extensive there must be obstacles in the way of justice, owing to the inconvenience and expense of moving about accused persons and witnesses. To obviate these inconveniences, the Code authorizes the creation by administrative decision of detached Criminal chambers, which sit at the headquarters of a bailiwick Court, and have a separate jurisdiction ; they are composed of judges of the bailiwick belonging to this special resort, or of judges delegated by the District Court. There are altogether 40 of these detached chambers, and they have only been established in five States.

Each District Court comprises at least one Civil and one Criminal Chamber ; most Courts have more. In Prussia, for instance, 2 courts have only two chambers, 17 have three, 18 four, 20 five, 18 six, 7 seven, and 3 eight. The number of Civil Chambers in all the District Courts of Germany is 399, and that of Criminal Chambers is 323, the large majority of Courts having 2 or 3 Civil Chambers, and 1 or 2 Criminal Chambers. A *juge d'instruction* is attached to each District Court, the more important Court having several.

When the Court consists of several Civil and Criminal Chambers, the Presidium distributes the work according to geographical areas, or classes of cases ; or one Chamber has original, another appellate jurisdiction. The distribution, as has been pointed out, is made beforehand for the whole judicial year, and cannot be altered.

#### PERSONNEL OF THE DISTRICT COURTS.

The *personnel* of the District Courts comprises for the whole of Germany 2,168 Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Judges. The number of Presidents is 171, of Vice-Presidents 335, and of Judges 1,661.

The number of judges attached to a District Court has not been fixed by law ; but every Court must comprise one Civil Chamber, one Criminal Chamber, and a *juge d'instruction*. Moreover, as the *juge d'instruction* cannot sit as a judge to try the cases he has investigated, and as not more than two members of the Chamber of Council can make a part of the Criminal Chamber, it follows that a District Court cannot consist of less than 7 members, namely, a President, a Vice-President, and 5 Judges. In this case, two members of the Civil Chamber will form a part of the Chamber of Council, and a Civil Judge will make the preliminary inquiries. This number is generally found to be insufficient in practice. Only 5 District Courts in the whole of Germany have so small a number of judges ; 78 Courts have from 8 to 10 judges, 52 have from 11 to 15, 27 from 16 to 20, 8 from 21 to 40, and one has 90 judges.

The Chambers are generally composed of the exact number of judges required by the law for the validity of judgments, 3 for civil, and 5 for criminal cases. The French institution of substitute\* judges attached to each tribunal is unknown in Germany. If the President is prevented from sitting, he is replaced by the senior of the Vice-Presidents. The President of a Chamber is replaced by the senior Judge of such Chamber (art. 65). In this matter no initiative whatever is left either to the President or to the administration.† The Presidium, in drawing up the rotation and roster list before the commencement of the year, assigns to each judge a colleague whose duty it will be to sit in case the former is prevented from doing so.‡

It is only when the substitute is himself prevented from acting, that an extraordinary substitute can in exceptional instances be appointed by the President (art. 65). Every judge of a Court is thus not only a permanent judge, but also a substitute for one or more of his colleagues.

The above rules apply to accidental and temporary causes; but the inability of a judge to sit may be permanent and prolonged, by reason of his continued illness, or his election to Parliament. In Prussia more than 70 Judges belong to the Prussian Parliament, and 16 are members of the Federal or Imperial Parliament. In November 1875 about 250 Parliamentary seats were held by Assessors. Again a Court may have more cases on its files than it can possibly get through without such delay as is tantamount to a denial of justice. In such cases additional or auxiliary judges (*Hülfssrichter*) are added to the Court. They are appointed by the Minister of Justice, but such appointments can only be made on the formal demand of the Presidium, which alone is judge of the necessity and occasion for such appointments. The object of this proviso is to take away from Government or the President the power of appointing a particular judge to a particular chamber, or for the trial of a particular case.

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\* *Juges suppléants*.

† As an exception, the President selects the substitutes in Bavaria, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, and the town of Lübeck; while the Minister of Justice selects them in Saxony, Saxe-Altenburg and Reusz; and the Senate in Hamburg. It should also be noted that in Prussia substitutes for *juges d'instruction* are appointed by the Minister of Justice.

‡ To put this concretely, Prinsep and Pigot, J. J. are the Criminal Bench. Pigot, J. gets ill, or takes a holiday. Neither the Bengal Government nor the Chief Justice could direct Norris or Ghose, J., or any other Judge they might select, to act for Pigot, J. Pigot, J. would have had, before the commencement of the year, a substitute assigned to him by the Presidium, or in other words, by the whole Court sitting and arranging the roster by a majority of voices, and that substitute would take his place.



The following was the outturn of work of all the District Courts of Germany during the judicial year 1881 :

| Number of cases decided                                               |          | Number per District Court. |     |     |      |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------------------------|-----|-----|------|
| Civil 1st instance                                                    | 1,64,399 | ...                        | ... | ... | 961  |
| „ (contested                                                          | 91,575)  | ...                        | ... | ... | 536  |
| „ appellate                                                           | 36,175   | ...                        | ... | ... | 211* |
| „ (contested                                                          | 30,636)  | ..                         | ... | ... | 179  |
| Commercial                                                            | 34,301   |                            |     |     |      |
| „ (contested                                                          | 10,598)  |                            |     |     |      |
| Marriage                                                              | 6,235    | ...                        | ... | ... | 36   |
| (relating to divorce)                                                 | 5,523    |                            |     |     |      |
| Applications for revision of decisions of the Courts of the Bailiwick | ...      | ...                        | ... | ... | ...  |
| Criminal, original                                                    | 11,591   |                            |     |     |      |
| crimes                                                                | 31,116   | }                          | ... | ... | 280  |
| delicts                                                               | 34,031   |                            |     |     |      |
| (accused persons convicted...                                         | 87,109   |                            |     |     |      |
| „ „ acquitted                                                         | 14,134†  |                            |     |     |      |
| „ „ appellate                                                         | 32,456   | ...                        | ... | ... | 189  |
| (convictions confirmed                                                | 19,095)  |                            |     |     |      |
| „ upset                                                               | 13,361   |                            |     |     |      |
| applications for revision                                             | 5,633    |                            |     |     |      |

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

\* The mean number of appeals from each Court of the Bailiwick was 18. The numbers of contested cases are included in the numbers above them. Of the marriage cases, 3,942 were terminated by an order for dissolution of marriage.

† This means 1 acquittal for 4·60 cases and 7·23 accused persons. Appeals were instituted in less than half the number of cases, and the proportion of reversals was 1 for 2·35 appeals.

## ART. V.—BOMBAY DOMESTIC ANNALS.

### THE BOMBAY CHURCH.

ON the 19th June, 1715, Cobbe preached a sermon in furtherance of building a Church in Bombay, which fired the zeal of the community. After the sermon he waited on Governor Aslaibie, and here is Mr. Cobbe's own account of the interview :—

“ Well, Doctor, you have been very zealous for the Church this morning.”

“ Please, your Honour, there was occasion enough for it, and I hope without offence.”

“ Well, then, if we must have a Church, we will have a Church. Do you see and get a book made, and see what everyone will contribute towards it, and I will do first.”

The Governor subscribed Rs. 1,000, leaving a blank for the Company's subscription, which was afterwards filled in with Rs. 10,000. The Church was erected and opened in 1718. Very little change was made in its internal economy, and the pews and seats remained unaltered for a hundred years. In 1818, exactly a century after the Church had been opened for the first time, the pews were altered, and new chairs set down. Being entirely re-seated, the interior presented quite a different aspect, was much more comfortable for the worshippers, and more seemly for a house of God, inasmuch as some invidious distinctions between the well-to-do and common people had been abolished.

On Christmas day, 1818, it was re-opened with considerable éclat, when Archdeacon Barnes preached a splendid sermon. It was announced that Divine Service would be held at 10 A.M. and 4 P.M. every Sunday.

### THE KIRK.

St. Andrews Scotch Kirk near the Apollo Gate was opened for public worship on the 25th April, 1819. The Revd. James Clow preached a sermon, and his text, taken from Nehemiah, was :—

“ And we will not forsake the house of our God.”

The Church, as a body, was in existence some years before this, and its beginning was in this wise. A small advertisement, in the most conspicuous part of the paper, appeared in the *Bombay Courier* :—

“ CARD.

“ Divine Service, according to the forms of the Church of Scotland, will be performed next Lord's Day in the Mess Room of the King's Barracks, at 10 a. m. Government House, 15 November 1815.

JAMES CLOW.”

Mr. Clow, no doubt, was a guest of the Governor. Here, then, in the barracks, for two Sundays, Divine Service was holden. But the place was found too noisy and otherwise unsuitable. After this the Church Services were held in the Court House, where, on week days, the Criminal Sessions took place—now (1893) the dining-room of the Great Western Hotel.

There was to be no excuse for want of psalm books, for Baxter & Co. advertise, that they had received a supply :

“ IN METRE :

Translated and diligently compared with

THE ORIGINAL TEXT.

More plain, smooth and agreeable to the text than any heretofore allowed by the authority of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and appointed to be sung in congregations and families.

PRINTED BY AUTHORITY.”

Between 1815 and 1819, the congregation had not been idle, for I read that on the 4th February 1816, after Divine Service, the following gentlemen were ordained elders of the Scotch Church. John Stewart, Hugh Stewart, John Taylor, M. D., and William Erskine. Erskine was Sir James Mackintosh's son-in-law, now, or shortly after, Master in Equity, and known in future years as the author of the *Life of Baber* and other works.

There had been great difficulties about a spire. The “powers that be” (Sir Evan Nepean, Governor, 1812 to 1819) objected to a spire. The matter had to go to the India House, and two years elapsed before authority was obtained to erect one. These were the days before the Queen worshipped in Crathic Kirk. At length the spire was finished. It was a great boon to the Master Mariner, for it competed with the tall bral trees on the castle bastion as a guide into Bombay harbour. The spire, like most Scotchmen in their early years, had a hard time of it, and, in its upbuilding, was a type of the progress of religious liberty, which, after getting many hard blows and knocks, still points the way to heaven. One night, in the year 1826, it was shivered to pieces by lightning; so its troubles were not yet over. Its enemies, of course, said that its promoters were punished for their audacity. The promoters treated the matter as a secondary consideration, compared with previous obstructions. Like Ajax, they could defy the lightning, but they dared not defy the India House. The Kirk's motto was, *nec tamen consumebatur*; so they built another spire, which remains to this day, unscathed by man or the violence of the elements.

Mr. Clow's portrait still hangs in the vestry. About thirty years ago, the native servants were beginning to hold it in such veneration as to do pooja to it, a proceeding, of course, most

abhorrent to the feelings of the then Padre—Cook, or Macpherson. A white sheet was hung over the portrait, which exorcised the evil spirit and put an end to the worship of the dead.

The apotheosis of Englishmen by natives of India is a curious subject. We all remember *Nicolseyn* and his saints. I am certain the natives will be doing pooja to Sir Albert Sassoon's equestrian statue of the Prince of Wales in another generation. Look at that statue almost any time of the day you like, and you will see a group gazing at it. They are much exercised to understand, why the Queen's statue is white (marble) and the Prince's black (bronze)!

I notice that Colonel Wallace's tomb at Siroor is, as early as 1818, decked with flowers. In 1840, when Nesbit was there, they were praying to his ghost, and the worship may still exist.

There is the very fine monument, in the Elphinstone Circle, to Cornwallis. Go when you will, you will see flowers placed on the open book, or garlands on the figures. This is not a new custom. In 1825, it was thought by the natives to be a place of religious worship, and they called it *Chota Dewal*. Government tried to stop this, and issued some vernacular notices that it was a mistake. But it was of no use. When these feelings take possession of the natives they are not easily eradicated.

I read that in 1852, an organ was in use in the Bombay Kirk. The Calcutta Scotch Kirk had one so far back as 1818—*Lux ex Oriente*, of which Scotland has tardily availed itself.

#### RELIGION AND PHILANTHROPY.

The arrival of Dr. Duff and Dr. Wilson in the next decade, 1820-30, gave an immense stimulus to Missionary enterprise, but the spirit was not dead, nor did it even slumber in this period, as the ample pages in the Magazines, devoted to Missionary effort, testify. In 1815, a branch of the Bible Society was started in Bombay. That Society had been founded in London in the year in which Napoleon had appeared on the war path; and now that his empire had been shattered to pieces, broke ground beyond the extremest limit of his conquests. In the same year, also, appeared the Bombay Society for the Education of the Poor. These two Societies, in 1815, are the only representatives of more than 100 educational and benevolent institutions which now (1892) crowd 58 pages of our Bombay Directory.

I have always understood (Dr Wilson was unwearied in his praises of him) that James Farish was a man who, amid good and bad report, and in these troublous times of grim warfare, kept alive the spirit of religion, and, by a consistent life,

vindicated its claims to the attention of mankind. His name has almost faded into oblivion ; but it is worth remembering that, though he had acted as Governor, he did not disdain to keep a Sunday School in the Town Hall. He retired in 1841.

### DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

As a rule, Births, Marriages and Deaths have been announced in this sequence. Occasionally "Christenings" and "Baptisms" are, in the period under notice, substituted for the first, and "Interments" for the last, but these vagaries speedily disappear, and we do not meet with them much after 1818. One jungle-walla takes exception to the priority of "births," and adds to his announcement of a son and heir, the unequivocal word, "legitimate." In 1822 an obituary notice closes with 'an amiable and beautiful young lady, aged 20.' And of a marriage, it adds "the bridegroom will come to £10,000 a year," and of the bride "a beautiful and accomplished lady." Anything *outré* seems to be put in to attract the *insouciant* reader. The following belongs to *fin de siècle* the 18th century : "At Tranquebar, H. Meyer, Esqre., aged 64, to Miss Casina Couperas, a very accomplished young lady of 16, after a courtship of 5 years."

### BIRTHS.

For nearly the first half of the nineteenth century the announcement of births was in this wise :—

"The *lady* of John Smith, Esqre. of a son."

There was, however, a social boundary line, and below it all announcements were—

"The *wife* of John Smith, of a son."

or Mrs. John Smith, of a son. One fine day, however, in "the fifties," the whole Anglo-Saxon world changed its mind on this subject. "Wife" drove out "lady," and ever since has been paramount in all birth notices. In this Presidency, about the first example of the change was on September 14th, 1840. At Poona, the wife of the Rev. George Candy, of twins, a son and a daughter. Henceforth the custom ran like wild fire. "Lady" was ousted by "wife," as gentlemen are now by "the men" of fashionable society. The "men," in our young days in the Highlands, were the "unco guid."

Dr. Wilson, who was a model of correctness in everything he printed, thus announces his own marriage.—

12th August 1828,—Comely Bank, Edinburgh, Rev. John Wilson, Missionary to Bombay, to Margaret, daughter of the Rev. K. Bayne,\* Greenock."

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\* On the dedicating of the fund which now constitutes the "Wilson Philological Lecture," in the getting up of which I had a small hand, he insisted more on the word "Missionary" being on the inscription, than the much coveted F. R. S.

## OBITUARIES.

When the rich man died he had always a special paragraph to himself, *i.e.*, Nisbet of "Nisbet Lane" repute, and on August 14th, 1841, Dr. Milne is thus signalled. "One of the oldest and richest inhabitants of India; a misanthrope; wrote in the *Gazette* articles against Missionaries and against Government." This, no doubt, from the opposition paper.

## AN EAST INDIAMAN.

The Commander of an East Indiaman was, of course, king on his castle: a great man and not to be trifled with. Sometimes an overbearing manner degenerated into sheer brutality. In 1818, a ship arrived in Bombay, having a passenger on board who had been in irons, and deprived of his servant, for a period of 21 days! He had hummed and whistled (it was a low whistle) in the presence of the Captain on the quarter-deck, and he continued to do so after he had been told to desist. The Captain threatened him with imprisonment, and he, the whistler, a young Lieutenant in the army, told the Captain that, if he put him in irons he would lose his ship. All this, no doubt, was very exasperating to the Captain, but could not justify such savage procedure. So the jury in Bombay, before whom the case was tried, gave the Captain their sense of his conduct by fining him in Rs. 5,000. Exchange was then 2s. 7d.

## BUNGALOWS.

To speak of the names of the Bombay bungalows of this period is like raising the dead: *Westfield*, *Lowji Castle*, *The Beehive* and *Apollo House* still assert their existence under the same names in the end of the nineteenth century, as they did in the beginning of it. *Belvidere*, *Tarala*, *Non Parell*, *Randle Lodge*, *Ridgway Cottage*, *Huntly Lodge*, *Somerville Lodge*, *Prospect Lodge* have disappeared.\* I imagine I have seen the *Hermitage*, *Storm Hall* and the *Mount*, which sheltered the Persian ambassador. The *Retreat* I have seen on the map. But where were *Belmont*, *Belleville*, *Breach House*, and above all, the *Parsonage*? Did it abut on our Cathedral? Or was it that tall house overlooking Sonapore Churchyard, which was called by the sailors, Padre Burrough's compound, and no wonder, from the fact, which he stated in 1818, that he had been Resident Chaplain in Bombay, 42 years!

In 1820 assistance was advertised to be given to cholera patients at *Malabar Point Bungalow*. *Parell* was of course Government House, and it still stands (1892), like a ghost in a garden of many memories. Will it be converted into a cotton mill?

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\* *Randle Lodge* was on Breach Candy, the *Beehive* and *Tankerville* are still visible. In the "Parsonage" are now (1894) the offices of Mr. Roughton, the solicitor.

## MALABAR HILL.

Except the Governor's Bungalow, now-a-days at Malabar Point, the impression seems to be that there were no bungalows for European residents on Malabar Hill, till about 1840. This must apply to the west side, as we meet with an advertisement, headed Malabar Hill, under date of 4th December, 1816, of a house on the *East* side for sale, which had been built eight years previously, say in 1808. The compound contained 3,345 square yards, and the auctioneer describes it as a "beautiful country residence." It belonged to the deceased General James Douglas, with whom the undersigned regrets he cannot claim kindred, or otherwise score himself heir to the owner of the cognomen. We mention these particulars so that future antiquarians may be able to identify the plot, and mark down the spot where the Douglas first broke ground in this bosky wilderness. Possibly it may be the "Wilderness" itself, a bungalow of storied renown, which, by its honorable host in "the sixties," was often filled with the youth and beauty of Bombay in those days, when Fitzgerald, the gay Governor, led off the ball.

## MAZAGON RESIDENCES.

The first birth recorded on Malabar Hill is on the 18th January, 1837.

"At the Craig,"\* Malabar Hill, the lady of Charles Ducat, M. D.  
of a son."

Then follows, 12 November, 1841:

At Malabar Hill, the lady of George Coghlan of a son, and 14th October 1842, at Malabar Hill, the lady of J. P. Laikins, Esqre., of a daughter.

Sir Robert Grant, the Governor, died at Dapoorie, near Poona, on the 9th July, 1838, of apoplexy. The cause of his death was reported to be, that he rode out in very heavy rain during the monsoon. On October 11th, Lady Grant was confined of a daughter, born after the death of the father, at Malabar Point. In 1837 several of our merchant princes, such as Harry George Gordon, lived at Mazagon; he became Chairman of the first Oriental Bank. At Mazagon, also in 1840, lived John Skinner, first Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, and subsequently partner of Jardine, Skinner & Co. In 1840 to 42, Robert Wigram Crawford's bungalow was the "Wilderness."

## CORYGAUM.

In the heroic defence of Corygaum, where 500 kept at bay 25,000 men, Dr. Wyllie, a Scotchman, did some good work—

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\* Dr. Smyttan gifted his Malabar Hill bungalow to Dr. Wilson. Dr. S. retired 28th December, 1838. Dr. Wilson called his bungalow "*The Cliff*," and was said to have been offered a very large sum of money for it during the Mania. "*Craig* may have been altered to "*The Cliff*."

I mean, "threw physic to the dogs," and, sword in hand, cut up the enemy hip and thigh. How he earned his guerdon on that immortal day, was often told in after years, by camp fire on Dekhan hill, or in the grey metropolis of his native land. It earned him the soubriquet of "*The Fighting Doctor.*" The emergency was there, and he, like Wilson, another assistant surgeon, who saved the life of the Duke of Cambridge in the Crimea, was equal to the occasion; but unlike Wilson he carried his honours with a steady head. Wyllie's valour was not a myth. It is written that he acted "a most distinguished part at Corygaum," and the document is signed:—"F. F. Staunton, the hero of Corygaum, Seroor, 25th January, 1818." Dr. Wyllie belonged to the Madras Artillery, and a story illustrative of his bonhommie, was told to me in 1869 by General Stretton, then one of the oldest officers of the Indian Army. It belongs, I think, to 1824, the cholera year, when within a very short time the Chief Secretary to Government of Madras, a Judge, and the President of the Medical Board, were all cut off suddenly by the fell disease.

#### "THE FIGHTING DOCTOR."

Scene—Artillery Mess, Madras. During dinner, a note is handed to Dr. Wyllie, who rises abruptly, begging to be excused.

Commanding Officer to the Doctor, in a low voice, as he is taking his departure—"I hope, Doctor, there is nothing wrong?" Nao thing pertikler. Mrs. Smith has a wee touch of *coalara morebus*. W'e'll ga her a peel, and she'll sure be a' richt the morn."

This, no doubt, to put the party off the scent, as it was announced next morning that Mrs. S. had been safely delivered of a son! Next evening, as the dinner party were unfolding their table napkins, the Colonel, with a twinkle in his eye and full of humour, reconnoitred the sapient son of Esculapius thus, in the Doctor's accent—"Any more cases of "coalara morebus, Dr. Wyllie?" And the plague was stayed.

#### DINNERS AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

I am sure the men of this period were able to eat and drink more than we do, or could do with impunity. Take Malcolm for example, in October, 1811. On the 12th, there was a dinner to Mackintosh in the theatre; on the 16th, a dinner to Charles Forbes; and on the 19th, a dinner to Rickards, a civilian of 26 years standing. Malcolm presided at the two last, and was the Jupiter Tonans of all three. Here were three great public entertainments in eight days, speeding the parting guests from our island. Could any man among us do this now-a-days with impunity? I trow not.



During this decade, there were many big dinners. Malcolm was a better diner-out than Elphinstone. There was a Commemoration Dinner at Poona (of the Battle of Kirkee) on November 1818. I should like to have seen Elphinstone on that occasion rise to propose "The immortal memory of Burns," and hear him add the words: "Success to his offspring," for a son of Burns was there, and sung one of his father's blythest lays.

There is a Madras notification of February 1811, that, Mr. William Nicol Burns,\* having produced requisite certificates of his appointment to be a cadet on this establishment, the Government in Council is pleased to admit him in that capacity, and promote him to the rank of an ensign, the date of commission to be settled hereafter. Was this the man, born in 1791, "the wee rumble gumption urchin of mine whom I named Willie Nicol, after a certain friend of mine," or was it he who stood of most interest, a man of pale face and gray hairs, at the Burns festival—Colonel James Glencourse Burns? Both these appointments were due, in the first instance, to the Marchioness of Hastings.

Sometimes a round of amusements lasted from daylight to dusk, or even far into midnight, and yet people carried their drink with surprising discretion. The strongest of our latter day good livers, I imagine, would think twice before gulping down all the good things contained in this invitation to the elite, for Saturday the 9th March 1811.

#### PIC NIC.

Meets at gunfire this morning on the Byculla Course, where the hounds will throw off a numerous field, and great sport is expected; afterwards Bobbery Hunting, &c., until breakfast, which has been ordered for 50 at the stand at 9; the party will then proceed to Lowji Castle, where various Hindustanee gymnastics, wrestling, pigeon shooting, juggling and tumbling will be exhibited till 4 o'clock, when a dinner, in the best English style, will be served up for the same number as at breakfast. The sports of the day to conclude with music, fireworks, &c.

The men of this decade (1810-20) were a sober and righteous race; but they were men. At a great entertainment given to General Abercrombie, son of the hero of Alexandria, on May 25th, 1811, to celebrate his conquest of Mauritius, it is recorded—and you will please remember the date, for there are no hotter nights in Bombay than in the end of May—:—

"After supper the dancing again commenced and continued to a late hour, nor did the brilliancy of the scene lose any effect, until the rising sun began to eclipse the minor artificial illuminations of the night."

Ten years later on, the 2nd May 1821, the first General Meeting of the Bombay Highland Society, established for the cultivation of Caledonian proclivities, took place at Parell,

\* 1828, Deputy Assistant Commissary General, Madras Army.

under the discreetest of men, Mountstuart Elphinstone, on which the *Courier* remarks: "Various other excellent songs were sung, but latterly the recollection of our friend was not quite so clear as in the early part of the evening to detail particulars."

Nothing now remains of this august Celtic Corporation (it died out about 1840) but a black<sup>2</sup> faced sheep's head mull, or Highland snuff box, silver and cairngorm mounted.

The entertainment given to Sir John Keane by Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy was the first occasion on which Parsee ladies appeared in public. Sir Jamsetjee left the room, and his temporary absence caused a feeling of suspense among the guests. Then the door suddenly opened, and Sir Jamsetjee made his appearance with his wife leaning on his arm, followed by his sons and their wives and his daughters. This was about 1841.

#### EDUCATION.

The following advertisement, dated 18th February, 1811, and signed John Forbes, we give, because it illustrates three things:

1st.—That Bombay did not confine its benefactions to local schemes. The subscriptions to this one already amounted to Rs. 7,224.

2nd.—That the Forbeses had already produced a strong Aberdonian feeling of clanship in the island.

3rd.—That the schoolmaster was abroad.

"Aberdeen Society, for the benefit of children of deceased clergymen of the professors in the University of Scotland."

Some of the confusion here may be owing to the printer's devil. Charles Forbes's speeches in the India House, and his Bombay letters, are models of perspicuous English. Manockjee Cursetjee, who must have been at school about this time, had a fair education, which enabled him to hold forth to kings, and, even to the Pope. I asked him about his teacher. His reply, that he was a Mr. Mackay in Mr. Joliffe's school near St. Thomas's Church, though of date 1822, shows that there was good education in Bombay about this period.

#### PINDARRIES.

The Pindarries were a never failing source of anxiety at this time. The Bombay *Courier* of 4th January, 1817, announces that communication from Siroor to Poona, and from Poona to Panwell, is unsafe without a guard; and no wonder, for reports came in on the 22nd February, that a body had appeared before Des-gaum, after having plundered Mhar, and that 700 of them were seen in the neighbourhood of Panwell, and made tracks in a northerly direction. Here follows how they harassed our soldiers.—

"On 27th, 4th December, 1861, the Native Cavalry, under Major Lushington, marched from 1 a. m. to 6 p. m., 70 miles after Pindarries, killed and wounded 7 to 800, and then by easy stages, made their way to Ahmednagar. Captain Drake was killed by a spear wound"

1816. The Bombay Marine Battalion was raised.

1817. The Poona Horse was raised, Siroor became their locale, and a pleasant habitation it is.

#### MERCHANTS.

On the 20th May 1818, appeared the following advertisement in the *Bombay Gazette*. —

"Messrs. Ritchie, Steuart & Co. have the honour to announce this establishment as a Mercantile House, the partners of their firm being  
James Finlay & Co. Glasgow,  
H. J. and R. Barton, Manchester,  
Mr. James Ritchie and  
Mr. John Robert Steuart.

This rivulet of type represents the fountain-head of a great firm which had much to do in moulding the destinies of Bombay during the next fifty years. Harry George Gordon, a partner in this firm, was, in 1838, voted first Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, while another, Michael Scott, was the wizard of 1864. Both these men had great talents, and the pale and classic features of the latter, with hair black as the raven's wing, will live in the memories of all who have seen him, and live in local history also, as the most conspicuous character of these enterprising and anxious and exciting times.

Panmure Gordon, writer and London financier (1892), is a son of the first, while Dr. Scott, the well known author of "Tom Cringle's Log" and the "Cruise of the Midge," was the father of the second.

On April the 9th 1831, on board the "Upton Castle," off the Cape of Good Hope, John Ritchie, Esq., 35, of Messrs. Ritchie, Finlay & Co.

1842, March 4th, died at Castle Tower, E. Argyllshire, Kirkman Finlay, Esq., late M. P. and Lord Provost of Glasgow, founder of the firm.

#### GLOBE TROTTERS.

Part of this decade was very awkward for globe trotters. On April 1818, Government issue a notice that passports were necessary for all Europeans, and any vagrants of this race found prowling about, were to be taken to the nearest English official, and if I remember right, a reward was offered for their apprehension.

The war correspondent also was at a discount. Archibald Forbes would have been a voice crying in this Dekhan wilderness; for the Bombay papers, by a Government Notice, dated December 25th, 1819, inform them that, during the Mahratta war, every article must be submitted to Government before publication. All which regulations were, no doubt, just and proper at the time.\*

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\* Bombay was sometimes near enough to the seat of war. In January 1818, the firing of the guns was distinctly heard at the taking of Kurnalla (Funnel Hill).

## RACES.

The Bombay Races and Hunt were in this decade (1810 to 20) in the full blush of prosperity. They took place in February; began with daylight, and ended in a big breakfast, which, most probably, before it was ended, annexed itself to a tiffin. The Races of 1819 are a fair sample. Mr. Remington's Cup was presented to the victor by Lady Grant Keir. The Forbes Stakes, £100,—which are still (1892) run for,—won by Mr. Warden's Arab horse *Hapoorie*, beating *Guzerat* and *Hots-pur*. The Ladies Purse, Rs. 400, with 5 five gold mohurs each, was run for by *Clan Alpin*, *Speculation* and *Grey Beard*.

4th Day.—The Malet Stakes.

5th Day.—The Bachelors Purse, Rs. 400 with 5 gold mohurs each.

6th Day.—The Gold Turf Cup, value 100 guineas, given by the Turf Club in 1802, and now in possession of Mr. De Vitre.

In 1816, for the purpose of attracting the fair sex, the Bombay Races were held no longer in the morning, but in the afternoon, a custom from which there has been, we believe, no departure.

The period, 1820 30 was an era of decline for both Hunt and Races. On 1st February, 1828, it is noted: "Bombay Races are not remarkable enough to be recorded." The following wail had appeared in the *Bombay Gazette* in 1827:—

"Twas in the olden time our Bombay Races  
Commenced at day-light, spite of fog and dew.

\*     \*     \*     \*

The Bobbery Hunt's Delight or Garry Owen  
Was sure to set the nimble feet agoing.  
All's over—early rising—breakfast—all  
Yet what mementos do the names recal  
Of spirits—blotted from the things that be,  
Gone like the "Bobbery Hunt" and "Sans Souci,"  
For though the Bobbery, when in search of game,  
Were terrors to old crones and yelping pyes,  
Convivial friendship will preserve their name  
As those who bade the brightest fires arise.  
And but once more to hear their bugle strain  
Bombay might rouse thee to be gay again.

This spirited piece was headed "Lost Gaiety of Bombay."

In 1815 the races had been changed from the morning. Hence the allusion in the opening lines. Poona, this year, seemed more vigorous, and received from England eight couple of hounds in the highest condition, with four couple of whelps produced on the voyage. Calcutta up to 1840 held their races in the morning. The hunt there also involved a start at 4 A.M., and for this reason seldom more than 15 gentlemen responded, and the ladies, at both hunt and races, were very few.

## THEATRE.

During the cold seasons of these eventful years (1810-20), the Theatre was in evidence, the actors being all amateurs. Many of the play bills lie before us. Some of the pieces were the *Road to Ruin*, the *Heir at Law*, *Old Mother Goose* and the *Wheel of Fortune*; and on one occasion, we observe, the whole is to conclude with a recitation of the celebrated poem of *Glenfinlas*, a piece which, at the moment, we cannot recal to memory. All these fancies were bodied forth in the old Theatre; but in 1818, after our great successes in Europe and the Dekhan, a bran new theatre was constructed. Doors open at 4, performances to begin at 7 precisely. Tickets for box and pit Rs. 8, and we observe (1811) no tickets were to issued for the gallery. Doubtless a select audience, and the proceeds for some charitable object.

Gentlemen, unless actors, were on no account to enter the green room, or go behind the scenes, and all gentlemen without ladies were earnestly entreated to make their way to the pit, leaving the boxes to the ladies and the gentlemen who escorted them.

1820-40—In August 1828, we read: "The Bombay Theatre is now a desert," and the writer attributes its decay to "the march of morality, the want of money, the growing love of early hours, fashion, and the progress of fastidiousness."

11th July 1829.—"The Bombay Theatre is now consigned to such ignoble purposes as the reception of Gogo cotton and Gunny bags, once fertile in good performers, as in the age of the Brooks, the Bellasis, the Stanley's and the Bells." 1831—Arrangements to open the Bombay Theatre which has been long suspended. 1834.—March 13th.—Theatre half filled. "We may now sing a requiem over the drama in this Presidency." 1835, July—Bombay Theatre offered for sale. "After Mr. Newnham left last year, there was hope for it." John Peter Grant was also a steady supporter of the drama, both in Bombay and Calcutta. 1835, October—Theatre sold to Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy for Rs. 50,000. 1807—"Theatrical displays are scarce worth attending." 1840, July 24th—A petition, signed by 425 inhabitants for a new theatre in Bombay. These notices sufficiently disclose the state of the theatre in Bombay, and its decadence for a dozen years.

From some observations we gather that the Native Theatre was not extinct, and what was called the "Legitimate Hindoo Drama," in Poona, in Sir Philip Woodhouse's time (1872-7), which flourished unabashed in its travesties of the English, until it was suspended by authority. The following refers to something similar, satirizing our noble selves. The time is 1830-40, scene the a Mofussil Court House. We merely give a

*petit-morceau* before the curtain fell. As the case proceeds, and the time approaches for the midday meal, the butler comes in and announces to the Judge: "Tiffin tyar hi." This, of course, he does with joined hands and obsequious deportment. The Judge immediately stops the case, and is proceeding to leave the Court-room, when he is accosted by the officers of the Court, with "Pray, your lordship, what shall we do with the prisoner?"

*Judex exit*, with "D—n his eyes, hang him."

#### PRESS.

The *Gazette* and *Courier*, established about 1790, the latter by Mr. William Ashburner of the Civil Service, continued to be weekly papers for about forty years. Both then merged into bi-weeklies, and the *Gazette* in its daily form "died about 7 years ago" (1843). The *Star*, the *World*, the *Herald*, and *U. S. Gazette* were short lived papers. The *Courier* and *Gazette* were in shape something like the size of the (1892) *Overland Times* and *Gazette*, with not a twelfth part of the printed matter. In 1820, both the *Gazette* and *Courier* were flourishing.

On the 30th December 1821, at Poona, died Adolphus Pope, late sheriff of Bombay, and editor of the *Bombay Gazette*. In 1822, the Indian Press was much hampered by inland postage. A notice published in England states that the Post Office in India, will not deliver a newspaper at any distance under half a rupee, or 1s. 3d.

1825, the "*Bombay Courier*" published on Saturdays, the *Gazette* on Wednesdays, the *Weekly Gleaner* on Sundays. Only native paper, *Samachar Chandrika*, weekly. There were three dailies in Calcutta, the "*John Bull*" "*Scotsman in the East*," and *Hurkaru*."

Bombay Civil Servants were not seldom proprietors of papers. Col. M. Stanhope, at the East Indian House, March 21, 1827, stated that, though Mr. Fair was the nominal owner of the *Bombay Gazette*, Mr. Francis Warden, Chief Secretary, was the real proprietor, maugre the threat of the Chief Justice, September 16, 1826: "I will punish the editor and proprietor both with fine and imprisonment." As late as 1841, the proprietors of the *Bombay Courier* were Humphrey Francis Boaden, Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Henry Fawcett and Robert Wigram Crawford; and of the *Times*—Messrs Skinner, Gordon, Stewart, Dawson, Cardwell, Richmond, Mackie and Russell, all well known partners of leading firms in Bombay.

A writer in 1840 tells us of a catastrophe which took place in these unwholesome days. Three journalists died in as many months, Mr. Rousseau, sub-editor of the *Courier*, of cholera; Mr. Callum, editor and proprietor of the *Gazette*, of cholera,

aged 29; Mr. Brennan, editor of the "*Times*," and Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, of apoplexy, 36. The *Bombay Iris*, a weekly paper for Government servants, had a short life. Dr. Wilson's *Oriental Christian Spectator*, a monthly, begun in 1827, lasted until 1856, and comprehends 27 volumes.

Occasionally there were trials for libel. In June 1833, Mr. R. X. Murphy, editor of the *Gazette*, challenged Colonel Vans Kennedy. The Colonel refused to accept the gage of battle, whereupon the editor, in his paper, denounced him to the public and the army as a slanderer and a coward. Murphy was sentenced to pay Rs. 500. The same year, Captain Morley sued R. C. Money and Dr. Wilson for some printed matter in the *Spectator*, anent a tomb at Ahmednagar, which had been raised to a native mistress and converted into a Hindoo temple, and obtained damages, Rs. 350.

#### LAWYERS.

No names were more widely known in legal circles in the times in which they lived than Henry Forrester Constable. He was Solicitor to the Company, Captain of the Bombay Fencibles, had been 28 years in Bombay, died in 1802 at the age of 42, and was buried with military honours. John Henry Stephenson held the same office, and died in 1816 at Bussorah, aged 38. On his monument, in the Cathedral, may be found these halting lines,—

Bombay admired, bewails thy short career  
And o'er thy ashes sheds a greatful tear:  
What nobler monument can marble yield,  
What brighter trophies deck the blazon'd shield.

In September, 1834, died James Morley. He had been a barrister in Bombay for fifty years.

#### ARCHÆOLOGY.

A great deal has been written on the wanton acts of the Portuguese in destroying the sculptures of Elephanta. We have not been blameless in this matter ourselves; Hector Macneil, writing from Bombay (*Archæologia*, Vol. VIII) in 1783, boldly charges "those heroes who grace our fleets and armies in India," with the spoliation. I dare say it was the fashion of the day, witness James Forbes and the Gate of Diamonds at Dubhoi. There is ample evidence of the truth of Macneil's assertion. In *Archæologia*, Vol. VII, 1785, there are three magnificent plates of heads brought by Sir Ashton Lever from Elephanta, and, that there may be no doubt regarding the extent of the plunder, the same Journal adds,—"The Society are possessed of a drawing of another group of figures from the same quarter by Captain Allen of His Majesty's ship Cumberland."

So late as 1840, a correspondent of the "*Asiatic Journal*"

writes, that he saw persons in Elephanta break off pieces of the statues to sell to visitors. In the *Bombay Gazette* of 1822, there is the following notice of what the writer saw in the Canara Caves in Salsette, some part of which, but not much, may still be visible.

"We observed very distinctly the vestiges of fresco painting, representing, in simple colours of red and blue, single figures of the Hindoo deities."

Charles Bonne, Governor, 1724-31, notices also the red and blue paint on the statues at Canara (*Archæologia*).

#### GAOLS.

During the first two decades of this century, the gaols were worth looking after. Some local Howard was abroad, for in 1821, the Grand Jury of Bombay told the Judge that the prisoners for minor offences ought to be separated from those of deeper dye.

In 1823 one debtor had been in gaol 9 years, and if the creditor made an allowance, the debtor might be detained all his life. All kinds of prisoners were mixed, for minor and heinous crimes, those convicted, as well as those waiting their trial. In 1827, an Englishman died in the Calcutta gaol. He had been in prison for debt for nine years, and on 7th August 1827, died at the great gaol of Calcutta, Mrs. Mary Moore, wife of Mr. Robert Moore, who had been imprisoned for debt, for upwards of 12 years. The number of executions had very much decreased, compared with old times. Mackintosh tells us that, in Bombay, from May 1736 to May 1763, there were 141 capital convictions and 47 executions; from May 1804 to May 1811, there were 109 capital convictions and no executions. A man executed on 20th July 1811, was the first European executed for 25 years in Bombay.

#### HIGH COURT AND SIR EDWARD WEST.

It was a great day for Bombay when the Supreme Court of Judicature was substituted for the Recorder's Court.

On the 8th day of May 1823, at a few minutes past 10 A.M., the new Charter of Justice was read and proclaimed, after which Sir Edward West took his seat as Chief Justice. On the publication of the Charter, a royal salute of 21 guns was fired, and, upon the Chief Justice being sworn in, 17 guns. The echoes had scarcely died away, when an event came upon Bombay like a thunderclap. The Chief Justice dismissed William Erskine from his office of Master in Equity and Clerk of the Small Cause Court. He next suspended five barristers, including the Advocate General (August 1823) and thirdly, but not lastly, he deported Fair, the editor of the *Gazette*. The fire did not burn low in these times.



## WILLIAM ERSKINE.

Erskine did not kill himself, as James Outram's brother did under a somewhat similar charge. He died peaceably at Bonn, in 1851. The Advocate General did not kill himself, though a Solicitor took his place; and editors have nine lives, and never suffer death from any amount of persecution. I cannot imagine a case, though all these men are now in their graves, that is calculated to awaken deeper sympathy than that of Erskine. Any man, wounded in the tenderest part, and the object of unfounded suspicion, may be as true a martyr as ever died by stake or faggot. The flames are not material, but they burn nevertheless. Erskine's case was that of a sick man whose subordinates in his absence, allowed the affairs of his department to drift into confusion, and startle the auditor with a balance on the wrong side. When under examination, Erskine replied to the charge that "these irregularities were totally unknown to him, and that he had never knowingly derived any profit from them." That might have been sufficient, but he might have as well appealed to the winds. Erskine's probity was undoubted; but it was in vain that he had served under six Recorders, that he had been asked by the Royal Asiatic Society to sit for his portrait; that he was Mackintosh's son-in-law, that he was an Elder in the Kirk. The enemy blasphemed, and the Judge was inexorable. The enemy wrote that "Mr. Erskine's robberies on the public exceeded Rs. 2,000 monthly." "Erskine is condemned by implication, if not in express terms, of being guilty of fraud, oppression, extortion and corruption;" and the Judge refused to allow him to quit the country, unless he found two securities for Rs. 50,000 each, and his own personal bond for Rs. 100,000. Here was the sequel. Sir Edward West bestowed the office of Master in Equity on his nephew, and we are not surprised to read that, when he retired in 1829, "he left his own arena of exertion—unregretted by a mortal." But Erskine was like his native heather, which, though burned to the ground in one season, springs up the next.

## AMUSEMENTS.

Bombay and Poona (1820-30) were not without their amusements. In connection with the revival of Cricket in 1825, we read:—

"There will be tents for the ladies, and as the cricketers are all to be dressed in an appropriate uniform, we anticipate one of the most gay and animated scenes that has ever graced our island.

"We feel infinite pleasure, in announcing amusements which tend to counteract the effects of this enervating climate, by raising the spirits from apathy, and the physical powers from

that feminine indolence which is generally rewarded by premature old age, skin hanging in drapery, and muscles reduced to pack thread."

This same year, on 28th October, there was a very big dance in Poona, in honour of Sir Charles Colville, Commander of the forces, and 200 were present on the eve of his departure. There was a suite of tents, and his great battles were blazoned in letters of light—San Domingo, Martinique, Egypt, Badajos, Salamanca, Victoria, Nive Nivelles, Waterloo.

There were country dances, quadrilles, succeeded by waltzes, and Spanish dances till 12. Then followed supper. Then they danced till dawn, when the morning gun was the signal for departure.

### BOMBAY, 1823.

We get a glimpse of the state of Bombay in 1823 from a Calcutta visitor. The people were less cringing and subservient than they were in Bengal. The climate was preferable. A great paucity of punkahs even in the best houses. A dirtier town than Calcutta, and he adds—"The olfactory horrors of the Bombay bazars may possibly be equalled; they can be exceeded in no part of the world."

Wages, 4 palanquin bearers, Re. 1 per diem, table servant, Rs. 10 to Rs. 16 per mensem. Ayah, Rs. 12. House rent, half the Calcutta rate. A family mansion obtainable at Rs. 200 per mensem. Saw one of very large size that let at Rs. 300. *Parell*, the country house of the Governor, can only be equalled in the bad taste of its architecture, by his residence in the Fort. "Also a pair of tigers guarding the gate of an elegant villa (Juganath Sunkerseth's) in Gorgaum," still to be seen (1892). Parties not so agreeable as in Calcutta. In Calcutta you call on people. Here you must wait until you are called on.

In Bombay every article of European produce and manufacture is double the price of Calcutta. Fish delicious; bread excellent; good water is scarcer than good wine. Here we "see ourselves as others see us." We will now hear what Bombay has to say of itself.

In the same year (1823) a Bombay man speaks more hopefully: "Owing to some big fires, Government wish the cotton bales removed from Bombay Green, and have appropriated a portion of the Esplanade near the Apollo Pier for the purpose."

And here follows a glowing anticipation of the Elphinstone Circle, built 1854-65. "The great square of the Fort, which we hope on some future day to see surrounded with buildings worthy the good taste and public spirit of the people."

This was the vision when the Town Hall had just risen above its foundation. The Town Hall took 15 years in building, and was finished in 1834, costing 5 lakhs.

The year 1826, opens with great changes and substantial progress. "Population has increased as if Cadmus had sown 'dragon's teeth,' mecantile houses have multiplied, charities have been founded, public tanks have been enlarged so as to afford a constant supply of water, the ways have been elegantly lighted, the Esplanade has been levelled and cleared, roads have been made, and edifices have arisen, designed with architectural taste and executed with masonic skill, and the Governor is congratulated on opening a sally-port through the ramparts, which has been so useful to the inhabitants of the Fort in getting water both by day and night, and by repairing old wells and making new ones in every part of the island."

#### HORMASJEE BOMANJEE.

Hormasjee Bomanjee, the most prominent native citizen of Bombay, during the first quarter of this century. died on the morning of the 8th March 1826, in the 60th year of his age.

He was for more than 30 years associated with Forbes and Company. He left 3 sons and 2 daughters. He was the youngest and surviving brother of builder Jamsetjee Bomanjee, and the celebrated merchant, Pestonjee Bomanjee, head of the Wadia family.

He was succeeded in his *station* by his nephew Naurojee Jamsetjee, head of the Parsee Punchayat, the respected head builder in the naval yard. When the news reached England, it was said "he died worth two millions." Though this was a great exaggeration, the family held a strong position, and dispensed festivity at Lowji Castle from early times. So shortly before his death as the 3rd August, 1825, Hormasjee Bomanjee gave a splendid entertainment at Lowji Castle, which was long remembered by the European inhabitants. His son Ardaseer upheld the position and dignity of the family far into the eightys. He, too, was of dignified deportment.

#### ROBBERS.

One of the roads referred to by the writer on Bombay was the beach road to Sewree, which was finished in 1825. The Colaba Causeway was projected, but still a work of the future : what need there was of lighting the streets, is apparent from the number of robberies.

In 1827 the robbers actually entered the house of the Chief Justice after he had publicly denounced their depredations. And in the same year Mrs Sparrow, wife of a member of Council, when returning from church, was attacked by an Armenian on horseback in her carriage, who seized the horse's reins and shot away the coachman's ear. About this time a gentleman was deterred from buying the "Wilderness," be-

cause it was so remote and exposed to the attacks of robbers. The island was infested that year with a number of audacious villains with swords, who hacked at whoever came in their way, sahib or servant. Numbers of palanquins were stopped on the Parell Road in 1826, and their occupants plundered. The same year, while attempting to enter the house of the Commander-in-Chief, a sentry, while loading his musket, had a stone thrown at him to his hurt.

In addition to the insecurity of property there were three great plagues. There was the plague of beggars, the lame the halt and the blind, and the armless flourishing their stumps. There was the plague of pariah dogs infesting every street in the fort, and every lane and road on the island, endangering the lives of those on horseback. There was the plague of hamuls, that rascal multitude who carried on the business of locomotion, bearing and overbearing, insolent as the buggywallahs in the sixties, and levying black mail and sometimes black death on whoever entered their dirty and infection-carrying palanquins. It was in vain that the Grand Jury proclaimed the ill-regulated condition of the palanquins and those who plied for hire. They were masters of the situation. If they struck, there was an end of all juries and dinner parties. The only owners of palkies are now (1893) the solicitors. And there was the plague of irate Judges.

Fancy at such a time as this men's minds being exercised with the problem :—Who was entitled to the affix of "Esquire?" Whether the servant of a Knight or Magister was the greater?

It was left to the genius of Lord Clare (1834) to solve this knotty question and a minute of council was issued that the following gentlemen be addressed as "Esquire."

Jugganath Sunkersett.  
Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy,  
Dadabhai Pestonjee.  
Dhakjee Dadajee.  
Bomanjee Hormusjee.  
Framjee Cowasjee.  
Nowrojee Jamsetjee.

Cursetjee Cowasjee.  
Cursetjee Amdaseer Dady.  
Mohamed Ali Rogay.  
Cursetjee Kustomjee.  
Mohamed Ibrahim Macha.  
Hormasjee Bhicajee Chinoy.

This is a leaf from the Golden Book of Bombay which some of our golden youth (1893) may be pleased to look at.

From these troubles and tomfooleries, relief came to Bombay from an unexpected quarter. As early as the 20th May 1826, Mahableshwur had been pointed out as a suitable hill station, and on January 24th, 1829, a Parsee opened a shop there.

So the lieges found that the best way to make the most of Bombay, was to get out of it and recline their wasted minds and bodies on the Mahableshwur Hills.

#### HILL STATIONS.

The settlement on this hill widened the horizon and expanded the ideas of that generation enormously.

There had been watering places where people went for change of air in the hot season. But Bankote and Gorabunder (the Hippocoura of Ptolemy?) are quite as hot as Bombay. Vizrabhai, the Lady of the Thunderbolt, with its hot springs once quite fashionable, was, on the discovery of the new hill station, at once relegated to the natives, whose resort it has been ever since. It has not a few military memories, and its neighbourhood was once well ploughed up by field artillery. Here are a few lines redolent of feeling albeit destitute of poetic fire, culled from an old album, and dated 1786, on Vizrabhai.

"Hail sacred spring salubrious fountain hail !  
Not far removed is that illustrious spot,  
Where dearly bought the gallant *Hartley* gained  
Increased renown, where with a faithful few  
He bore the onset of a numerous foe.  
Whose chief, unlike his dastard kindred, shew'd  
The path to glory, and pursued the way,  
And there the generous *Goddard* pressed with speed  
(His flesh earn'd laurels blooming on his brow)  
To share his partner's toils."

Matheran was not yet dragged from its obscurity ; but a gleam of light flashes on its darkness in 1822

Col. Delamain writes, "very rich scenery. In every direction noble mountains. To the north, Mathé Ram, bearing at first view a stupendous square fort on the top, but it is natural. It was however fortified."

This last is a hard nut for the topographer to crack.

#### OVERLAND.

On the 12th July, 1823, the first steam ship, the "Diana" was launched at Kidderpore, and had a splendid trial trip "velocity perfectly astonishing." On the 22nd January 1825, the steam ship "Enterprize" was launched in England to run to India. On the 24th November 1824, £10000 was voted by the merchants of Calcutta to the first person who would navigate a steam ship to India. On the 16th August. 1825, "Enterprize," of 500 tons, and containing 20 cabins, leaves Falmouth for Calcutta. On the 30th July 1828, Mr. Thomas Waghorn, of the Pilot Service in Calcutta, proposes to bring out the mails to Calcutta in 70 days, *via the Cape*. On the same day, Mr. G. A. Prinsep states that a letter might be carried from Calcutta to Cosseir in 29 days, and thence to London in 25 days.

On the 12th March 1829, the "Bengal Chronicle" styles Waghorn, "this intelligent, active, and enterprising individual." 15th November 1829, first steam ship to start from Bombay to Suez. Waghorn's services in opening up the overland route are matter of history. Not until this was secured, was Bombay called "The Rising Presidency."

Government advertise the fare Rs. 1,200, independent of the table. Servants, European, Rs. 150, natives, Rs. 75. The total expenditure of each traveller from Bombay to London was £300, which included the Rs. 1,200 passage money by the "Hugh Lindsay," from Bombay to Cosseir. We learn incidentally that in Calcutta in 1822, Rs 800 sicca were paid for a second class passage home by sailing vessel. A single letter Rs. 2-6, double Rs. 5, for postage.

#### MAILS.

1825—The Madras Mail to Calcutta, by land was done in 10 days 17¾ hours.

1826—From Bombay to Calcutta, an express Mail was done in 1½ days.

#### COLABA.

In 1826 we read that "Colaba is becoming celebrated for unaffected and social intercourse, that scarcely a week passes without some particular manifestation of it."

The suspicions that it was unhealthy in the years which followed, took tangible shape in 1840, when it was announced, to the dismay of all concerned, that Colaba, having been pronounced by the Medical authorities a most unhealthy station for European troops, is to be forthwith abandoned as a military station. And in 1841, a Medical Board find that a deadly malaria is caused by the mangrove trees on the western shore, and the sea washing thereon twice in 24 hours. Colaba would have soon justified its name of "Old Woman's Island," had not the two Napiers, Charles and Robert, stepped in successively to avert this disaster. The spade and the hatchet were the remedies.

Bombay itself must have been bad, if we can believe the *Gazette* of 4th June 1841 :—"Calcutta is bad enough, Madras worse, but, with six times the native inhabitants, Madras is a Belgravia Square compared with Bombay."

Though the Colaba Causeway, connecting it with Bombay, was projected as far back as 1820, it was not actually commenced till 1835.

#### BANKS.

In August 1835, a Bank of India was projected in London with a capital of five millions. Though Baring Brothers were among the promoters it came to nothing.

On the 20th March 1838, a meeting, at which Sir Charles Malcolm presided, was held to establish a "Bank of Bombay," and on 1st October, a Charter was obtained from the East India Company. John Stewart a shrewd, solid, sagacious man, without the least touch of dash or cleverness, was Manager.

On the 12th March 1840, among the official directors appointed by Government, were—James R. Crawford, Accountant General, Lestock Reid, Secretary, Financial Department, and among those elected were the well-known names Harry George Gordon, James Wright, Framjee Cowasjee.

In 1840, their notes being depreciated in the bazaar, the Directors offer to discount them. In February 1840, W. W. Cargill, afterwards Secretary, (living 1893) signs a paper connected with this Bank, and it is a curious circumstance which we heard from one who was present, that Mr. Cargill, in 1865, was the first to make the Viceroy aware of the deplorable condition of the Bank of Bombay. It was in an after dinner conversation with Sir John Lawrence at Simla. Sir Bartle Frere at the time was blamed for tardily withholding this information.

#### ASIATIC SOCIETY.

In 1829, the Royal Asiatic Society removed their Library and Museum to the north rooms of the Town Hall which they have since occupied.

In 1832, several meetings were held to put an end to scribbling on the books of the Library. "Colonel Welsh's Memoirs," seems to have been well annotated.

Under 10th June 1833, we read, "Manockjee Cursetjee, a Parsee of some distinction, was proposed as a Member. The President supported his pretensions, and proposed that all natives, who sit on Grand Juries should be eligible. Dr. Wilson objected because it will give a preference over their countrymen of the highest literary attainments to those whose only literature was their acquaintance with the English language. The ballot showed 14 black balls against him."

In 1836, however, Manockjee was elected a non-resident member, and on 29 January 1840, was elected the first native member of the Bombay Royal Asiatic Society.

Since that time there has been a gradual accession of natives who are now a preponderating element in all the meetings of the Society.

And the Asiatic Library was not to be sneezed at. In 1839 Principal Mill of Calcutta, said to Dr. Wilson: "There is nothing like this on the banks of the Ganges." At the beginning of 1810, it consisted of 2,000 volumes, and the Society had an income of £400 to be devoted annually to the purchase of books. The Library was housed in Meadows Street, and the meetings of the Society were at this period held in the Theatre. No books were issued the last week of the year, when all books were ordered to be returned, and a searching examination was made as to their condition. Sir James Mackintosh advertises three times for people to return his own

books. Bombay then, as now, was in no hurry to return borrowed books.

There were some dungeons of learning, like Vans Kennedy, its Secretary, in the "Asiatic," but after Mackintosh left, Elphinstone held up the blazing torch, which illuminated his sphere of action with the light of day. Contributions came in from many quarters. Rich discoursed on Babylonian bricks, and another son-in-law of Mackintosh, to wit William Erskine, discussed on Elephanta, and Frank, the ill-starred brother of James Outram, produced a new theory of perpetual motion, and Malcolm, like Saul among the prophets, when he did manage to attend its meeting, stood head and shoulders above all the people at the meetings in this decade (1810-20). The natives were conspicuous by their absence.

But it is pleasing to record that no long time elapsed before they took their part both as hearers and as speakers, in the proceedings of this learned Society.

#### BIG INDIAN HOUSES.

The following were the leading Indian Firms in London on 18th February 1828 :—

|                                        |                                 |
|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Messrs. Bazett, Colvin, Crawford & Co. | Messrs. Finlay, Hodgson & Co.   |
| " Cockerell, Trail & Co.               | " Maclauchlan, Macintyre & Co.  |
| " Fletcher Alexander & Co.             | " Zachary Macaulay & Babington* |
| " Farlie, Bonham & Co.                 | " Small, Colquhoun & Co.        |
| " Palmers, McKillop & Co.              | " R. Scott, Fairlie & Co.       |
| " Inglis, Forbes & Co.                 | " Gregson, Melville & Knight.   |
| " Rickards, Mackintosh & Co.           | " Hunter & Co.                  |

#### THE UPPER TEN.

Hormusjee Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Cursetjee and Jehangier Ardaseer, Davidass Hurjeevandass and Cajee Golam Hossein were conspicuous natives in 1823.

This year the Grand Jury consisted of the following names—

|                  |                |
|------------------|----------------|
| Benjamin Norton. | W. T. Graham.  |
| W. Mainwaring.   | T. Crawford.   |
| William Nicol.   | S. D. Beatty.  |
| J. Saunders.     | W. C. Bruce.   |
| D. Seton.        | William Peel.  |
| A. Inglis.       | J. Forbes.     |
| J. Fawcett.      | T. Riddock.    |
| E. Elliot        | A. Mackintosh. |
| F. Bouchier.     | P. H. Hadow.   |

This is the earliest appearance I can find of the founder of the great firm of William Nicol & Co., which was almost an institution in Bombay for 50 years. He lived to a great age, and, though a little man in size, was in his time one of the biggest merchants in Bombay. His portrait as an old man is in possession of the Parsee Lady Mithoraine Batlibhai.

A meeting of the Asiatic Society in August 1823, at which

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\* No doubt the origin of the prenomens Thomas Babington Macaulay.



the Hon'ble M. Elphinstone presided, consisted of the Arch-deacon, Messrs. Wedderburn, Farish, Henderson, Lieutenant-Colonel H. Blair Gordon, Kembball, Norris, Macleod, Captain Bruce, Dr. Sproule, Norton, Fawcett, D. Malcolm, Elliott, Harlow, Waddington, Ogilvie, Prinsep, J. R. Stuart, Brydon, Ritchie, Arbuthnot, Bruce and the Secretary General Vans Kennedy.

#### LONGEVITY.

There were two patriarchs of Bombay who disappeared in this decade. In 1815, died General Kenneth Macpherson, who had fought for Prince Charles at Culloden. His home was near Sion, on the Tanna road. Everybody knew and respected him. On the 9th May 1818, died George Dick. He had come out as a writer in 1759. He had never been out of Bombay except an occasional trip to Bancoot, for nearly sixty years. He died in Byculla, and his name may be seen in the list of the Governors of Bombay in 1795. He was universally respected and there is a tablet to his memory in the Cathedral. 1834, 15th May, at Madras, died General Sir Andrew McDowall, K.C.B. He had been 51 years in the country without going home. At his funeral 15 men of the 63rd regiment fainted, having walked four miles in the hottest time of the day, leaving their barracks at 4 P.M., of whom one Sergeant and two corporals died and were buried next day.

Charles Crommelin, Governor of Bombay, 1760-67. "Served the Company 35 years, returned to England in 1757, suffered greatly in trade, returned to India in 1772 as a free merchant, and now (1777) resides at Canton." He had joined the Company in 1732. James Forbes saw him at Goa in 1784 when he was acting British Consul.

Can this be the same man whose tomb in the Presidency graveyard at Kasimbazar, Morshedabad, is described by Mr. Beveridge, in the Calcutta Review, July 1892?

The inscription—

C. Crommelin, 81. December 25, 1788,  
seems to indicate that he may have wandered there at last.  
Requiescat in Pace.

#### EXPORTS.

The Bombay exports, in the three years ending 1815, amounted *ad valorem* to 45 crores. With the advent of machinery, England now exported, instead of importing cotton goods—which leads a merchant to exclaim, in 1819: "Who could have imagined fifty years since, that Manchester and Glasgow would send muslins to Bengal?" The tide had completely turned. One can scarcely imagine the horror with which people contemplated the spectacle of an East Indiaman loading coals for the East. And as for freights, one groan must suffice.

1817—"Freights have fallen from £8 to £6 per ton, which can never pay even the expenses of the voyage. What would have been thought of 15s. per ton? However, throughout most of this decade, exchange was 2s. 6d. and 2s. 8d.

#### EXCHANGE.

The reason of such a high exchange in India at this time is not far to seek. The whole Peninsula was swarming, in 1819, with armed men. War and tumult filled every corner of it. In such times there is no need to ask where money goes. It simply disappears.

The English Government were in great want of the sinews of war in India, for I think I am within the bounds of truth when I say, that the army of the Dekhan, with its subsidiary forces, numbered 100,000 men. Those men required to be clothed and fed, and the money somehow had to be found. Given time, the resources of England are always equal to any emergency, and bullion came out and exchange dropped and dropped, until, in 1824, it reached 1s. 8d. In 1816 it had been 2s. 8d. When the rupee reached its lowest depth of degradation, I cannot find a single groan. There were certainly no petitions, no meetings, no letters in the newspapers or journals. The situation was accepted, and men made the best of it.

A nephew who had gone home, recounted to his uncle the great improvements in Bombay. "I don't want to hear of your improvements. Give me back 2s. 8d. and 10 per cent." was the reply.

1817—6 months' sight, or 12 months' date, Bills on London  
2s. 6d. to 2s. 8d. per Sicca Rupee.

1823—November 10th, 6 months' sight Bills 1s. 8d.

1824—April 5th ditto 1s. 10d. to 1s. 10½d.

" June 19th ditto 1s. 8d.

1825—July 2nd ditto 1s. 10d.

1826—January 11th ditto 1s. 11d.

#### COUNCIL BILLS.

1843—January. The Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, "com-  
plains of evils and greivances to which trade is subjected by  
the extraordinary fluctuations and uncertainty in the rates of  
Exchange, caused by the mode in which the Court of Directors  
at present provide themselves with the funds required for the  
home charges.

"Prays that the Exchange operations between the two  
countries may be placed on a sound and proper footing and be  
conducted on some fixed, just and well understood principles."

In May 1837 Sterling Bills were ... 2s. 3d.

In July " ditto ... 1s. 9½d.

In Sept. " ditto ... 1s. 9d.

## BULLION.

The shipment of bullion to India was attended with some risk. Angria's fleet and the Barbary Corsairs were by this time pretty well disposed off, and war risks were covered by Insurance. But what about your own flesh and blood, when a man's enemies become those of his own household?

One looks for piracy on the high seas, but not at Greenwich or Blackwall. Read the following: The year is 1816. Fairly & Co. despatch 13 chests of dollars (£13,000) to Calcutta, intended for the "Lady Campbell" lying at Greenwich. They were put into a hoy which proceeded down the river. Darkness came on. During the night a small craft hailed them and came alongside, apparently with two men only on board, to ask some questions. The sudden drawing aside of a tarpaulin revealed twenty men, who at once scrambled into the hoy, armed with pistols and cutlasses. "Your money or your life," was the question. They broke into the hold, and took seven chests, each containing four bags of 1,000 dollars each.

Some of the robbers with their plunder, were caught in the Essex marshes. Thinking it was low water, they sank three chests in the sand, meaning to recover them at their leisure. But when the tide went out, one of the box ends cropped up, and their purpose was baffled. The robbers were veritable pirates and were called the "Blackwall Gang."

## INDIAN WHEAT.

I dare say, in these days, the export of wheat to England was deemed by most men chimerical. Lord Dalhousie gets the credit of having been the first to point out the advantages of an Indian wheat supply for England. But in September, 1818, H. T. Colebrooke, President of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, anticipated him by nearly forty years. Here are his words:—

"That India is capable of supplying wheat, and that the difference of the usual prices there and in England is amply sufficient to defray the charges of importation, and leave an adequate profit, has elsewhere been intimated."

Not until early in "the fifties," however, was anything done, when three cargoes of wheat found their way to London, to the infinite regret and loss of those who had the doing of it. I am within the bounds of truth when I say, that it took the importers *years* to get quit of it. There is an Italian proverb: "He that deals in corn shall die on straw." The importers nearly realised the truth of it. It was in the face of such difficulties that attempts were made to open the wheat trade.

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## ART. VI.—“IN THE DAYS OF VLADIMIR SUN-BRIGHT.”

### PROLOGUE.

“A giant oak upon a headland,  
A golden chain among the leaves.  
Where, day and night, a cat of learning  
Along the chain a circle weaves,  
And on the right, he sings a legend,  
And on the left, a story tells.  
There marvels are :—The wood-sprite wanders ;  
A water-witch is weaving spells.  
Among the trees, on sightless pathways,  
Are tracks of monsters seen no more.  
A hut, on crooked claws uplifted,  
Without a window or a door.  
Through wood and vale, dim voices rumble ;  
And, at the dawn, the billows tumble  
Along the rugged rocky coast ;  
And thirty knights, in armour shining,  
Step forth across the waves inclining,  
Before their sea-weed bearded host.  
A princess in a dungeon weeping,  
A grey wolf near her, vigil keeping,  
And there a king's son, as he passes,  
Takes prisoner a horrid fear.  
Among the clouds, before the masses,  
Above the woods, along the sky,  
A wizard and a hero fly.  
Yaga within her bowl of stone  
Goes trundling onward all alone.  
King skull lies gasping on his gold,  
There breathes the life of Russia old.  
There was I led ; drank draughts of mead ;  
And saw the oak upon the headland ;  
Beneath it sat. The cat of learning  
His wondrous stories told to me.  
One I remember, as he told it,  
To all the world I now unfold it.”

PUSHKIN,

*Ruslan and Ludmila.*

IN the throne city it was, in Kieff ; in the city of Prince Vladimir Sun-Bright. A festival, a day of honour for princes and warriors ; for strangers in the city and merchants ; for all who happened to the feast. When the guests had eaten at the long tables ; when they had drunk green wine and mead ; filled with feasting, they began to boast. One boasted of his might in war. One boasted of his noble birth. Another, of his swift horses. Another, of his silken cloak.

But among all assembled, Stavýor Godínovich alone, the young merchant guest from Chernigoff, ate not nor drank not ; nor broke the white swan's flesh ; nor boasted of anything.

To him through the hall came Vladimir Sun-Bright ; to Stavyòr spoke words like these :—

Nay, then, young Stavyòr Godinovich, why sittest thou, eating not, nor drinking, nor feasting ; nor breaking my white swan's flesh, nor boasting of anything ? Or haply the men of Chernigoff have nought to boast !

When Stavyòr Godinovich made answer :—

Little need have I to boast among you. If I boasted,—should I boast of my father's name ? But my father and mother are dead and gone. If I boasted,—should I boast of my golden wealth ? But my golden wealth is safe enough. Little gains and little coins, I keep not. If I boasted,—should I boast of my flowered robes ? But my flowered robes are hardly worn. I have ever thirty youths in my house ; thirty youths, all master tailors. They sew me new castàns and cloaks. A day I wear them ; two days I wear them ; then bring them to the booths on the market place ; to your princes and your warriors I sell them, and take the full price unbated.

Or should I boast of my leathern shoes ? But my leathern shoes are little used. I have ever thirty youths in my house ; thirty youths, all master shoemakers. They sew me leathern shoes all new ; a day I wear them ; two days I wear them ; then bring them to the booths on the market place ; I sell them to your princes and warriors, and take the full price unbated.

Or should I boast of my swift horses ? But my swift horses,—I hardly ride them. I have thirty mares of golden sides that ever bear me unblemished foals. The best of them I ride myself ; the worse I drive to the market place. To your princes and warriors I sell them, and take the full price unbated.

Little cause have I to boast among you. Or should I boast of my new-wed wife ? Of Vassilissa, Mikùla's child ? Of her forehead, whiter than the moon ; and her hair that glimmers like the stars ; and her brows blacker than the sable fur ; her eyes are brighter than the swift falcon's wing. She would buy and sell you, princes, warriors ! and for thee, Vladimir Sun-Bright, she would make thee mad !

The faces of the guests grew black ; and his boasting pleased not Vladimir Sun-Bright. And Vladimir, full of anger, spoke words like these :—

My servants all ? my faithful servants ! Seize young Stavyòr Godinovich ! By his white hands seize him ; by his fingers with their golden rings ! Hale him away to the chill prison, for this boasting of his, and words of little courtesy. Feed him there on bread and water, nor for less nor more, but for six full years. There may Stavyòr win back his senses ; there let him

find his wits again. For we would see how Stavyòr's new-wed wife may draw her boaster from the dungeon; how she buys and sells you, warriors, princes; and for me, Vladimir, how she makes me mad! And the servants, hearing, seized Stavyòr Godinovich; by his white hands seized him; by his fingers with their golden rings. And they carried him to the chill dungeon, buckled with bolts of steel, and locked with bars of iron, giving him for food bread and water.

Then sent Vladimir Sun-Bright a stern envoy to Chernìgoff, the city of Stavyòr Godinovich: to set a seal upon his house, to bring his new-wed wife to Kieff.

At that season, to Stavyòr's young wife, to Vassilissa, Mikùla's child, came the joyless tidings of her well-loved husband Stavyòr Godinovich; that by Vladimir Sun-Bright, Prince of Kieff, he was cast into the dungeon of the prison; nor for more nor less, but for six full years.

Then Vassilissa thought within herself:—To ransom Stavyòr with money?—nay, I may not ransom him. To save Stavyòr by force? nay by force may I not save him. Haply I may win Stavyòr from the dungeon by woman's wit and woman's craftiness.

Went then Vassilissa, Mikula's child, through her long white halls of stone; and Vassilissa cried aloud in tones most pitiful—Come! hasten hither, my faithful servants! cut off my chestnut hair; bring me an envoy's dress; saddle me a war-horse fit for heroes!

And her servants, obeying, hastened to her, cut off her chestnut tresses like a man's; brought her such dress as envoys wear, and saddled her a hero's horse. Vassilissa, clad in the envoy's robe, called herself envoy of the golden Horde; the stern envoy, Vassili, Mikùla's child. Then gathered she brave comrades, forty youths, strong wrestlers; forty youths, skilful archers, and came thus as envoy toward Kieff, the city of Prince Vladimir Sun-Bright.

And they were come already halfway, when a stern envoy from Kieff met them. Then the envoys rode together, and greeted as great envoys are wont; joining the hands with courtly kiss. The Kieff envoy questioned them:—greeting to you all, good youths from far? whither journey? where does God lead you? And they answered to the envoy words like these:—

From distant lands are we; from the golden Horde; from the dog, fierce Kàlin, the Tartar king. We journey toward Kieff, the throne-city of Vladimir Sun-Bright; to receive from him the unpaid tribute, nor for more nor less, but for twelve full years; for every year three thousand pieces. Then the Kieff envoy bethought him; bethought him, and spoke in answer:—

I also, a stern envoy from Kieff, journey to Chernigoff, the city of Stavyòr Godinovich ; to set a seal upon his house ; to bring his new-wed wife to Kieff.

Then the brave youths from far addressed him :—

We ever made halt there, but now, passing by, we halted not. For the doors were closed, and Stavyòr's young wife was gone to distant lands, to the golden Horde.

Quickly the Kieff envoy turned him back, and journeyed to the city of Prince Vladimir Sun-Bright. Told to Vladimir secretly that, from distant lands, from the golden Horde, a hard ambassador was come toward Kieff ; from the dog, fierce Kàlin, the Tartar king. And Vladimir was troubled ; and haste and hurry were through the city, to sweep the streets and deck them with pine branches. Before the gates they waited for the envoy, from the dog, fierce Kàlin, the Tartar king.

The stern envoy Vassili, Mikùla's child, riding not to the city Kieff, spread his white tent in the open ; at the white tent leaving his companions, rode alone to Kieff, to Vladimir Sun-Bright.

The envoy rode forward to the gates ; then sprang from his battle horse, and struck the lance butt in the ground ; hanging the reins on a golden nail. Asking not those that waited without, entered straight the walls of stone. Mounted the stairway in silence, crossing the ante-chamber, entered the Prince's banquet hall. Then crossed himself by scripture ordinance, bowing to all by rule of courtesy. Bowed before Vladimir and his princes ; and with signal honour to the prince's niece, young Zabàva Putyàtina.

Then spoke Vladimir to the stern envoy :—

Hail to thee, envoy of the golden Horde ! Be seated with us at the oaken tables ; rest thee of the weariness of thy journey.

But the stern envoy made answer :—

Nay, Vladimir of Kieff ! not thus may envoys rest, not for this are envoys sent. I come from the dog, fierce Kàlin, to claim from thee the unpaid tribute ; nor for more nor less, but twelve full years, for every year three thousand pieces. And for me, the envoy, Vassili Mikùla's child, I would receive in marriage thy well-loved niece, thy niece Zabàva Putyàtina.

Then spoke Vladimir, Prince of Kieff :—

Be it so, Vassili, Mikùla's child. But I would weigh the matter with my niece. And, leading her forth, Vladimir questioned her, and took counsel with his niece :—

Answer me, well-loved niece ; wilt thou wed the envoy ? wilt thou wed Vassili, Mikula's child ?

But Zabàva answered him secretly :—

Nay, uncle well-beloved, what perverse purpose is thine ?

What is this thou hast dreamed of? wed not a maiden to a woman, nor make the laughing-stock for holy Russia!

Then spoke Vladimir, Prince of Kieff:—

Nay, but well-beloved niece,—why should I not wed thee to the stern envoy; to the envoy of the dog Kàlin, the Tartar king?

But Zabàva answered him:—

Nay, is this no envoy, but a woman! For the signs of womanhood I know them. As a swan swims, she walks the high way, and mounts the stairs with little steps, seats her on the bench with knees together, glancing hither and thither under her eye-lids. Her voice sometime piping like a woman; and her waist is slender like a woman, and her hands are pliant like a woman; and her fingers taper like a woman, and the wedding ring marks still upon them! Nay, such a pair of us wed, would die of weariness!

Then Vladimir Sun-Bright of Kieff made answer:—

I go to make trial of the envoy; if he be no youth, but a woman, then will he not wrestle like a man.

And Prince Vladimir chose out seven young wrestlers, brothers five, Prichteuka, and the two Khapyloffs. Brought them forth to the wide court-yard, went then to Vassili, Mikùla's child, speaking to him words like these:

Young Vassili, Mikùla's child, wilt thou make thee pastime with the wrestlers, to contend with them on the broad court-yard? Answered Vassili, Mikùla's child:—

Nay, I have none to wrestle with them; my wrestlers are waiting in the open. Or should I vie with them myself?—for from a child I played by the highways, joining me in the children's battle games.

And so went forth to the wrestlers in the court-yard, where they stood in the midst of it, young Vassili, Mikùla's child.

Grappling with his right hand three wrestlers; grappling with his left hand three wrestlers; hurled them together and cast them from him, and the seventh overwhelmed beneath. And the seven lay, and rose not again.

Then Prince Vladimir spat, and so returned. Nay, foolish Zabàva, scant of wisdom, though thy locks are long, thy wit is short. A woman! thou sayest, of such a hero as was never seen in embassy!

But Zabàva bent not to the Prince's words.

Nay, Prince and well-loved uncle; no stern envoy this, but a woman; with all the signs that women show!

Then spoke Vladimir of Kieff:—

Once more I make trial of the envoy; if he be no youth but a woman, then will he not bend the tough bow.

And so chose forth twelve archers, famed all, and great warriors; and came to Vassili, Mikùla's child:—



Young Vassili, Mikùla's child ! wilt thou make thee pastime with the archers to contend at a verst off, with the tough bow ? Answered Vassili, Mikùla's child :—

But I have none to vie with them For my archers are waiting in the open. Or should I contend with them myself ?—for from childhood I played by the highways, and with the others bent the tough bow !

Then the twelve archers going forth, bent their tough bows against an oak, striking the oak from a verst off. But from their keen pointed arrows, and from their shooting worthy of heroes, the oak shivered only, as though the wild winds were abroad

Spoke the envoy Vassili, Mikùla's child :—

Nay, thou Vladimir, Prince of Kieff, not for me the bows of thy heroes ! Bid rather to bring mine own bow, that follows me ever from distant lands.

Swiftly went the brave youths ; under one end of the bow, five youths ; under the other end, other five. And thrice ten youths bore the quiver, and the arrows of hardened steel. Then spoke Vassili the envoy to Vladimir :—

Now, Prince, my turn to make thee pastime ! And his left hand grasped the arrow of hardened steel, and drew the tough bow to his ear ; and the silken bow string sang aloud to the tough bow, and the arrow of hardened steel cried shrilly. The strong, mighty heroes were smitten down with the wind of it ; and Prince Vladimir fell upon his knees. And the arrow lashed upon the oak, and rent the oak into knife handles, and the envoy Vassili spoke words like these :—

Sad pity for the knotted oak, but more pity for my arrow-head. For never may I find it in the open !

But Prince Vladimir spat, and so returned ; and Vladimir spoke within him words like these :—

Shall I myself make trial of the envoy ? And so bid them to bring the chess-board, and to set the golden pieces ; and to the envoy spoke words like these :—

Young Vassili, Mikùla's child, wilt thou make trial with the chessmen, as they move the pieces in foreign lands ?

And Vassili, Mikùla's child made answer :—

But my skilful players are in the open. Or should I vie with thee myself ?—for from a child, I have ranged the chessmen, and checked the others, and checkmated them ! Come then, thou skilful player Vassili ; stake thy unpaid tribute on the issue ; and I, the Prince stake my city Kieff !

Then the two began to move the pieces, ranging to and fro across the board. In the first, the envoy had advantage ; yielding not to the skill of Vladimir Sun-Bright. At the second, put the Prince in check ; yet another, he won the game. Check, and mate, and all the pieces fallen !

Come, then, Vladimir Sun-Bright, thou hast lost to me thy city Kieff!

And Vladimir, the Prince made answer :—

Take rather, envoy, my head and my princess? But the envoy answered words like these :—

Nay, I need thee not, nor thy princess! Thy Kieff, too, I need not! give me rather to wife thy niece Zabava Putyàtina!

Then Vladimir, joyful, speaking no more with Zabava, consented to the wedding of his niece, and the stern envoy of King Kàlin :—

All praise to thee, Vassili, Mikhla's child! Forthwith, if thou wilt, the wedding and the festival!

And they prepared and made ready the festival; and the day of honour for the wedding. And the third day of the feast was come; and to-day they should go to the church of God. But the envoy was cast down, and sad of face; and Prince Vladimir thus addressed him :—

Nay, but young Vassili, why art thou not merry? Why dost thou droop thy dauntless head? And Vassili the envoy answered :—

Something in my heart hath made me sad! Or my father lies dead at home; or my mother has entered her long rest. Hast thou by thee merry zither-players, skilled to play the twisted zither? And to sing of new days that are with us, and to sing of old days that are gone.

Then brought forth Vladimir skillful zither-players; and they played, but not merrily, nor could they cheer the envoy. And Vassili, the envoy, spoke again to Vladimir :—

Hast thou, Vladimir of Kieff, none amongst thy prisoners here, who are skilled with the zither?

And Vladimir brought forth prisoners to play upon the zither. Played all, but yet not merrily. And the envoy Vassili spoke again :—

Is there not among you in Kieff, a merchant guest from Chérnigoff? One by name Stavyòr Godinovich? For a fame of him is abroad, that his skill surpasses with the zither; and to sing of new days that are with us, and to sing of old days that are gone.

And Vladimir Sun-Bright spoke within himself :—

If I loose Stavyòr, I lose Stavyòr. If I loose him not, I loose the envoy's wrath! But Vladimir dared not loose the envoy's wrath; but sent to bring Stavyòr Godinovich. They brought Stavyòr forth from the dungeon, and led him to the feast of honour. And the envoy rose swiftly to his feet, and set Stavyòr beside him on the oaken bench. And Stavyòr began to try the zither, and to twang one string to another. And one string he had from the city Kieff; and one string from

Chernigoff town ; and the third from the Emperor's city, and the Bosphorus. And he began a holy and mighty chant, in honor of the prince and of the princess. Then sang he songs from across the sea ; and the princes and warriors marvelled ; and the envoy fell into a dream. Then the envoy addressed Stavyòr, and spoke to him words like these :—

Hail to thee, merry zither-player ! Can it be, Stavyòr Godìnovich, that thou knowest me not ?

But Stavyòr Godìnovich answered :—

Nay, and how should I know thee ? Then the envoy spoke words like these :—

Vladimir Sun-Bright, I need not thy unpaid tribute ; but give me rather this merry youth ; give me rather Stavyòr Godìnovich ! And Vladimir the Prince, thought within himself :—

If I loose Stavyòr, I lose Stavyòr ! If I loose him not, I loose the envoy's wrath ! But Vladimir dared not loose the envoy's wrath ; and delivered up Stavyòr to the envoy out of hand. And the envoy uttered words like these :—

Come then Stavyòr Godìnovich ! Let us together to the open, to my brave companions. And, seated on swift horses, they rode and came to where the brave companions were. And Vassili the envoy entered the white tent, and returned Vassillssa, in woman's robe :—

Hail to thee, Stavyòr Godìnovich ! Or dost thou not yet know me ?

Then answered Stavyòr Godìnovich :—

Thou art my well-loved wife ; thou art Vassillssa, Mikùla's child !

How came it that thou Stavyòr, Godìnovich, wast cast into the dungeon of Vladimir Sun-Bright ?

For that I boasted thee my new-wed wife ; how thou'ldst buy and sell their warriors and princes ; and, for Vladimir Sun-Bright, thou wouldst make him mad ! But let us mount quickly our swift horses, and homeward away to Chernigoff !

Then spoke Vassillssa, Mikùla's child :—

No honour nor praise of worthy youth were it to us, to steal away like robbers out of Kieff ! Return me rather to play the wedding out ; for princes and warriors are bought and sold ; and for Vladimir Sun-Bright, I have made him mad ! So they returned to Kieff to Prince Vladimir ; and Vassillssa thus addressed him :—

Know, Prince Vladimir Sun-Bright, I, the envoy Vassili, am Vassillssa, Stavyòr's young wife. I am come to play the wedding out. Give me, therefore, thy comely niece in marriage !

Then spoke Zabáva Putyàtina : " See to it my uncle, Prince Vladimir ! Thou 'ldst have wed a maiden to a woman ! Thou 'ldst have made thee laughing stock for holy Russia."

Thus spoke Zabàva Putyàtina ; and Vladìmir Sun-Bright hung his dauntless head in shame ; with bright eyes downcast, upon the well-tiled floor. But after a little he spoke words like these :—

Praise to thee, Stavyòr Godìnovich ; for thou hast boasted well thy new-wed wife. For she bought and sold us, warriors and princes, and for me, Vladìmir, she made me mad ! And for that brave boast of thine, trade thou ever with my city Kieff ; trade thou ever without tax or tribute !

So they departed and went from the city Kieff to their own Chernìgoff ; young Stavyòr Godìnovich, and Vassilìssa, Mikula's child, and the prince and princess bore them company.

So they sang Stavyor of olden time,  
By the silence of the purple sea.

C. J.

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## ART. VII.—MORFILL'S POLAND.

*Poland.* By W. R. Morfill, M.A., Reader in Russian and the Slavonic languages in the University of Oxford, &c., &c., (Story of the Nation Series) London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1893.

**I**T is a favourite theory of a school of historians that the life of nations is mortal, like that of individuals; that they are born, and grow, and die; that their existence may be divided into periods of lusty youth, stormy or prosperous middle-age, and senile decrepitude. But it is seldom that the history of a nation affords us such a conspicuous example of this theory in a clear view of its beginning and its end, its rise and its fall, as is allowed by the fortunes of Poland, narrated by Mr. Morfill in his latest contribution to the "Story of the Nations" Series.

Poland was originally an appanage of the Holy Roman Empire, the Imperial European system with its centre in Germany which took the place of the Roman Empire of the West. She was a member of the European comity of nations for a thousand years. She was a great power, while Russia was still under the Tartar yoke, and Spain was struggling to free herself from the domination of the Arabs. And it is now just a hundred years since Europe witnessed her death agonies, and assisted at her funeral obsequies.

The story of Poland is invaluable to the historical student, for the clear illustration of cause and effect which it affords, for the political lessons which it teaches the more plainly by manifest results.

The shortcomings of the French *noblesse* in the eighteenth century ruined their ancient monarchy and their own order: the failure of the Anglo-Irish landlords to fulfil the duties of their station, now threatens the dismemberment of the United Kingdom; but the misconduct of the Polish aristocracy was the clear cause of the ruin of their country, and of the obliteration of her name from the roll-call of the nations. Poland was the only state in Europe in which the original principles of the Feudal System remained in force to the last; in which the limited monarchy of the Middle Ages was not supplanted, either by an absolute monarchy as in France and Spain, or by a constitutional monarchy as in England and Sweden.

In Poland alone no standing army, depending on the Crown and ready to enforce its authority, usurped the place of the feudal militia, and threatened the prerogatives of its chiefs. No middle-class arose between the noble and the peasant,

representing trade and commerce, art and industry. The Poland of the eighth century, with a hundred thousand nobles ruling absolutely over the lives and fortunes of ten millions of serfs, had become an anachronism in the eighteenth, which could no longer be tolerated in civilized Europe, in the era which gave birth to the French Revolution.

Yet Russia, with a constitution similarly anachronistic, survives and flourishes; an oriental despotism in a Christian and European community, an absolute autocracy in a world, either wholly grown, or daily growing, more democratic, with all her shortcomings, she remains the head of a great political and religious system, representing the faith of eastern Christendom and the hopes of the Slavonic race. Poland, too, was a Slavonian State, but her Catholic religion put her outside the pale of Slave sympathies, while her alien descent always excited the antipathy of her Teutonic and Scandinavian neighbours. Religious bigotry separated her from her kinsfolk; and race antipathy from her co-religionists. An aristocratic oligarchy in the Europe of the eighteenth century was an anachronism, a nation of Catholic Slaves was an anomaly; and both have now ceased to exist.

The successive invasions of the lands of the decaying Roman Empire by swarms of barbarians from the North and East, were concluded with the Slavonian migration which brought the Chrobatians, or Croats, to the shores of the Adriatic, and the Czechs and Poles to the frontiers of Germany. The early history of the Polish nation, as narrated by its own annalists and romancers, is a mass of legendary fable, which Mr. Morfill has not taken the trouble to transcribe, founded on the simple principle found in the tenth chapter of Genesis and other oriental ethnologies, of personifying the general name of a people or nation as its ancestor or founder. The story goes that the Slavonians migrated from the shores of the Black Sea to Central Europe under the guidance and leadership of three brothers, named Lechus, Cechus, and Rusus. The first founded the kingdom of Poland, the original Slavonic name of which was Lech, by which appellation it is still known to the Ottoman Turks as Lehistan. At the spot on which Lechus fixed as the termination of his wanderings, he had a tree cut down to make room for his permanent abode; and in the top branches of the fallen tree was found an eagle's nest, from which circumstantial omen the chieftain adopted an eagle with outstretched wings as the symbol and crest of the new kingdom; and the white eagle ever continued to be the national badge of Poland.

Cechus founded the Slave kingdom of Bohemia, the people of which were called Czechs after him; and the third brother,

Russus, became the ancestor of the Red Russians, or Ruthenians, of Galicia.

The myth proceeds to relate how Cracow, the old capital of Poland, was founded by Cracus ; a descendant of the Gracchi, famous in Roman history ; and how the most ancient dynasty of the Polish monarchy known to authentic history was founded by a peasant, or wheelright, named Piast, aided by the miraculous intervention of angels.

The actual history of Poland begins with the king reputed to be the fifth of the Piast dynasty, Mieczyslaw, or Mieszko, who reigned in Poland from the year 962 to 992 A.D. The Western Slaves were naturally much affected by the influence of their more civilised and Christian neighbours of Germany ; and the Bohemians had already become Christians. Mieczyslaw married a daughter of the king of Bohemia, and adopted her faith ; and his people readily followed his lead. The form of Christianity which they adopted was that professed by the Western Church, while the Russians and the Southern Slaves, who were converted from Paganism about the same time by the labours of Byzantine Missionaries, joined the Greek communion : and Poland thus found herself severed from her kindred Slavonian nations by a difference of creed, which was in those days a controlling political force.

The name of Poland was adopted from the vast plains (Pola in the Slavonic tongue) stretching from the shores of the Baltic to those of the Black Sea, which were the principal natural features of the new kingdom. Mieczyslaw paid homage to the German Emperor Otho, and was admitted as a feudatory of the Holy Roman Empire, under the title of Grand Duke of Poland : his son and successor Boleslaus the Brave, received the title of king from the same monarch ; but it was subsequently suffered to fall into abeyance by the Western powers, and it was not till several generations afterwards that the style of royalty was solemnly conferred upon the Sovereign of Poland by the Emperor and the Pope. The Crown was elective, as it was originally in all the kingdoms of Europe ; but as in the case of the Saxon monarchy of England, the son generally succeeded to the father's throne, subject to the approbation and confirmation of the popular voice. Four and twenty kings of the Piast dynasty succeeded each other on the throne, though not in a direct line, and their reigns occupied a space of four hundred years.

The late Poet Laureate wrote—

“ Oh, for those days of Piast, ere the Czar,  
Grew to this strength amid his deserts cold.”

Many of these kings are distinguished in Polish history by nick names ; as Boleslas the Bold, Boleslas the Wry-mouthed,

Boleslas the Curly (Crispus), Leszek the White, Leszek the Black, Ladislaus Longshanks, Ladislaus the Short, who reigned long, resigning and returning to the throne three times. Casimir the Great reigned forty years, and in his time Poland was at the zenith of its power and prosperity. It had survived the desolation wrought by the Mogul invasions, which recurred through a period of fifty years in the thirteenth century. The greatest of these raids was made by Bátor Khan, the grandson of Changhiz Khan, with a horde of half a million of Mogul horsemen. After subjugating Russia, he entered and traversed Poland, his destroying bands eating up the country like a swarm of locusts. The Poles fell back before him till they were joined by the German princes and the Teutonic knights, who united with them to give battle to the savage invaders at Liegnitz, in Silesia. The Christians were overwhelmed by the multitude of the Pagans; and the victorious Moguls filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain.

From thence Bátor Khan turned southwards into Hungary, and Poland was evacuated by his followers for fresh fields and pastures new. But for some time after they made frequent inroads from Russia, and in one raid they are said to have carried off twenty thousand maidens as slaves, besides married women and children.

The Crown of Poland was during this period sometimes united with that of neighbouring countries through family alliances. Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, was also King of Poland, not long before the independence of the former country was finally swallowed up in the German Empire. In the struggle for existence the more active and enterprising German perpetually pushed the Slave eastward, and the provinces of Poland, on the shores of the Baltic, became, to a great extent, peopled by German colonists. All the trade and commerce of Poland was in the hands of Germans, Jews, and Armenians.

The order of Teutonic knights having given up the defence of the Holy Land as hopeless against the repeated attacks of the Turks and Mamlúks, had returned to Europe to inaugurate a fresh crusade against the heathens of Prussia and Lithuania.

During their Holy Wars there were continual quarrels between the knights and the Poles on the score of territorial jurisdiction, and the swords of the crusaders freely shed Christian as well as heathen blood: but at length the feud was appeased by the Grand Master of the order, Count Albert of Brandenburg, doing homage to the King of Poland for the Duchy of East Prussia. The German county of Brandenburg has now become one of the great Powers of Europe, while the kingdom of Poland has been dismembered to swell the pomp of its ancient vassal



The Crowns of Poland and Hungary were united under Louis, nephew and successor of Casimir the Great ; and, he dying without male issue, his daughter, Jadwiga, or Hedwig, succeeded provisionally to the throne. Her hand was sought by many suitors for the dignity and power which it held ; but she conferred it on Jagiello, the heathen Duke of Lithuania, on condition of his accepting Christianity. He ascended the Polish throne under the style of Ladislaus the second, and henceforth Poland and Lithuania became one kingdom ; a political union analogous to that of England and Scotland two centuries later. He founded the dynasty of the Jagellons, which endured through the reigns of seven monarchs, for a space of two hundred years : an eventful time which saw the rise of the Reformation in Europe, and the establishment of the Turks in the Balkan Peninsula. The second monarch of the line, Ladislaus the third, again united the crowns of Hungary and Poland, and led a crusade against the Ottoman intruders into Europe : his first campaign against the infidels was successful, and he drove them beyond the Balkans ; but in a second, he lost his army and his life on the field of Varna. The reformed doctrines of the Hussites in Bohemia, and of the Lutherans in Germany, were introduced into Poland under this dynasty, and found considerable acceptance ; especially among the German burghers of Thorn and Dantzic. There were already elements of religious discord in the nation, owing to the prevalence of the Greek or orthodox confession among the Ruthenians in Galicia ; and at different times vigorous efforts were made by the Romish clergy to reclaim these schismatics. One of these efforts was so far successful as to bring over a number of the orthodox to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope on condition that they should be permitted by Rome to retain the use of their Slavonic liturgy : and these hybrid Papists went by the name of Uniates. They were at one time to be found in great numbers in the kingdom of Poland ; but since its destruction, they have most of them returned to the bosom of the Greek Church.

All the Dissenters from the National Catholic Church in Poland went by the name of "Dissidents ;" and their struggles for recognition and toleration make up much of the later political history of the kingdom, and were a leading cause of the troubles which brought about its dismemberment.

But at first the Poles agreed to differ, and to adjust their religious rivalries equitably and amicably. Under Sigismund Augustus, the last king of the House of Jagellon, all the Dissidents were granted full toleration, and the free exercise of their respective religions. It was in this reign also that the "Pacta Conventa," the Magna Charta of the Polish nobi-

lity, was framed, confirming and securing all their privileges against possible infringement by the Crown. Every monarch was hereafter obliged to subscribe to these *Pacta Conventa*, and the elective king ever after remained a puppet in the hands of the national aristocracy.

Contrary to the course of events in other European nations, the nobility in Poland contrived to keep the reins of power in their own hands, and to exclude the king on one side, and the mass of the people on the other, from acquiring or exercising any political power.

The nation was governed by a Parliament called the Diet, which was composed of an Upper and a Lower House. The former was called the Senate: its members were Senators *ex officio*, and were of two classes, spiritual and temporal.

The first were Archbishops and Bishops; they took precedence of Senators temporal, and the Primate of the kingdom was always President of the Senate. The temporal Senators were the Palatines, Castellans, and the Ministers of State. The former were the governors of Palatinates, or Provinces, like the English Lord Lieutenants of counties: the Castellans were the governors of the fortified towns and castles of the kingdom: the Ministers of State were fourteen, seven for Poland, and seven for Lithuania, namely, for each kingdom a Grand Marshal, a High Chancellor, a Vice-Chancellor, a General in Chief, a Lieutenant-General, a High Treasurer, and a Sub-Treasurer. These were all appointed by the Crown. The Lower House was filled by elected representatives. The nobles of each Palatinate met in a local Diet, and elected some of their number to represent them at the general Diet: these representatives were called *Nuntios*. Their only necessary qualification was that they must be over twenty-three years of age.

The Diet assembled annually at a place of meeting fixed by the King, and its sittings lasted only six weeks. The Houses at first sat separately to observe certain formalities: the Lower House elected a Speaker. Two days afterwards both houses assembled in the Senate House to open the session. The assembly was in the fashion of an oriental Durbar. The king on his throne was in the centre of one end of the hall; the princes of the blood, and chief officers of state on his right and left; the senators, sitting according to precedence, occupied arm chairs along each side of the room. Behind their chairs were rows of benches raised in tiers, and covered with scarlet cloth, on which the *nuntios* sat. The senators might remain covered in the presence of the king; like the French *noblesse* in the States-General: but the *nuntios* were not allowed this privilege.

The proceedings of the Diet were opened by the *Pacta Con-*

venta being read aloud. Any member might rise to complain of any infringement of them that might have occurred since the last assembly of the Diet.

The Lord High Chancellor then read the speech from the throne. The king then nominated three Senators, and the speaker nominated six *Nuntios* to prepare and bring in the measures to be passed in that Session. Afterwards a committee of both Houses was elected to examine and pass the treasury accounts for the year ; and sixteen Senators were elected as members of the permanent Council.

This Council remained in attendance on the king when the Diet was not sitting, and he was bound to consult it in all State affairs.

The Houses then separated to debate the necessary measures, and re-assembled at the end of six weeks' time to confirm them. The Diet was then dismissed by the king.

An extraordinary Diet might be convened by the king at any time to consider an affair of urgency ; but it could sit only for a fortnight.

The Lower House possessed an extraordinary privilege in the "*Liberum Veto* ;" by which a single *nuntio*, by entering a protest, and refusing to take any further part in the debates, could annul the proceedings and put a stop to further business.

This senseless rule stultified Parliamentary Government in Poland and proved an effectual bar to progress. During the last hundred years of the existence of the Polish kingdom, no less than forty-eight of the annual Diets had to be dissolved owing to the exercise of this absurd privilege. The Polish legislators, however, clung to its maintenance with the same tenacity with which they always upheld the rights of their order, however unjust or unreasonable.

The mass of the people were serfs, cultivating the estates of the nobility, to whom the whole of the land belonged, with the exception of Crown and Church property. The laws were made and administered by the nobility, who alone had the right to carry arms. A nobleman, killing a peasant, was only liable to a paltry fine in expiation of the offence. The nobles were also exempted from all taxation, whereby the national treasury remained always extremely poor. The German burghers in the towns were allowed to govern themselves by their own laws—the "*Jus Magdeburgicum et Tentonicum*—," just as the Europeans, resident in Turkey and Egypt to-day, are allowed to be governed by the laws of their own countries under the "*Capitulations*."

All the shop-keeping and trading in the country was carried on by these Germans and by Jews. There was no Polish middle-class, but the majority of the nobles were by no means

wealthy, and many of them were miserably poor. At the time of the destruction of Poland a hundred years ago, it was computed that the number of the noble or equestrian class amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand. Every attempt at a reform of the constitution, or an amelioration of the condition of the peasantry, was opposed by this class tooth and nail, as likely to diminish its own privileges and importance. Any sketch of the royal prerogative, and sometimes its legitimate exercise was met by an aristocratic riot, which came to be known by the generic name of "Rokosz," a word which bears a curious resemblance to the English modern slang term "Rux," signifying much the same sort of thing.

In their dress and arms the Poles displayed more of the characteristics of an Asiatic than of a European nation. They partially shaved their heads and wore their mustachios long like the Turks ; their inner robe was girded about their waist with a sash, and their outer garment lined and trimmed with costly furs, was long and loose as an oriental Kaftan. They carried the curved sabre of the East instead of the rapier or broadsword of the West, but their favourite arm was the lance, which they adopted as the most effective weapon wherewith to foil the attacks of the scimitar-wielding Tartar and Turkish cavalry. The Polish national armies were composed almost entirely of horse : the nobles, armed with lances, fought in the front rank ; their henchmen, armed with carbines, formed a rear rank to their masters. Like the Turks, they spent much of their wealth on the caparison of their horses, and the adornment of their weapons. Their infantry was of poor quality : and an efficient standing army, able to meet the Swedish and German troops on anything like equal terms, was never established in Poland.

For the election of a new king an extraordinary Diet was assembled, which met on a plain near the capital, where temporary barracks were erected and an immense camp was pitched for its accommodation. The nobles came attended by a large following, and there were often serious riots and disorders. No candidate was allowed to be present in person ; they had to bribe or intrigue through their agents. In the final voting the nobles all paraded on horseback, and the Primate went round and collected their votes.

The event was generally a foregone conclusion, and as long as there was an heir apparent to the throne in the person of a Piast or a Jagellon, there was seldom a contested election ; but after the extinction of the latter dynasty, an election generally found two or more candidates competing for the vacant crown, and the competition was seldom concluded without a civil or foreign war.

France was always coquetting with Poland, as she now makes love to Russia, seeing in the Slavonic kingdom a possible and valuable ally against the formidable power of Imperial Germany. The general use of the Latin language by the Poles also led them to prefer the French to their German neighbours. Their adoption of Latin as a living language was due to the entire difference of the Slavonic tongue from the Latin and Teutonic languages of the rest of Europe. After the death of Sigismund Augustus, the Poles had much ado to find a new king ; but at last their choice fell on Henry of Valois, brother of Charles the Ninth, king of France, the perpetrator of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Papal and Catholic reaction was in full swing in Europe, and all the influence of the Romish Church was exerted in favour of the brother of the most Christian king: A more weak and worthless man could not well have been found ; but the Poles were infatuated in favour of French alliance. But Henry of Valois was not happy in Poland ; and at last he fairly ran away from his loving subjects, escaping from Cracow by stealth. They pursued him hotly, but could not overtake him before he had crossed the frontier into Germany. He appeased them by promising to come back again ; but, after waiting in vain for him for more than a year, they reluctantly gave him up, and proceeded to elect a new monarch. This time their choice fell on a Protestant, Stephen Batory, Prince of Transylvania. He had to renounce his creed in order to accept the proffered throne, but like Henry the Fourth of France in similar circumstances, he thought a crown well worth a Mass. He proved a brave and politic prince, and gave the Poles no reason to regret their choice. He was the first to give the roving Cossacks of the Ukraine and the island of the Dniester a military organisation ; and he formed six regiments from these Cossack colonies of pirates and moss-troopers in the bloody debateable ground lying between the frontiers of Christendom and Islam. Their ranks were continually recruited by Polish and Russian runaway serfs and fugitives from justice, and by Christian captives escaping from the Tartars and Turks. When assailed by the latter they placed themselves under the protection of Poland, as the nearest Christian Power, strong enough to protect them. Now King Stephen Batory organised regiments of them, each one thousand strong, to guard the frontier against the raids of the slave-hunting Tartars of the Crimea.

He did a more questionable service to his adopted country in establishing a Jesuit University at Wilna. The Society soon made its influence felt in Poland, and applied itself busily to attacking the position and the privileges of the Dissidents. In the succeeding reign of Sigismund Vasa, the

embers of religious strife were re-kindled anew. The Princess Katharine, sister of Sigismund Augustus, had married John Vasa, King of Sweden, and had succeeded in converting him from the Lutheran to the Catholic faith; and he strove in vain to persuade his Swedish subjects to follow his example.

On the death of Stephen Batory, Prince Sigismund Vasa, the son of John and Katharine, was elected to the Polish throne. The new king threw himself heart and soul into the work of the Catholic re-action. After his father's death, he succeeded to the throne of Sweden, but was expelled by the Swedes, on an attempt to re-establish Catholicism in that country. In his time Poland stood forth as the champion of Rome in Eastern Europe: and his long reign of five and forty years was occupied by wars against Protestant Swedes, orthodox Russians, and infidel Turks. In the Swedish war, Poland was overcome by the arms of the Protestant champion, Gustavus Adolphus, but she indemnified herself at the expense of Russia, who was in that evil period of her history known to the Muscovite chroniclers as the "time of the troubles," which took place between the failure of the ancient line of the grand Dukes of Moscow, and the accession of the House of Romanoff.

The Russian pretender, called the false Demetrius, was supported by the Polish arms; he married a Polish bride and confessed the Catholic faith.

After he had been murdered, King Sigismund tried to make his own son, Ladislaus, sovereign of Russia. His Jesuit advisers were obstinately bent on forcing their own creed on the reluctant Russians, and the oppression and spoliation committed by the Poles during their supremacy in Muscovy, was long and bitterly remembered by the Russians, and afterwards repaid with interest.

In the reign of Sigismund Vasa, the Polish Catholics began illegally persecuting the Dissidents, and the religious strife was commenced which, for the remaining two centuries of Polish history, turned the country into a battlefield between Catholics, Greeks and Protestants, and was the principal cause of its ruin.

In the reign of Sigismund Vasa, occurred the first Turkish invasion of Poland on a grand scale. As early as the year 1493. the Turks had made a cavalry raid into Poland through Moldavia; but, delaying over their plunder, they were overtaken by an unusually early and severe winter, and many of the invaders perished of cold and hardship. They did not repeat their visit till 1621, when their young Sultan Othman the Second, led a great army to attempt the conquest of Poland. The causes of the war were the depredations of the Tartars

of the Crimea on the Polish frontiers on the one hand, and of the Zaporavian Cossacks on the Turkish coasts of the Black Sea on the other. When the Sultan complained of these latter to the Polish king, he received the same answer which he had given to Polish remonstrances on the score of the Tartars. Such insolence on the part of the "Fuzulgiaur," (boasting infidel) as the Turks called the Poles, could not go unpunished; and Sultan Othman mustered his grand army, and crossed the Danube, while his fleet, carrying a large siege train and all kinds of warlike munitions, sailed from Constantinople for the mouth of the Dniester. While the army was delayed by the crossing of the Danube at Ishakchi, some hundred Cossack prisoners, taken by the fleet in the Black Sea, were brought to the Imperial camp. Some of these were distinguished by being made a target for the Sultan's own skill with the bow; the rest were given over for the soldiery to slaughter for their amusement, as was the Turkish custom. But even Turkish feeling was outraged when the Sultan, having expended the supply of Cossacks, and being unwilling to cease his pastime, set up some of his own pages as targets for his arrows. The Polish army assembled to repel the invasion, under the Crown General Chmelnicki, mustered about fifty thousand men: and it was aided by a contingent of eight thousand Germans sent by the Emperor, whose discipline and armament were much superior to that of either Poles or Turks. The Turkish army is reported by Christian chroniclers to have numbered three hundred thousand men: it was more likely half that number. The Poles formed several entrenched camps on the Dniester near Chotin, and awaited the attack of the enemy. The Sultan formed the siege of Chotin, and made many assaults on the Polish entrenchments, which were invariably repulsed: and the Poles in their turn made many sorties, sometimes with success.

After a month's hard fighting without any definite result and with very heavy loss to the Turks, the Sultan was fain to conclude peace, on the condition that the raids of the Cossacks and Tartars should mutually cease, and he led back his shattered army to Constantinople. He attributed the failure of the campaign to the misconduct of the Janissaries, and accused them of having traded their rations to the besieged Poles in return for wine; and the vain, rash youth provoked the enmity of the soldiery till they mutinied and murdered him; the first, though not the last of the House of Othman, who fell a victim to the fury of his own subjects.

There were great rejoicings throughout Christendom at this repulse of the Turks, which was magnified in common report into a great victory gained by the Poles over the enemy

of Christendom. It was celebrated in verse by many poets in different countries, in England, among others, by an heroic poem on "the Great Victory gained by the Poles over the Turkish Emperor Osman, in the Dacian Battle."

Fifty more years passed before the Turks again troubled Poland: and it was again the Cossacks who were the cause of the trouble, though for a different reason this time.

Sigismund Vasa's policy had been successively pursued by his two sons, King Ladislaus and King John Casimir, aided and abetted by the Jesuits and the Catholic nobles. John Casimir was weak in character, but strong in faith; when young he had made the grand tour in Europe, had served in the Catholic army in the Thirty Years War, and had taken Holy Orders as a Jesuit priest. Under him the rights and privileges, hitherto enjoyed by the religious Dissidents in Poland, were gradually curtailed. As a beginning, the Lutherans and Greeks were persuaded to join in excluding the Unitarians from these rights and privileges; and as soon as a law to this effect had been passed in the Diet, it was alleged as a precedent by the Catholic party for limiting the privileges of the Greeks and Protestants. A request of the Cossacks for representation in the Diet was contemptuously refused: and the Burgesses of the cities, who had been formerly represented in the Diets, were also excluded to the detriment of the Lutheran element, which was mainly represented by the German inhabitants of the cities.

The Cossacks warmly resented the persecution of which their Greek Church was the object. Under their Hetman, Bogdan Khmelnitski, they revolted from the king of Poland and transferred their allegiance to Sultan Muhammad the Fourth of Turkey, soliciting his assistance against their late masters. The Crim Tartars, against whom the Cossacks had hitherto guarded the frontiers of Poland, now joined with them to carry fire and sword through the Catholic kingdom. The Russians espoused the cause of their co-religionists and recovered Kiev and Smolensko from the Poles. Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, overran the whole country, and captured Warsaw. During the whole time of John Casimir's reign, Poland was battling on all sides against fearful odds. Peace was purchased from Sweden and Russia by the cession of much territory, and the Tartars and Cossacks were defeated by the genius and conduct of the Polish General John Sobieski.

This remarkable man, the Polish national hero, was the son of a Castellan of Cracow, who had distinguished himself at Chotin against the Turks. John Sobieski had travelled much in his youth: he had visited England, and had held



the post of Captain of Horse in the French service, where he studied the art of war. He had been sent as a hostage to the Khan of the Tartars, had negotiated a treaty with that potentate, and had actually led a Tartar army to the assistance of John Casimir against the Swedes. He possessed the heart and hand of a mediæval knight-errant, with the eye and brain of a modern general.

He was Crown General of Poland at the time of the abdication of John Casimir, when an utterly insignificant nobleman named Michael Korybut was elected to the vacant throne. The only claim of the new candidate was some shadowy descent from the ancient dynasty : his election was probably brought about by the influence of rivals jealous of the fame of Sobieski. The triumphs of the latter over the rebellious Cossacks had led to their appealing for assistance to their new Suzerain : and the Porte haughtily desired Poland to leave its new vassals alone. The fortunes of the Turkish Empire were at this time directed by the able Vazir Ahmad Fázil Kúprili, who had already conquered and annexed the provinces of Neuhausel and Varasdin in Hungary from Austria, and the island of Crete from Venice ;—he dreamed of nothing less than the complete conquest of Europe and the subjugation of the world to the faith of Islam. He was wont to lecture the European courts in much the same style as is now employed by these latter in teaching his duty to the Sultan at the present day. He chid the king of Poland for his tyranny to the Cossacks, and gravely discoursed of the rights of subject peoples, without an idea of the irony of the situation. No satisfactory reply was given, or at least the absence of one proved satisfactory to Ahmad Kúprili, who burned to add more of the land of the infidels to the Dár-ul-Islám. He marched to the Dniester with a hundred and fifty thousand men : and one hundred thousand Tartars under the command of their Khan, Salm Girái, famous in war and verse, invaded Poland from the east.

They divided into three hordes for the purpose of plunder, and thus Sobieski was able to beat them in detail ; but, while he was routing them, the Turkish army crossed the Dniester at Chotin, and, after a siege of ten days, mastered the strong fortress of Kaminiék and overran all Podolia. King Michael hastened to make an ignominious peace ; ceding all their conquests to the Turks in perpetuity, renouncing all authority over the Cossacks, and engaging to pay homage and tribute to the Sultan henceforth.

The Turkish army withdrew across the Danube, and the war was supposed to be ended ; but the Polish Diet, instigated by Sobieski, refused to ratify the treaty, and the Polish

army again occupied Podolia. This brought back the Turkish host next year (1673): but Sobieski boldly advanced to Chotin, and, falling upon the Turks with an inferior force, totally routed them, inflicting on them the severest defeat which they had ever sustained up to that time from Christian arms. All their standards, gems, stores and baggage were prize to the victors: and the Sultan himself, who was some days' march in rear of the army, was involved in the panic flight. The slaughter of the infidels was enormous, and the stream of the Dniester was choked with turbans.

King Michael fortunately dying about this time, Sobieski was chosen his successor by unanimous acclamation. Next year another large Turkish army entered Podolia under the Saraskier Shishman, Ibrahim Pasha (Ibrahim the Fat): but he was careful not to risk a battle, and Sobieski's army was too numerically inferior to assail the Turks in their entrenchments. The war lasted without any considerable advantage to either side, till 1676, when the new Saraskier Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha (Ibrahim the Devil) attacked Sobieski in his entrenched camp at Zurawna. A desultory series of engagements followed for seventeen days, when, both sides being utterly exhausted, Saraskier made proposals of peace on the former basis, only omitting the articles requiring Poland to pay homage and tribute to the Porte; and Sobieski was fain to agree to these terms, the resources of his kingdom being utterly exhausted by the long series of wars.

The city of Kaminiek, with forty-eight towns and villages in its vicinity, were the last conquests made by the once conquering Osmanli Turks from any European power.

Seven years later they were at the gates of Vienna; and it was Sobieski and the Poles who came to the rescue of the capital of Germany. All his former triumphs and trophies were eclipsed by the glories and spoils of that famous day, ever memorable as the crowning seal of the deliverance of Christendom from the nightmare fear of Moslem conquest that had oppressed her dreams for ages.

"Think with what passionate delight  
The tale was told in Christian halls,  
How Sobieski turned to flight  
The Moslem from Vienna's walls.  
How when his horse triumphant trode  
The burgher's richest robes upon;  
The ancient words rose loud, "From God  
A man was sent, whose name was John!"

Mr. Morfill has given *in extenso* the king's interesting letters to his well-loved and unworthy wife, detailing the battle and the plunder of the Turkish camp. Before he parted from his German allies, he again signally defeated the Turks at Burkan on the Danube.

But this was his last notable success against them : during the fourteen year's war, which lasted till his death in 1697, he was never able even to re-take Kaminiak, much less to make any conquests at the expense of the Turks, while Poland was continually harried by the raids of the Tartars.

At the general peace signed at Carlowitz in 1799, the Turks, who had been thoroughly beaten by Prince Eugene in Hungary, gave up Kaminiak and Podolia to the Poles, and they were never again able to undertake any enterprise against Poland. Chotin remained the Musalman border fortress to the north for many years longer, till the Turks were finally expelled from it by the Russian arms under Catherine the Great.

The want of a standing army had prevented Sobieski from reaping more benefits from his successes over the Turks, and the same want now placed Poland at the mercy of a neighbouring prince, Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony, who presented himself as a candidate for the throne, backed up by eight thousand excellent Saxon soldiers. He was duly elected ; but afterwards, joining the league against Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, he was defeated and deposed by that youthful conqueror, who nominated Stanislaus Leczynski, the Palatine of Posen in his room, and he was duly elected by the Diet, the Swedish soldiery just then standing in the place of the Saxons.

After Charles' defeat at Pultowa, Augustus quietly resumed the Polish crown, Stanislaus escaping to France. On Augustus' death, he re-appeared in Poland, but the new Elector of Saxony, Augustus the Second, again recommending his candidature by Saxon bayonets, and being supported by Russia and Prussia, Stanislaus was again obliged to yield to the force of circumstances, and once more take refuge in France, where he died, universally honoured and regretted, for he was an able as well as an estimable man, and his romantic adventures and hair-breadth escapes had excited general sympathy for his misfortunes.

During the greater part of the long reigns of the two Saxon sovereigns, Poland was at last free from foreign war : but the strife of jarring creeds continued to trouble her repose. The Jesuits had triumphed, but their triumph was short-lived. The toleration formerly extended to the Dissidents, was entirely withdrawn. The exercise of the *Liberum Veto* reduced the Diet to impotence and the country to anarchy.

Persecution was rife : under the reign of John Sobieski, a nobleman was put to death with torture for blasphemy. In 1724, occurred the affair of Thorn, which excited great indignation in Protestant Europe. A quarrel took place between the Jesuits and Lutherans in the city of Thorn, when Count

Lubomirski occupied the town with a body of horse, and arrested and executed a number of the leading Protestant citizens, on charges of having blasphemed against the Catholic faith. The discontent of the Dissidents went on increasing, the Lutherans looking to Prussia for help, the Greek Christians gravitating towards Russia.

After the death of Augustus the Second, Russian soldiers took the place of the Saxons in Poland. A Polish nobleman, named Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowsky, was elected king, no doubt through the influence of the Empress Catherine, of whom he had been a favoured lover, and was to prove a convenient puppet.

Through him she meant to extract from the Poles toleration and justice for the Dissidents in Poland. Catherine, like Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Joseph the Second of Austria, her partners in the partition of Poland, was a disciple of Voltaire : she did not care a straw for the Greek religion, but she did care very much for her Russian subjects, who were fanatically attached to that religion, and fanatically anxious to avenge its real and fancied wrongs upon the Catholics in Poland. Catharine really knew that freedom in thought and speech was good for the human race, and she desired that they should enjoy it, and used her best endeavours to that end ; for the French Revolution had not yet scared the monarchs of Europe back out of the new paths of Liberalism, and the newly discovered doctrine of the Brotherhood of Humanity.

It is recorded as matter of congratulation that there were only ten men killed in the riots that, as a matter of custom, accompanied the royal election of Stanislaus Augustus ; but a serious difficulty presented itself at his coronation. It was the ancient custom that the kings of Poland should be anointed with the sacred oil on the shaven crown : but Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowsky had a fine natural head of hair, and positively refused to sacrifice it. The momentous difficulty was surmounted by anointing him upon an artificial scalp which he wore like a wig over his real hair. He was a weak, vain, good-natured man, anxious enough to do right, tied to the apron strings of his Imperial mistress by every sentiment of gratitude and interest, and utterly unable to manage or sway the turbulent nobility who made it a point of honour to show their contempt for an authority which their votes had conferred.

The Empress Catherine used all her influence with the king to have the penal laws against the Dissidents repealed. He was quite willing, but he could do nothing without the Diet. In the session of 1766, a desperate effort was made to afford relief to the Dissidents, but owing to the strenuous

opposition of the clerical party, nothing could be accomplished. The anger of the Russians exploded : and Russian troops were marched into Poland, and entered Warsaw. A number of the Archbishops and Bishops, who had been most violent in opposing measures of toleration, were arrested by them and sent into Russia to be imprisoned or kept out of the way.

After this broad hint, the Diet passed a law in 1768, giving relief to the Dissidents, not without strong opposition.

The patriotic pride of the Poles was deeply hurt by the Russian military occupation of their beloved country, and by the fact that this measure had been forced upon them by foreign dictation ; and resistance to it seemed to be equally due to the cause of patriotism and of religion : a number of the nobles banded themselves together to reject religious liberty and to resist foreign intervention, two things which they regarded as synonymous.

The confederates met at Bar in Podolia, where they passed resolutions affirming the supremacy of the Catholic religion in Poland, and hoisted standards emblazoned with the cross and the picture of the Virgin Mary. They proclaimed, and even actually commenced a Holy War against all heretics ; but directly the Russian troops moved against them, these champions of the Cross appealed for aid to the Musalman Turks.

The Turks were jealous of the growing power of Russia, and France had always been a friend and ally of Poland, using her as a make-weight to balance the power of Germany, as she regards Russia to-day : so French diplomacy now set itself successfully to stir up the Sultan to espouse the cause of the confederates of Bar.

A huge Turkish army was despatched to expel the Russians from Poland ; "a mass incurably chaotic," as Carlyle calls it, "furiously intending towards Poland and extermination of the Giaur." But being beaten by the Russians at Chotin, the Turk army "burst into unanimous insanity, and flowed home in *deliquium* of ruin," leaving Chotin to be taken by the victors ; and the Russians henceforth carried the war into the Sultan's territories, at the same time that they crushed the popular rising in Poland.

The Polish Royal Guards, and the few other regular troops that were in the kingdom, followed the king in siding with the Russians. The nobles, with their retainers and with bands of armed peasants, could not face the Russian troops for a moment in the field, but betook themselves to guerilla warfare. The whole country was in a state of anarchy ; everyone taking arms to defend himself and to attack his neighbours. The nobles used to say jestingly—"Poland subsists by anarchy:" but it was by this anarchy that it was soon to perish.

In the religious war which now was kindled in every village in Poland, horrible cruelties were perpetrated on both sides, as in Ireland in the Rebellion of '98.

Some French officers and a few French soldiers arrived to aid the patriots, and did good service against the Russians. One of the most curious episodes in this civil war was the seizure of King Stanislaus, in his carriage, in the streets of Warsaw, by a band of the patriots who had entered the town in disguise. They wounded the king, and carried him off, but lost their way in the darkness of the night, and found themselves still in the neighbourhood of Warsaw in the morning. The king was concealed in a mill; but he persuaded Kosinski, one of his Captains who was left in charge of him, to give intelligence of his whereabouts to his guards, who came and rescued him. Kosinski was pardoned; most of his accomplices were taken and executed, and are still regarded by the Poles as heroes and martyrs.

When the Russian troops pressed the patriots hard, the latter used to take refuge in Austrian or Prussian territory, and these States stationed *cordons* of troops on their frontiers to prevent the war spreading into their own provinces. Frederick the Great said that Poland was like a house chronically smoking through the slates; it brought on a new European war every time it changed its king, and it required to be taken charge of by its neighbours. The western provinces of the kingdom were full of Germans, who, by their superior intelligence and thrift, had been gradually crowding out the Slave population, as they had already done in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. The Poles hated them as foreigners and heretics, and lost no opportunity of showing their hatred and venting their spite upon them. "*Vexa Lutheranum dubit thalerum*;" (Plague the Protestant, and he will pay up his dollars), was a common maxim of the Polish magnates in West Prussia. And Frederick the Great greatly coveted West Prussia.

To the insatiable old earth-swallower, who had already digested Austrian Silesia, the Polish province, wedged into the heart of his dominions, seemed only a mouthful, to be swallowed at a gulp. Austrian troops had already been marched on to Polish soil on the plea of pacifying the country. Frederick now proposed to the Empresses Catherine and Maria Theresa of Austria, the first partition of Poland; the former eagerly approved the plan; the latter agreed reluctantly, leaving it on record that she knew that what she was doing was wrong, but did it because it was expedient. Each of the contracting parties took the provinces most convenient for rounding their own dominions; the scrupulous Austrian getting the largest share. About one-third of Poland was alienated under this partition, which took place in the year 1772.

It was impossible for the Poles, without any regular army and with few fortified towns, to make any effectual resistance to the partition. Most of the patriot leaders fled the country ; some of them reached America and took service in the War of Independence which was then going on. Others, less fortunate, found a place in Russian and German dungeons.

The policy of the Cardinal-King, John Casimir and his Jesuit friends, had arrived at its natural, though unforeseen and un hoped for result. The pit dug by them for their neighbours had engulfed their own followers. The dismemberment of their country rudely awoke the Polish aristocracy to the consequences of their folly : and they made strenuous efforts to repair their errors, but it was already too late. As in the French monarchy at the same period, the necessary reforms were undertaken too late to stay the disease of the body politic, and only precipitated the crisis. The king and most of the nobles worked honestly and energetically to save the remnant of their nation ; laws were passed successively making only a simple majority in the Diet necessary for carrying a measure ; abolishing the *Liberum Veto* : making the succession to the throne hereditary in the German family of the Elector of Saxony ; curtailing the power of the nobility over their serfs, and establishing religious toleration.

All these and other reforms were embodied in a brand-new constitution, sworn to by the king and the majority of the nobles in 1791, and promulgated amid general enthusiasm. But a small band of the chief nobility protested against any abridgment of the old privileges of their order, and confederated at Targoueza to resist the new constitution by force of arms ; and they moreover appealed for aid to Russia, as the confederates of Bar had appealed to Turkey. By this time the despots of Europe had become thoroughly alarmed at the spread of the revolutionary spirit in France, and the new constitution of Poland was too liberal in its principles to be tolerated for a moment. The civil strife caused by the confederates of Targoueza was made the pretext for again flooding Poland with Russian and Prussian troops : and the new invasion was met by a general rising of the Polish nation, under the guidance of Kosciuszko. A desperate war followed : for a time the patriots held their own, and they forced the Prussian king to raise the siege of Warsaw ; but the discipline and numbers of their adversaries soon prevailed. The terrible Field Marshal Suwarrow led a great Russian army into Poland ; and in the decisive battle of Macziewice, the patriots were totally routed, and Kosciuszko wounded and made prisoner. He afterwards denied having used the words *Finis Poloniam*, which were attributed to him on his fall by common

rumour, but he might have used them with truth, for the last hope of Poland fell with him.

“ Hope for a season bade the world farewell ;  
And Freedom shrieked, as Kosciuszko fell ! ”

The second partition of Poland took place in 1792, between Russia and Prussia only ; and the little that remained of the country was finally divided in 1795, Austria again receiving a share in this third and final partition. Warsaw fell to the share of Prussia. The unfortunate king became a Russian pensioner, and died a few years later at St. Petersburg. Kosciuszko was released by the Russians, and died in voluntary exile in France.

Great numbers of the Polish patriots fled their country after the final partition, and most of them also took refuge in France. Napoleon formed, from them, a corps called the Legion of the Vistula, divided into many regiments of cavalry and infantry, which eventually rose to the number of more than forty thousand men. All the soldiers wore the square topped Polish cap, and the cavalry were all Uhlans (Polish for Lancers). The use of the lance had been discontinued by the cavalry of Western Europe since the introduction of fire-arms, until it was now again introduced by the Poles, whose national weapon it had always been ; and the Lancer regiments of all European armies still wear the Polish cap, in memory of their origin.

The Polish Red Lancers of Napoleon's Grand Army became famous for their courage and ferocity, and it was soon discovered that the Poles made excellent soldiers ; indeed, some military writers have declared them to be the most naturally warlike race in Europe.

Napoleon made use of the Poles while he excited their hopes of the restoration of their kingdom ; and after his triumph over the Prussians at Jena, he separated part of Poland from Prussia and formed it into a Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which he annexed for administrative purposes to Saxony. But he never went further than this ; and the greatest part of his brave Polish soldiery perished in the disastrous retreat from Moscow. Their commander, Marshal Pim Poniatowski, “ the last hope of the Poles,” was drowned while swimming his horse across the river Elster in the flight from Leipsic, after the three days' Battle of the Nations. The troopers whom Napoleon took with him, after his abdication, to be his escort in Elba, were all Polish lancers of his Guard ; and they shed their blood in vain for him for the last time on the field of Waterloo.

At the Congress of Vienna the great Powers of Europe very nearly came to blows over the remains of Poland : but finally Russia got the lion's share. England and France, who wished



for the restoration of Poland, unconsciously played into the hands of Russia, by stipulating for the re-establishment of the Polish kingdom, with its own separate government, laws and army, but under the Russian Crown, as the kingdom of Hungary was under the Emperor of Austria : and this arrangement was finally come to, Prussia and Austria having to be content with what they got at the first partition. The city of Cracow was made an independent Republic, under the protection and safeguard of the three assassins of Polish nationality.

These arrangements worked exactly as might have been expected. The Czar Nicholas ignored the Polish constitution, and goaded the Poles into a rebellion, which was crushed with merciless severity. It was on this occasion that the Russian Field Marshal Paskiewitch, after the horrors of an assault and sack which rivalled the storming of the Polish capital by Suwarrow, penned his laconic despatched to his Imperial Master ; " Order reigns in Warsaw : " a modern and Muscovite version of—

*" Solitudinem faciunt, Pacem appellant."*

*" They make a Solitude, and call it Peace."*

Russia thus secured by far the largest share of the old kingdom of Poland, which was turned into a province of the Czar's Empire and paternally governed, like the rest of it, by the knout and the rod.

In 1846 a general conspiracy was discovered for an uprising in Poland, which had its head quarters in the free city of Cracow, and this served as a pretext for the extinction of the last remnant of Polish nationality, and the incorporation of the ancient capital with the Austrian dominions. It is worthy of note that, in the abortive insurrection which flamed up on this occasion, the Polish peasantry sided with the Austrian government against their noble countrymen.

During the Crimean War, in spite of the favourable opportunity then presented to them, the Poles remained perfectly quiescent, crushed under the iron weight of Nicholas' despotism : but under the milder rule of his son and successor Alexander, the expiring embers of Polish nationality flamed up for the last time. The removal of repression led to manifestations of the patriotic spirit, which in turn brought on renewed repression, and this caused revolt. The patriots took to a guerilla warfare in 1863, but the movement was quelled with Russian severity, and ever since, the policy has been pursued, of ruthlessly stamping out every vestige of national spirit and feeling in Russian Poland. Prussian Poland has been for the most part Germanised : and we have lately seen the few Polish members in the Reichsrath unanimously supporting

the new German Army Bill. In that discordant congeries of peoples and races which goes to make up the Austrian Empire, the Ruthenians, or Red Russians of Galicia, are well-affected to their German masters, whom they regard as their deliverers from the tyranny of the Polish nobility : just as the Musalman population of the Punjab regard the English as their deliverers from the Sikhs : but in the case of a war between the two Empires, the sympathies of the Ruthenians, as well as those of the southern Slaves, would naturally be on the side of the Russians ; and this might prove a considerable source of danger to the dual Monarchy.

Mr. Morfill's History of Poland may be read as an epitaph. Polish and Lithuanian nationality is being gradually absorbed into that of Slavonic Russia, and in the revolutionary dens of Paris and London, the Nihilist and the Anarchist have taken the place of the once familiar figure of the noble and needy Polish patriot. Poland's old enemy, Turkey, has taken her place as the sick member of the European body politic, and the eagles are gathered round her moribund form in expectant conclave. Already the Sultan's dominions have undergone their first partition at the Congress of Berlin.

F. H. TYRRELL, *Major-General.*

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## ART. VIII—THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF INDIA.\*

WE shall first try to indicate broadly the position which Dr. Oppert's work holds in the history of Orientalism; then give some account of the conclusions he has reached, and the method he has followed; and, lastly, point to certain limitations in this method, which will probably make it necessary to modify Dr. Oppert's conclusions in two main directions.

First, as to the position of Dr. Oppert's work. As far as the history of Orientalism and the study of Indian peoples are concerned, we may divide the work of Dr. Oppert's predecessors into two great periods—the work of the Calcutta School, and the work of the Indo-Germanic School.

Beginning with the foundation of the Asiatic Society by Sir William Jones and his colleagues, in 1784, the Calcutta School carried on its work for a generation; and gathered together a mass of material in every region of Indian research, including much purely ethnographical material—material, that is, relating to the history, and social and religious life of the Indian peoples. The largest and most important separate work in this field, is Colonel Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*; and Colonel Tod's work illustrates admirably the most valuable characteristic of the Calcutta School—a deep sympathy with the Indian peoples, and a real and close knowledge of them; a knowledge drawn from daily intercourse, and an intimacy which has never since been equalled.

Wherever the writers of the Calcutta School<sup>o</sup> confine themselves to recording their personal observations, whether of peoples or of philosophers, their evidence is of the highest value, and is superior to any work that has been done by their successors. But the Calcutta School laboured under two very serious disabilities; disabilities, which both sprang from the same cause. They had inherited a series of traditions as to the age and origin of man and the world, which have, since their day, been entirely discarded. They believed that the utmost age of the human race, and even of the universe, was something less than six thousand years; and they believed that, some four thousand years ago, the whole human race was renewed from a single family; in other words, they believed that the human race was ethnically uniform about four thousand years ago; and that all divergence of race, must have its origin about

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<sup>o</sup> On the original inhabitants of Bharata-varsa or India: Gustav Oppert, Ph. D., London, 1893.

that date. We need not recapitulate the evidence which now leads us to believe that the human race must have an antiquity of hundreds of thousands, and most probably millions of years; instead of the six thousand years believed in by the Calcutta School. We need only say that all the evidence points to an even further extension of our already enormous estimate of main antiquity; the largest limit hitherto assigned to the human race, is, probably, that of M. de Quatrefages, the famous French ethnologist, who conjectures that the origin of man must be sought in the Secondary Age of Geology; and this would give to man more millions of years than one would care to mention.

The second disability of the Calcutta School is the fact that they had no clear perception of ethnical science. And here it may not be out of place to illustrate what we mean by ethnical science—the science of race—as distinguished from ethnography, which is chiefly concerned with the social and religious life of various races. It is a fact of common observation that the human race is not uniform; that all peoples in all countries do not belong to a single physical type. This simple fact is the basis of ethnical science, which seeks to give an account of the various physical types, their characteristic differences, and their relations to each other. The work of classification is still far from complete. It is met by a difficulty which is common to every region of natural classification; this difficulty springs from the fact that nature never produces two individuals exactly the same in all particulars; and that, therefore, any general description will not exactly fit all the members of any group, however closely allied they may be.

But there are certain striking characteristics which are possessed, with slight variations, by large groups, families, and races of men; and ethnical science seeks to describe these striking characteristics, and to make them the basis of a general classification of the whole human race.

One of the most striking characteristics which divides the human race into a few great groups, is colour; for instance, broadly speaking, the peoples of Europe are white; the peoples of China are yellow; the peoples of equatorial Africa are black; and the natives of South America are red. Then, within these great divisions, we find lesser distinctions of colour. In Europe, the northern division of the white race, which centers round Scandinavia, is distinguished by red or reddish hair and blue eyes; the white race of Central Europe is distinguished by yellow or yellow-brown hair and grey eyes; the white race of Southern Europe is distinguished by black hair and black eyes. And this subdivision seems to strike,

in a minor key, the chord of the larger subdivision into white, red, yellow, and black races; as though each great race had a series of sub-races, which repeated, in a less marked form, the shades of difference between the great races.

So much for colour. Another very marked distinction between the races is the form of the skull; the most easily distinguished characteristic of which is the relation of the breadth of the skull to its length. So that there are races with very long skulls—dolicho-cephalous races; races with very short skulls—brachy-cephalous races, and races with skulls of a medium form—ortho-cephalous. And there seems to be a connexion, not quite clear and completely grasped as yet, between the form of skull and the colour of the race. For the black races have, generally speaking, very long skulls; the yellow races have short or round skulls; and the white races generally stand somewhere between these extremes. As far as we know, the red races have also longish skulls; though probably not so long as the extreme black type. Now the value of these characteristics, as signs of race-difference and race-relation, depends on their permanence. What evidence have we of the permanence of skull-form and colour? The evidence for the permanence of skull-form is very great and is constantly being added to. We may illustrate it by a simple example. We often find that the form of the skulls of people inhabiting any locality is exactly the same as the form of the skulls in the oldest grave-yards and burial mounds; and in many cases, where very old skulls have been found, in limestone-caves, and gravel-beds, they have exactly the same character as the skulls of the present inhabitants of the same locality. This identity has been proved in the case of skulls which must be hundreds of thousands of years old; judging from their position in certain geological formations. So that everything tends to shew that when a race remains isolated, the form of the skull remains the same over extremely long periods.

As to colour, our evidence is not so complete. And yet we have two very convincing classes of evidence. The evidence of ancient pictures, and the evidence of ancient writers. In Egypt there are pictures several thousand years old, in which the different colours of various races were very carefully represented. And wherever we can certainly identify the races, as in the case of the Negroes, we find that, after a lapse of several thousand years, the colours are the same.

Then we have many descriptions of the colour of races in classical authors; and their close relation to the colour of the races inhabiting the same localities at the present day strengthens our belief in the permanence of race-colour during very long periods.

We have, therefore, two chief characteristics to distinguish difference of race ; the form of the skull, and the colour of the skin. We know both to be fairly permanent through periods of several thousand years. The skin-colour is the easiest to distinguish ; the skull-form is the more reliable, because, as far as we know, climate can have no effect on the form of the skull, except during enormously long periods. And even the effect of climate on colour is generally exaggerated, and may be largely eliminated by careful observation. The chief effect of climate in colour is the gradual darkening of the complexion by sun-burn ; but this darkening produces a different effect on different original colours. For example, if a white race, a red race, and a yellow race are exposed to a tropical climate for two or three thousand years, the complexions of all three will be much darker, owing to the influence of sunburn. But the white race will be white-brown ; the red race will be red-brown ; and the yellow race will be yellow-brown ; in other words, they will be as easily distinguished as they were originally, and a curious fact is that very young children tend to revert to the original colour of their race. But the full meaning of this reversion, and much more that relates to skin colour, is still imperfectly understood, and must remain so till much more evidence is collected and classified.

We have spoken of isolated races. But races are not always isolated ; what, then, becomes of our characteristic distinctions in the case of mixture of races ? As far as skull form is concerned, our evidence is still imperfect. And, in the case of colour, it is probable that popular observation is very much in advance of strictly scientific classification. In countries where a group of widely different races have met, and where a certain amount of race mixture has taken place, as in India and North America, it is a matter of common observation that the elements of admixture, and even their ratio can be easily and certainly distinguished. In America, there is no possible confusion between Mulattos, the offspring of admixture between a black and a white race ; Mestizoes, between a white and a red race ; Zambos or Cafusos, between a red and a black race. And the existence of words like Anadroon and Octoroon shows how easily and certainly even the degree of intermixture can be distinguished. The same thing applies to India. It is still a doubtful point how far these intermediate races are permanent ; and how far they tend to die out, or to revert to one or other of the original types which they sprang from.

The completion and classification of these observations and others of a like character, is the object of ethnical science. And we trace one of the great defects of the Calcutta School

to the fact that they had hardly any idea of this science, as its development is still of quite recent date. The other defect of their work was their ignorance of the true antiquity of man. In other words, Sir William Jones, Colonel Tod and their colleagues did not know that the antiquity of man is enormous, probably extending over millions of years ; and they did not know that the physical character of races is practically permanent for thousands of years, after the influence of climate has been allowed for ; after acclimatisation is complete. We may illustrate both these defects from Colonel Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*. Colonel Tod saw no objection to correcting the chronology of the Rajputs by the light of Archbishop Ussher's views as to the antiquity of the world ; and he saw no objection to identifying the Rajputs with all kinds of races in Europe and Asia, though he had no evidence at all as to their real ethnical identity. The type of this form of mistake is the myth of the Scythians, with whom Colonel Tod tried to identify the Rajputs ; because he quite failed to realise that we know nothing whatever, in a strictly ethnical sense, as to who the Scythians are ; and, therefore, attempt to identify them with any other race is dangerous in the extreme.

In India, the Calcutta School had no successors. No second generation of equal ability carried on the work so splendidly begun. The mantle of Indian orientalism passed to Europe, to the brilliant group of scholars whom we may call the Indo-Germanic School. This German school was distinguished by admirable scholarship, and inexhaustible patience and industry. The analysis of Sanskrit Grammar, the classification of cognate languages, the editing of excellent texts, the construction of concordances and dictionaries, were carried on by the Indo-Germanic School, with indefatigable enthusiasm and conspicuous success. But it must be confessed that the Indo-Germanic School, being quite unacquainted with India, and, with Indian peoples, was often led into conjectures and hypotheses which the earlier Calcutta School would never have been guilty of. We need only touch on one of these hypotheses.

After Bopp, accepting the brilliant suggestion of Sir William Jones, had worked out the relations between Sanskrit and the European tongues, Greek, Latin, Celtic, and the rest, the view was put forward that the evidently close relations between these tongues could only be accounted for by an original identity of race ; that the speakers of all these tongues had originally been the same people, inhabiting the same locality. Central Asia was pointed to as the most likely centre of dispersion, considering the present position of the speakers of these tongues ; and a concrete account of the original unity and subsequent divisions and migrations of the Proto-Aryan family was put forward, and

gradually attained the appearance of great scientific certainty. We were told that the ancestor of the Indian Aryans after seeing his brothers depart towards the setting sun, had descended from the Hindu-Kush to the plains of India ; and that the speakers of Aryan languages in India, the speakers of languages derived from the Sanskrit, were the descendants of this primitive ancestor. The clearest expression of this " Indo-Germanic " hypothesis was reached, when we were told that the task of governing India was rendered distinctly easier by the discovery that the same blood flowed in the veins of the English soldier and dark Bengali.

Here was a clear and definite statement, which fairly illustrated the whole work of the Indo-Germanic School, so far as the study of Indian peoples is concerned ; just as the myth of the Scythians illustrates the work of the Calcutta School. We should be extremely grateful to the formulator of this belief in the blood-kinship between the English soldier and the dark Bengali, because, once the result of the Indo-Germanic researches were formulated in such a clear and concrete shape, it became immediately evident that its conclusions were untenable, and that its methods, as far as the Indian peoples and their classification was concerned, were inadequate. This inadequacy arose, as we have seen, from the fact that the scholars of the Indo-Germanic School were in no case familiar with the Indian peoples ; for, had they even had a very slight familiarity with the Indian peoples, they would have known that, ethnically speaking, the race identity of the English soldier and the dark Bengali is as difficult to accept as the race identity between the Chinese and the Negro, or the European and the red races of America ; although, in North America, the white, yellow, red, and black races for the most part speak the same Aryan language—English.

Let us say here, once for all, that, in pointing to distinctions of colour between various races, we have no intention at all of making a distinction between ' superior ' and ' inferior ' races, or of exalting one colour at the expense of another. For ethnology, there is no such thing as ' superior ' or ' inferior ' colour ; all colours are equal ; each colour is accompanied by qualities which are not present in the same degree in the case of any other ; and each is, therefore, in this particular, the most excellent.

To return to the work of the Indo-Germanic School:—as the myth of the Scythians shows us at once how weak is the ethnical and chronological sense in the Calcutta School, so the identification of the English and Bengali races by the Indo-Germanic School shows us that the method of that school is imperfect, and that no sound knowledge of the Indian peoples can be reached along these lines.



Here, then, we begin to appreciate the position of Dr. Oppert's work on the Original Inhabitants of India. Dr. Oppert is familiar with the critical methods of the Indo-Germanic School, and with their high ideal of criticism. And he is also familiar with the peoples of India, and the work of the best observers of the Indian peoples, from Colonel Tod to the writers of the present day. Dr. Oppert, therefore, unites the best qualities of the Calcutta and Indo-Germanic Schools; and thus we have a right to expect that his work will be very valuable.

Before recording Dr. Oppert's conclusions, we may enquire, for a moment, whether he is free from the disabilities which marked the work of the two previous schools of orientalism: their deficient sense of ethnical science and of chronology. On the ninth page of his work, we find Dr. Oppert writing: "However considerable and apparently irreconcilable may appear the differences exhibited by the various Gauda-Dravidian tribes in their physical structure and colour, all these differences can be satisfactorily accounted for by the physical localities they inhabited, by the various occupations they followed, and by the political status which regulated their domestic and social habits." It is evident, from this sentence, that Dr. Oppert has not realised what a mass of evidence has been gathered together by ethnical research on this very question of physical structure and colour; and, further, has not realised that, broadly speaking, this evidence tends to a directly opposite conclusion, tends to show that differences of physical structure and colour are permanent through extremely long periods.

Dr. Oppert tells us, in his preface, that the object of his work is to prove, from existing sources, so far as they are available, that the original inhabitants of India, with the exception of a small minority of foreign immigrants, all belong to one and the same race, branches of which are spread over the continents of Asia and Europe, and which is also known as Finnish-Ugrian, or Turanian.

This declaration confirms our opinion that, when Dr. Oppert speaks of races and identity, he is not using these terms in a strictly ethnical sense; nor with a clear realisation of strictly ethnical evidence. For a clear realisation of strictly ethnical evidence shews us that this expression, the Finnish-Ugrian, or Turanian race, is not an ethnical expression at all; and was never reached along the lines of purely ethnical evidence. The older of these two terms is Turanian; and its history is somewhat as follows:—"Iran and Turan" were the old Persian terms for the children of light and the children of darkness, the 'chosen people and the barbarians,' the Persians, that is, and their foreign foes.

After the philologists of the Indo-Germanic School had

elaborated the relations of the 'Aryan' and 'Semitic' languages, they came to perceive clearly that these two groups of languages stood out clear and sharp from among the other tongues of the world. Falling naturally into the old classification of the children of light, the chosen people, on the one side, and the children of darkness, the barbarians, on the other, they decided to group the remaining languages of the world, as far as they were then known, under the general name Turanian. This was always a purely negative term; when a language was called Turanian, it was simply meant that it was neither Aryan nor Semitic; and there is no doubt at all that languages as different from each other in every quality of substance and form as English is from Arabic, were grouped under the general term Turanian, merely as a temporary expedient pending a better and fuller understanding of the languages and their character.

It is, therefore, clear that, even where language is concerned, the word Turanian had merely a negative value; it showed what languages were not, rather than what they were. Applying the name Turanian to the peoples of India whom Dr. Oppert calls Gauda-Dravidians, we see that this simply amounts to saying they are neither Aryan nor Semitic; a conclusion of a certain negative value, it is true, if we have any clear idea of whom we mean by Aryan and Semitic races; but a conclusion which does not help us at all to say who the Gauda-Dravidians are.

Rather more serious objections may be raised against Dr. Oppert's calling the Gauda-Dravidians Finnish-Ugrian; just because the latter term has a slightly more certain and definite meaning than the term Turanian, which, as we have seen, has no definite meaning at all. We all have a fairly clear idea of whom we mean by the Finns, though the origin of the name is far from clear, as we have seen it asserted that it cannot be Finnish, because the initial letter represents a sound foreign to the Finns themselves. The name Ugrian is generally identified with Hungarian or Vengrian, two names applied to the Hungarians, and the name "Finnish-Ugrian race" implies that the Finns and their kindred are related to the Hungarians; an inference on which considerable doubt may be cast, by both linguistic and ethnical science.

If, following Dr. Oppert, we were to call the Gauda-Dravidians members of the "Finnish Ugrian" race, we should imply, first, that the kinship of the Finns and Ugrians had been established on clear ethnical evidence; secondly, that the unity of the races whom Dr. Oppert calls "Gauda-Dravidian" had also been established on clear ethnical evidence; and, thirdly, that the identity of ethnical character between the

Finnish-Ugrian group on the one hand, and the Gauda-Dravidian group, on the other, had also been established on clear ethnical evidence.

None of these three propositions have been proved, or are at all near to being proved; and I must confess that, after examining members of the Finnish, Hungarian, and Gauda-Dravidian Indian races, from the stand point of ethnical science, it appears to me that they will rather be proved to belong to four quite distinct race types, than to a simple homogeneous race, as Dr. Oppert seems to believe. When Dr. Oppert writes that "the vast majority of the Indian population belonged to the same race as did the ancient Akkadians and Chaldeans,"\* we feel at once that he does not quite fully realise the value of ethnical evidence; because, when it is said that, at the present moment, we have not a particle of evidence as to who, ethnically, the Chaldeans and Akkadians were, it becomes clear that the assertion of their ethnical identity with some other race is at present incapable of proof.

We are therefore led to conclude that, when Dr. Oppert calls the Gauda-Dravidians (the original inhabitants of India) Turanians, he simply means that, in his opinion, they are neither Aryans nor Semites; and, if we give these two terms their usual popular meaning, Dr. Oppert's conclusion is undoubtedly true.

But when Dr. Oppert tries to identify the original inhabitants of India, as a whole, with other specific races the Finns and their kindred; the Ugrians or Hungarians; the Akkadians and Chaldeans; we are forced to conclude that he is doing so in the entire absence of ethnical evidence; that his conclusion is simply a personal opinion, apparently based on the application of the name Turanian to all these peoples; and the name Turanian has, as we have seen, no positive value and no definite meaning at all.

The word Chaldean leads us to the question of chronology. We find Dr. Oppert writing:† "In summing up the evidence derived from the Biblico-Chaldean account of the deluge, assuming it to have been local and to have extended only over Mesopotamia and the contiguous countries, the Indian description of it must either have emanated from direct communications made by the descendants of survivors, or from reports which events of such magnitude necessarily produce. As the Aryans had not yet entered India at such an early date, Manu could not have been in India, nor could the ark have landed on the Himālaya, or elsewhere in this country."

This passage, which illustrates the chronological tendencies of Dr. Oppert's work better than any other, contains three

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\* p. 284.

† p. 336.

assumptions : first, that the Biblico-Chaldean deluge and Manu's deluge refer to the same event, while exactly the contrary has been held by a majority of scholars, and we know that there have been many deluges in the history of the world. Secondly, it is assumed that there is some evidence for the date of the Biblico-Chaldean deluge, a rather misleading phrase, as the Biblical and Chaldean dates differ enormously, the one being some two thousand five hundred years before our era ; the other about forty thousand years before it. Thirdly, the statement that the Aryans had not yet entered India at such an early date—whether four or forty thousand years ago, we are not told—is open to this objection : it assumes what date the Aryans did enter India—an assumption which is exactly contrary to the facts, as we have far less knowledge of the period when the Aryans entered India than of the period when the Toltecs entered Mexico, or when the Maoris entered New Zealand ; and this fact of our ignorance cannot be too clearly realised.

We are led to conclude, therefore, that Dr. Oppert does not sufficiently realise the difficulties of ethnical evidence and ethnical proof ; and, further, that he does not sufficiently realise our complete ignorance as to the date of the beginnings of India's life ; nor the fact that all the views put forward by the early schools of orientalism were based upon a quite erroneous tradition of the recentness of the beginning of the whole human race ; a tradition which we have left behind long ago. Once we realise the enormous antiquity of man, we may come to recognise the possibility of an enormous antiquity for some or many of the Indian peoples. And, without a realisation of the enormous antiquity of man, we shall be able to form no sound conclusions on the evidence as to the possible antiquity of any single race or group of races. We have dwelt at some length on these two questions—ethnical evidence and chronology—with reference to Dr. Oppert's book, just because we believe by far the greater part of Dr. Oppert's book to be excellent and enduring work ; work of such value as to mark the beginning of a new era of Indian orientalism, founded on direct and comprehensive study of the Indian peoples themselves. The work of the two great schools of Indian orientalism whose results we have briefly touched on, is marred by these two errors—deficient ethnical sense, and a deficient sense of the enormous antiquity of man. And the confusions springing from these two radical errors have lasted more than a century.

It would, therefore, be a matter for extreme regret, if Dr. Oppert's book, which we believe, marks the beginning of a new era, should carry on into the work of that new era, the same errors which have already been so fruitful in confusion.

Let us now turn to Dr. Oppert's conclusions, recognising their necessary limitations in these two directions ; recognising that Dr. Oppert, in speaking of races, means, not groups united by a common ethnical character, but groups united by common culture, common language, common religion, and a common name.

Dr. Oppert gives to the older strata of Indian races which preceded the Aryans, the general name of Bharatas, because the Bharatas were, in olden times, the most numerous and most honoured representatives of these older races ; after whom the country received its name, Bharatavarsha, or Bhāratavarsha, the land of the Bharatas. Dr. Oppert considers the Bharatas essentially a race of mountaineers, and believes their name is intimately connected with the Gauda-Dravidian root *para*, *pārai*, mountain.

The Bharatas divided at an early date into two great sections, which were known in antiquity as Kuru-Panchālas, and Kauravas and Pāndavas, and afterwards as Gaudians and Dravidians, and as Kuruvas or Kurumbas, and Mallas or Malayas. All these names Dr. Oppert derives from words meaning mountain, thus supporting his view that the Bharatas—the pre-Aryan peoples of India,—were essentially a race of mountaineers. However nearly related these tribes were to each other, they never lived together in close friendship, and, although they were not always perhaps at open war, yet feelings of distrust and aversion seem always to have prevailed.

"Though positive evidence in favour of my assertions," writes Dr. Oppert,\* "was very difficult to obtain, still, it was incumbent on me to verify my statements by the best means available. In order to do so, I had to betake myself to the fields of language and religion, which, in matters of this kind, are the most reliable and precious sources of information. For language and religion manifest in a peculiar manner the mental condition of men, and though both differ in their aim and result, yet the mind which directs and animates both is the same, so that, though they work in different grooves, the process of thinking is in both identical. Besides the mental character, we must not neglect the physical complement which is supplied by ethnology, and in this case the physical evidence of ethnology supports thoroughly the conclusions at which I had arrived from consulting the language and religion of the inhabitants of India."

In spite of this conclusion, we have failed to find any adequate proof, in the ethnical evidence quoted by Dr. Oppert, of the unity of race of the Indian peoples whom he calls Gauda-Dravidians, and of their race-relationship with northern

Turanian peoples. Indeed, the evidence quoted seems to us to point in an opposite direction. Let us mention only two or three instances.

In discussing the relations of the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills, Dr. Oppert quotes the statement that "this remarkable race differs in almost every essential respect from all other tribes of the natives of Hindustan\*," and further speaks of "their fine and striking appearance so different from that of other races."† From other authorities, we know that characteristics of the Todas are great height, fair colour, occasional blue, grey, or hazel eyes, and abundant curly hair. A little further on,‡ Dr. Oppert quotes a description of the Mullu Kurumbas, who are "small in stature, and have a squalid and somewhat uncouth appearance from their peculiar physiognomy, wild matted hair, and almost nude bodies. They are, as a body, sickly-looking, pot-bellied, large-mouthed, prognathous, with prominent out-standing teeth and thick lips." We are further told that the Kurumbas are an "almost dwarfish race;"§ and again, that "the hair of both sexes stand out matted like a mop, and their complexion is very dark."|| We are told that the Kotas have "a copper color,"¶ and that the Kurus, or Cooroos, "are naturally of a bamboo colour,"\*\* that is, apparently, pale yellow.

Now the ethnical difficulties in considering the tall, fair Todas, the dwarfish, black Kurumbas, the copper coloured, or red Kotas, and the presumably yellow Kurus as members of the same ethnical group, are so great as to be almost insurmountable. We should like to see this evidence supplemented in every case by a series of skull measurements, and a precise description of colour; the word fair, as applied to the Todas, is very unsatisfactory and inadequate to support his view of the ethnical identity of the Gauda Dravidian races. Dr. Oppert further quotes†† Mr. Risley's *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*: "The data thus obtained from six thousand persons, representing eighty-nine of the leading castes and tribes in Northern India from the Bay of Bengal to the frontiers of Afghanistan, enable us to distinguish two extreme types of feature and physique, which may be provisionally described as Aryan and Dravidian. A third type, which in some respects may be looked upon as intermediate between these two, while in other and perhaps the most important points it can hardly be deemed Indian at all, is found along the northern and eastern borders of Bengal . . . This type . . . may conveniently be described as Mongoloid."

As Mr. Risley's conclusions apply only to Northern India,

\* p. 181.

† p. 189

‡ p. 228.

§ p. 219.

|| p. 223.

¶ p. 194.

\*\* p. 203

†† p. 575-6.

they do not, of course, touch the question of the race identity of the Kotas, Todas, Kurumbas, and Kurus, nor weaken what we have said about the great difficulties of establishing this race-identity along sound ethnical lines. But what they do prove is that there are immense ethnical difficulties in the way of connecting the Mongoloid races, who are generally called Northern Turanians, with the Dravidian races who are sometimes called Southern Turanians.

Thus almost all the only clear ethnical evidence which Dr. Oppert quotes, militates against his theory of the race-unity of the "Turanian peoples;" and also against the race-unity of the Southern Indian tribes whom Dr. Oppert classifies as Gauda-Dravidians.

Let us now return to Dr. Oppert's summary of his conclusions. Dr. Oppert writes :\* "The principal Gauda-Dravidian tribes who live scattered over the length and breadth of the vast Indian Continent are, in order to establish their mutual kinship, separately introduced into this discussion. . .

"In pursuing the ramifications of the Bharatan, or Gauda-Dravidian, population throughout the peninsula, I hope I have been able to point out the connexion existing between several tribes apparently widely different from each other. I have tried thus to identify the so-called Pariahs of Southern India with the old Dravidian mountaineers and to establish their relationship to the Bhârs, Brahins, Mhâs Mahârs, Pahârias, Paravâri, Parâdas and other tribes ; all these tribes forming, as it were, the first layer of the ancient Dravidian deposit. In a similar manner I have identified the Chandâlas with the first section of the Gaudian race which was reduced to abject slavery by the Aryan invaders, and shown their connection with the ancient Kandâlas and the present Gonds. In addition to this, I trust I have proved that such apparently different tribes as the Mallas, Pallas, Pallavas, Ballas, Bhillas and others are one and all offshoots of the Dravidian branch, and that the Kolis, Kois, Khonds, Kodagas, Koravas Kurumbas and others really belong to the Gaudian division, both branches forming in reality only portions of one and the same people, whom I prefer to call, as I have said, Bharatas. Where there is so much room for conjecture, it is easy enough, of course, to fall into error, and I shall be prepared to be told that many of my conclusions are erroneous and the hypothesis on which they are built fanciful. But though much of what I have written may be shown to be untenable, I shall yet be satisfied if in the main, I establish my contention, and I shall deem myself amply repaid for my labor if I succeed in restoring the

Gaudian and the Dravidian to those rights and honors of which they have so long been deprived."\*

We learn, a little further on, the precise meaning Dr. Oppert gives to the names Gaudian and Dravidian. "The two special Gauda-Dravidian terms for mountain,"† he writes "are *Mala*, (*Malai*, *Pār Pārāi*, etc.), and *Ko* (*Kouda*, *Kuru*, *Kunru*, *Kora*, etc.) Both kinds of expressions are widely used and prevail throughout India. Hence are derived the names of the *Mallas*, *Mālas*, *Mālavās*, *Malayās*, etc., and of the *Koyis Kōdulu*, *Kondos*, *Gondas*, *Gaudas*, *Kuruvas*, etc. I shall in future call those tribes whose names are derived from *mala* Dravidians, and those whose names are derived from *ko*, Gaudians."

We shall not follow Dr. Oppert through the learned and admirable articles on each of these tribes, which make his book a real encyclopædia of the Indian peoples; but we may say, without hesitation, that his comprehensive and careful work has certainly given to the study of the people whom he calls Gaudians and Dravidians, a very much higher position than it ever held before in the field of orientalism; and a much closer relation than it ever held before to the other section of Indian studies which is most generally concerned with Sanskrit literature, and the splendid achievements of what we may call, provisionally, the Aryan race. So far therefore, the aim of Dr. Oppert's work has been amply fulfilled.

Leaving the field of ethnography, Dr. Oppert turns to the religions of India; and it is here that his work becomes most original and valuable; for here, in questions of religion, the value of purely ethnical evidence is much less important, and Dr. Oppert's wide critical training and equally wide acquaintance with the peoples of Indian, show to the best advantage.

Dr. Oppert writes: ‡ "In the third part, which treats on Indian theogony, I have endeavoured to give a short sketch of some of the most prominent features of the Aryan and non-Aryan beliefs. After noticing briefly the reverence which the Vedic hymns display towards the forces of nature, which develops gradually into the acceptance of a Supreme Being (*Brahman*), I go on to show how the idea of an impersonal God, a perception too high and abstract to be grasped by the masses of the population, gradually gave place to the recognition of a personal Creator, with whom were associated eventually the two figure-heads of preservation and destruction, all these three together forming the Trimūrti as represented by Brahman [masculine *Brahmā*] Vishnu, and Shiva.

"About the time that the ancient Vedic views began to undergo a change, and the idea of the existence of a Supreme

\* p. viii., viii.

† p. 13.

‡ p. viii.



Spirit impressed itself on the minds of the thoughtful, the non-Aryan principle of the female energy was introduced into the Aryan system. This dogma which originated with the Turanian races of Asia, and was thus also acknowledged in ancient Babylonia, soon exercised a powerful influence, and pervaded the whole religion of the Aryans in India. Its symbol was in India the Sâlagrâma stone, which Vishnu afterwards appropriated as his emblem."

The, 'Turanians' with whom Dr. Oppert believes the doctrine of the female energy to have originated, are the 'Akkadians. We are fairly certain that their language is 'Turanian'; that is, neither Aryan nor Semitic; but of their race, in the strict ethnical sense, we know absolutely nothing; so that we can form no presumption of the relation of their race to the doctrine of the female energy. We may also say here that Dr Oppert may possibly be wrong in saying that this doctrine was not of Aryan origin if we include the Slavonic nations in the Aryan family, as Dr. Oppert would doubtless do. For among the Slavs we find undoubted traces of a goddess mother very similar to the goddess mother whom Dr Oppert shews to be the dominant power in the ancient Dravidian religion. In ancient Russia we have thus mother Damp Earth, or mother Fertile Earth as the goddess mother; and in ancient Poland and Bohemia we have the goddess Dziawanna, or Jivana, Life, etymologically the same as the Sanskrit, Jivana, life.

And in a totally different section of the human race we have the same idea; for the Polynesian peoples, and especially the Maories of New Zealand, have the goddess Earth as the great mother in their oldest myths.

Dr. Oppert continues: "I have further tried to show how the contact with the non-Aryan population affected the belief of the Aryans, and modified some of the features of their deities. *Brahman* was thus, by assimilating himself with the non-Aryan chief-god and demon-king, Aiyânâr, transformed into a Brahma bhûta, while the very same Aiyânâr was changed into *Shiva* in his position as demon-king or Bhûtanâth, and *Vishnu* became gradually identified by a great section of the Brahmanic community with the female principle and taken for Umâ."

On the subject of Umâ, Dr. Oppert has written very much of great interest, but it appears to us that his conclusions may require to be modified in two directions. Umâ, of course, is first known to us from the famous story in the Kena or Talavakâra Upanishad. Brahma won a victory for the Devas. The Devas exulted in his victory, claiming it as their own. Brahma became manifest as a Yaksha; the Devas sent Agni

and Vaya and Indra to learn who this Yaksha was. Agni and Vaya failed, and had to confess their inferiority to the unknown power. Indra approached, and the unknown power suddenly disappeared from him. There, in the ether, Indra met a woman, very resplendent, Umā Haimavatī, who declared to him the secret of the unknown power, who was Brahma, the eternal.

Shankārāchārya, commenting on this passage, tells us that Umā is wisdom, in the form of a woman, in the form of Umā, (Vidyā Umārūpini). Sayanāchārya, commenting on a passage in the Taittiriya Aranyaka, mentions this passage, and tells us that Umā is the wisdom that reveals the eternal. Now there is an Aryan root *um*, or *oum*, which has a whole series of compounds in the Sclavonic languages, and this root *um*, in compounds *umo*, has exactly the meaning which Shankara and Sayana give to Umā; it means, that is, wisdom, knowledge, or intelligence. It may very well be, then, that this root appears in Sanskrit as Umā Haimavati, the woman very splendid, who reveals the eternal Brahma to the Devas, and we could easily supply a hundred instances to show the extremely close phonetic relation between Sanskrit and the Sclavonic languages, a closeness which makes it entirely possible that the words *umo* in the one should become *umā* in the other; that wisdom in the one should become the goddess wisdom in the other. For *agny*, the common word for fire in the Sclavonic languages, has become, in Sanskrit, Agni, the Vedic fire god, and *Jivana*, which means life in Sanskrit, has become Dziejanna, or Jivana, the goddess life, in the Sclavonic tongues. Therefore, it may very well be that *Umo*, wisdom, in Sclavonic, has become Umā, the shining goddess, revealer of the eternal, in Vedic Sanskrit.

Umā is clearly the same as Vāch, the feminine word, the feminine formative Logos; the same as Sarasvati, queen of learning; and the same as Sāvitrī and the feminine Virāj. Now Vāch appears in the very earliest of the Vedic hymns. In the 164th hymn of the first Mandala, verse 45, we read

“Chatvāri Vāk parimita padāni

Tāni vidar Bāhmanāh yemanāhinah.”

“Vāch is defined in four steps; the knowers of the eternal, who are wise know them.” And this feminine Vāch, defined in four padas, or steps, irresistibly reminds us of the four steps of Brahma, in the Māndūkya and Chāndogya Upanishad; where we are told of the fourfold eternal, Brahma. Chatushpāt and the mystical connexion between Brahma and Vāch is here very plain, if we remember the doctrine of the emanations (*sṛṣṭi*) and the position of the feminine word, or feminine Logos, in this doctrine. It is, therefore, clear that the fully

developed doctrine of Vâch is enormously old, and is probably referred to in the first Mandala of the Rig Veda hymns, and how great the antiquity of these earliest hymns may be, is one of the points about which one would like to speak with caution. We can only say that we believe their antiquity to be enormous.

So that Dr. Oppert's conclusions as to the absence of the goddess mother from the old Vedic religion of the Aryans, seem to us to be rather doubtful; as does his derivation of Umâ from *Amma*, 'mother,' in the Dravidian languages. It is doubtless true that *Amma* and Umâ were blended together as Ambikâ at a later period, and that much of the dark character of the Dravidian goddess was attributed to the resplendent Umâ, the fair lady of wisdom.

But we believe the truth is, as we have suggested, that Vâch was the negative, receptive, passive energy of the formative power from the earliest ages of the Vedic hymns; that Vâch, as goddess, of wisdom, is the same as Umâ, personified wisdom; as *Umo* is wisdom, not personified, in the Slavonic tongues. While *Amma*, the mighty mother, was the earth goddess among the Dravidians, with whom some of the darker, earthly elements had been associated, as they were with the earth mother of the Polynesians.

When the Aryan and Dravidian peoples met—how many ages ago, we cannot even guess—the similarity of the two goddess mothers, Vâch (the feminine potency of the formative power, who is, in the Chhândogya Upanishad specifically identified with Prthivî, earth,) and *Amma*, the goddess mother of the Dravidians, who is the earth, was so great that they became insensibly blended, in Ambikâ the wife or sister of Rudra, or Shiva, who had come to be regarded as the representative of the male formative power; so that his consort became fittingly the feminine power, which we know outwardly as earth, the all producing goddess.

When we speak of mother earth or of mother nature, we are not really borrowing a 'Turanian' idea, whether Akkadian, or Chaldean, or Dravidian, as Dr. Oppert would have us believe. We are rather drawing a graphic, world-true simile from the universal experience of man. We may, however, with advantage, quote what Dr. Oppert says of the peculiarly non-Aryan character of the worship of the mother-goddess as he finds it among the Dravidian peoples.

"The principal deities of the ancient Aryans were of the male sex, and their consorts, whatever influence they possessed otherwise, derived their power mainly from being the wives of the great gods. The Aryan pantheon did not admit a goddess to supreme authority, nor did it allow to the wives

of the gods an equal share in ruling Pallas Athene (Minerva), the daughter, and Hera (Juno), the wife of Zeus (Jupiter); were thus dependent on the will of the chief of the gods, and Indrāni, Agnāyi and Varunāni, the wives respectively of Indra, Agni, and Varuna, occupied, as such, in the Veda, only a secondary position. But this principle of male exclusiveness did not prevail among the Turanian races, for Davkina, the lady of the earth, was revered in ancient Babylonia as respectfully as was Ea, the lord of the water, and she was also worshipped as the creator of the world. The same idea predominates among the Gauda-Dravidians of India, where from a far remote period the mother earth, the representative of the female energy, was worshipped as the principal deity, and where, even at the present day, its substitute, the local Grāma-devatā, is revered as the founder or creator of each village or town, as had been the practice in ancient Babylonia.\*

In another place, Dr. Oppert writes: "The fish Oannes conceals under his fishy form a human body with human head and feet, and speaks with a human voice. Oannes . . . is Ea-kin, the god of the deep, as well as of the earth and of heaven; whose special home was Erida, the modern Abu Shahrain, on the Persian Gulf, which represented to the Chaldean mind the Ocean, the great receptacle of all streams and rivers. He emerged from the watery element of the celestial ocean which is personified as the goddess Ziku. As consort stands at his side an independent female deity, Dav-ki (Dav-kina), the lady of the earth; the special goddess of Eridu. Each Babylonian city had its special goddess or creatress, as every Indian hamlet and town has its peculiar Grāmādevatā Ea-kin alone knows the supreme name in which is centered all divine power."† This would seem to point to a superiority of the male deity even in the Babylonian religion, which apparently militates against Dr. Oppert's views. Dr. Oppert continues on the subject of the female energy: "This non-Aryan worship has to such an extent been accepted by the Aryan population of India, that almost all important sacred places to which pilgrims resort from the Himālaya mountains in the north to Cape Comorin in the south, are under the guardianship of the principle of female energy, *i. e.*, of Dēvi, Kālī, or Shaktī, etc. The original Gauda-Dravidian grāma-devatā, which is now also revered by the Brahmans, is, in most of these places, represented by, or transformed into, an Aryanised kshetra-devatā. This kshetra-devatā, or titular deity of a town, district, or country, is acknowledged as a manifestation of Shakti, and the worship of these Shaktis is specially performed on the eighth day (*Ashtami*), of the Durgā puja.

\* p. 398.

† p. 326-327.

"Before the Aryan invaders became familiar with the religious tenets of their national foes, whose country they had conquered, and whom they had reduced to a state of serfdom, a considerable period of time must have elapsed. It is, however, probable that the more enlightened and more peacefully inclined men of both races came gradually in contact with one another and acquired some knowledge of the peculiar thoughts, manners, and customs of their neighbours. This could, to a certain extent, be more easily done in those early days, when the differences of birth and education had not yet produced the intolerant distinctions of caste. As soon as intercourse between the opposing camps had been established, and had led to an interchange of ideas between the two alien races, the minds of the thinking members of the two communities began to meditate about, and to assimilate, doctrines hitherto strange to them. In this way, I suppose, did the principle of the female energy and the worship of Shakti become known to the Aryans and enter into their philosophical theories, naturally in a considerably modified form. For I do not believe that any Vedic account of the creation. *e. g.*, the 129th hymn of the 12th [10th] Mandala of the Rig-Veda, can be rightly interpreted as proving that a belief in such a principle existed among the ancient Aryan population of India. No doubt *Dyaus* and *Prthivi* appear in the Rig-Veda, respectively, as god of heaven and goddess of earth, and are called father and mother; but this latter expression admits of a totally different explanation, and does not indicate a worship of mother earth such as we find among the Gauda-Dravidian Hindus, a worship which in this form is also nowhere found among the other Aryan nations."

We believe, we have faithfully represented and sufficiently illustrated the most salient points in Dr. Oppert's work, and may sum up very briefly our conclusions. The first part of the book, which deals with the Dravidians and the Gaudians, is, in our opinion, rather an encyclopedia of the Indian peoples than a strictly ethnical study; and leaves almost untouched the strictly ethnical questions which affect the non-Aryan Indian peoples. The attempt to connect these peoples with the Northern Turanians, the Akkadians and Chaldeans, has, we believe, failed necessarily, owing to our complete ignorance of the ethnical character of these two peoples, the Akkadians and Chaldeans. But the mass of material which Dr. Oppert has collected and arranged, has not only placed the study of the non-Aryan peoples of India in a new and much better light; but has also made the future task of deciding on their precise ethnical character very much easier; by providing, so to speak, a chart of the country to be explored.

To the second part of this work, which deals with Indian Theogony, and especially with the reaction between the Aryan and non-Aryan peoples, it would be difficult to give too high praise. Dr. Oppert has practically solved the main problem, by showing first, what the beliefs of each section originally were, and secondly, by showing how the elements of each gradually intruded themselves into the other. We may differ from Dr. Oppert on certain points, but in the main we are in accord with his larger conclusions ; and give him our sincere thanks for the admirable way in which his work has been done,

C. J.

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## ART. IX.—A GENERAL VIEW OF THE COINAGE OF THE MOGUL EMPERORS OF INDIA.

**N**OW that we have full catalogues of the coins of the Mogul Emperors of India in the British Museum of London, the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the Government Museum, Lahore, we are in a position which enables us to see what the coins issued by those Emperors actually were. We doubt not that, in private collections, there may be specimens not yet made public, but the published coins are quite sufficient for the purposes of a general view of the subject.

First of all, however, we must examine the monetary condition of India before the time of the Moguls. Thirty-four kings had reigned in Delhi before Bábar came to India. Of all of these kings, except two, coins are known, and *of the times* of the two kings whose names do not appear on coins, we have coins, though they bear the names of a king who was dead when the coins were struck. Of the thirty-four kings, the coins of 17 are known in gold and more than that number in silver—all struck, however, either in billon or in copper. For nearly a hundred years, however, before the battle of Pániput, which gave the throne of Delhi to the first Mogul Emperor, Bábar, no gold or silver coins had been struck in the capital. Within that period, both gold and silver coins were struck in Bengál, Jaunpúr, Málwah, Gujarat and Kulburga and Kashmír, so that the country had even then a gold, silver and copper currency. Many of the Delhi Emperors had struck immense numbers of coins of many types. The Tuglaqs and the Lodís, the predecessors of the Moguls, had been especially busy. Muhammad Tuglaq reigned 27 years; Fíroz Sháh Tuglaq reigned 37; Bahlól Lodí reigned the same number, and Sikandar Lodí reigned 29 years. Coins of every year of Fíroz, Bahlól and Sikandar are even now obtainable. These coins have nearly always different amounts of silver in them. Judging from the numbers in which they are now found, the country must have been inundated with them when Bábar came. Twenty of these billon coins went to the rupee. They were called *siyah*, or black, *tankas*, because the silver they had in them caused them to have a dark appearance. They were the favourite currency of the country. There are three tombs at Hissár, and there is one at Sonpat, on which the cost of the buildings is inscribed. It is given in *Siyah tankas*. They were built in the time of the second Mogul, which shows that the black tankas were still current in his day.

There was a vast quantity of small copper also current.

These were fractional parts of the black tankas, and were used for change and small purchases.

The kingdoms of Kashmir, Jaunpur, Malwa, Gujarat and Kulburga had also, in addition to their gold and silver coins, a very large copper currency, and the copper coins composing it were of various sizes and weights and values. So that the whole of Northern India was abundantly supplied with money.

Bábar came from a land in which gold, silver, and copper were all current. There seems, however, to have been but little gold and the pieces were small. The silver was abundant. The coins of Turkistan in that metal were thin broad pieces, worth about six annas each. There was not much copper. It was struck in cities and bore, not the king's name, but the name of the city, and, as a rule, the figure of an animal and the date of mintage. When Bábar had conquered India, one of his first acts was to strike silver coins, similar to those of the land he had left, in thin, broad silver pieces, bearing his name and titles and the names of the mint and the date of mintage, all on one side, while the Muhammadan confession of faith and the names of the first four Khalifs occupied the other. For some years he coined only these silver coins, but he had mints at work in several places of India, Agra, Lahore, Jaunpur, Delhi. Towards the end of his reign he began striking in bronze. The coins were similar in weight and in mixture to the coins of the Lodis; but the legends were similar to those of the coins of Turkistan and Kabul. They had the name of the mint on them and the year of mintage, but no bronze coin has yet been found bearing the name of Bábar. No coin of his has yet been found in gold. The only innovations, therefore, made by Bábar in his Indian coinage were the coining of silver tankas instead of rupees, and the omission from the bronze coinage of the King's name. Judging, however, from the fewness of both silver and bronze coins of Bábar's days, which have come down to us, there can be no doubt that Bábar considered India to be well supplied with currencies and not to need any vast additions from his mints.

Humáyún, who succeeded Bábar, during his first reign, coined, as his father had done; but, besides silver and bronze, he occasionally struck small gold pieces. His first reign of nine years was not productive of much silver money. Still, wherever he went he coined, except when he went to Bengal. His conquest of Champanir seems to have pleased him so much that he struck silver and bronze coins there. One bronze coin records the "conquest of Champanir" in 942 Hijri; another was struck in the "noble city of Champanir." The silver coins of this place were struck in the same year. But Humáyún struck also silver in Kábul and Qandahár, as well as Lahore, Delhi, Agra and



Jaunpúr. His brother, Kámrán, who left him and went to Kábul, took the Indian struck silver coins to Kábul, and then re-struck them with his own name, so that we have counter-struck coins of Humáyún bearing Kámrán's name. Kámrán also struck coins in Kábul like those of his brother. When Humáyún left India, his coinage and that of his father, Bábar, had affected the currency but little. Sher Sháh Súr, who had driven him away, evidently thought that a reform in the currency was necessary. The black tankas were all of different values, as the amount of silver varied in each. The numerous small copper coins that were current must have been a nuisance rather than a help. In no two countries of India were they of the same weight. Sher Sháh's plan was to have a copper currency to which apparently the silver and gold coins he issued were to act as measures of value. The copper coin was a dām of about 320 grains. Of these forty went to the rupee. The whole land revenue of the country was assessed in dāms. Mints were established all over the country to produce these dāms in quantities sufficient to meet the demand for them. Half dāms and sixteenths were also coined. Quarter dāms and eighths are almost, if not altogether, unknown. Perhaps some of the current copper coins were used. These copper coins had on them the name and titles of the king, the mint and year. These items were arranged in a great variety of ways.

Sher Sháh's rupees were broad, fine pieces, weighing about 175 grains. They had his name and titles on them in Arabic and Hindi, and the mint and year on one side. The other was occupied by the Kalina and the names of the first four Khalifas. There were some exceptions to these arrangements, however. It is evident that the ratio between the rupee and the dām was that of their metallic values. Forty dāms of copper, of 320 grains each, were equal in value to 175 grains of silver. Very little gold was coined by the Sher Sháh; so we do not know what the relative values of silver and gold were in his reign.

After Sher Sháh, four other Súrí kings coined, on the lines started by the founder of the dynasty. Vast quantities of copper coins must have been issued during the 16 years of Humáyún's absence from India. They were necessary to the fiscal arrangements inaugurated by Sher Sháh.

When Humáyún returned, he fell in with the arrangements the Súrís had made. He struck rupees and he issued dāms. Both are known of the year 962. He, however, omitted his name from the copper coins, and he did not put it in Hindí on the silver ones. His death put an end to his mint projects.

Akbar became King of India in 963 H. The Lahore mint, near which he was when he heard of his father's death, at once began to issue thin silver coins, like those of Humáyún and

Bábar. But this was soon stopped. The Agra and Dehli mints coined rupees of full weight, and were followed by other mints all over the country. Dáms were issued in vast quantities from a great number of mints every year. The assessment of the land was made and paid in dáms. Rupees were numerously coined. Half rupees and quarter rupees and eighths and tenths and twentieths were also struck. As Akbar extended his Empire, he opened fresh mints for gold, silver and copper, and this went on for thirty years. Every year gold, silver and copper coins were issued, from some mints regularly, from others as occasion required. Some of the coins in gold and silver were small, thin pieces. Some of the rupees were like Sher Sháh's, but with the name in Hindí omitted. Some of the copper coins imitated the copper coins of Sher Sháh, and some are known with the Kalima on the reverse. The copper coins were, in these thirty years, invariably called "fulus" on the coins themselves. Halves, quarters, and eighths all had the same name on them. The gold coins never exceeded 170 grains, the silver never 180.

In the 30th year of his reign Akbar altered the inscriptions on his coins, but not their weight. This alteration was due to a change in his religious views. His success had puffed him up. He regarded himself as God. He therefore caused his name to appear on the coins as الله اكبر "Akbar is God," and he added جل جلاله "May his brightness shine forth." He invented also a new kind of salám, which was really an act of worship. He ceased using the Muhammadan Kalima on his coins, and used instead the two short sentences given above. He also ceased using the Hijrî year. He used the year of his reign, and he called that الهى divine. As his mints were at work the whole year through, he caused the month in which each coin was struck to be recorded on it, as well as the year and the mint. The months he used were those in use by the fire-worshippers of Persia, not the Muhammadan months. Akbar lived twenty years after he had made these changes in his coin legends.

On his copper coins of these last twenty years appear some new coin names "Tanka," "Nímtanka," "Chhárúm hissa-i-tanka," "Hashtam hissa-i-tanka," and "Shánzdaham hissa-i-tanka;" on one coin is "damrî," on another "damra," on another "ním dām," on another "nisfe." There is a series of copper pieces on which come the names در نیمه or چوتنه or یک تنه or در تانگ. These have the names of the months and the mints on them, together with the Ilahi year. They are said to have been weights issued from the mints as standard weights for goldsmiths. Their names, however, do not agree with those given in the Aín-i-Akbarî, neither do the

weights. The weights do not agree either with goldsmith's weights used in the bazaars. Quite recently we obtained some of the latter in agate and crystal. They differ from the coins considerably. The *tanka* named above has nothing to do with this latter series of coins. It weighed about 640 grains and was therefore a double *dám*. It is rarer than our own large two-penny pieces struck in Birmingham in 1797.

The copper and silver mints of Akbar were very numerous. The coins give the names of many mints not given in the *Aín-i-Akbarí*, As, however, that book was composed before Akbar's death, and as Akbar's mints went on striking coins until that event, some of the later-opened mints could not be recorded. We must remember, however, that only in one part of India has search been made for Akbar's coins. Further search will undoubtedly give us more mint names, and further varieties of his coinage.

According to the *Aín-i-Akbarí*, many coins were minted, of which we have not a single specimen now. There were\* 100, 50, and 25 mohur pieces. He is said at his death to have left coins of this kind worth over 97 millions of rupees. Besides which he left one hundred millions of rupees in silver and two hundred and† thirty millions of copper pieces in his treasury. Of all this enormous wealth a few thousands of rupees, a few hundred copper pieces, and one 5 mohur gold piece have come down to our time and are now known.

We are told that the ordinary gold mohur was worth from 8 to 10 rupees. It is now worth from 26 to 28.

Three couplets are known on Akbar's coins. One was on a rupee struck at Allahabad. The other two were on Agra mohurs. The Allahabad rupee is of three varieties: one has neither year nor month on it: one has the year without the month, and one has both year and month. There was, however, a lot of poetry on the large coins of Akbar.

At the death of Akbar there must have been a vast amount of gold, silver and copper current in the country. His mints had been at work 50 years. The *Súris* had coined for 16 years before his time. Even now it is not difficult to obtain silver and copper coins of every one of those 66 years. Of some years of Akbar, coins may be obtained of every month. The currency of India was, therefore, in a better condition than that

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\* When Jahángir went from Allahabad to Agra to condole with Akbar on the death of his wife Jahángir's mother, he presented as a *nasr* 200 mohurs of 100 tolas each, 4 of 50 each, 1 of 25, 1 of 20, and 3 of 5 tolas each, *Tozuk-i-Jahagiri*.

† Jahangir at the beginning of his reign gave several lakhs of dams to Dost Muhammad to distribute in alms; to several others he gave a lakh each for the same purpose; to another he gave 5,000 rupees; at the same time he ordered 50,000 dams to be given away daily.

of any other country in the world. Purchases could be made in it to any extent, however great or small. There were no tokens. Everything was current at its intrinsic value. The coins of previous dynasties had not been called in. This must have caused confusion to a certain extent ; but when once the Surí dynasty's and Akbar's coinage had set a standard, all the coins of previous dynasties would be valued intrinsically. Their presence would add to the time necessary for a bargain and to the zeal with which folk would commence the wrangling.

Some of Akbar's mohurs and rupees are square. He revived a custom which Qutb-ud-Dín Mubarak Sháh had started. Jahángír succeeded to an Empire replete with money, and to a full treasury. He made some few changes in the coins. In the early years of his reign he began to strike gold coins a quarter as heavy again as those of Akbar, and silver coins a quarter as heavy again as Akbar's rupees. For the first five years of his reign, too, he returned to the use of the Kalima on his mohurs and rupees. After that he began the use of Persian couplets, in which were mentioned the month and the mint, or sometimes the mint only, and sometimes neither month nor mint. Sometimes he put only the year of his reign on his coins, and he called it, as his father had done, "Ilahi," or "divine." Sometimes he added the Hijrí year. In the preface to the Lahore catalogue 38 Persian couplets are given.

Jahángír struck few copper coins, and some of these were Surí dams re-struck. He introduced some new names for his copper coins, *rawáne*, *ráij*, *nún ráij* and *rawán* appear, as well as *fulus*. The Lahore catalogue gives 22 of his copper coins, the British Museum gave one only. There was no need for the fresh coining of copper by Jahángír. The country was well supplied when he ascended the throne. The dams were thick, dumpy coins which could not wear down easily.

One small silver coin Jahángír seems to have invented, the "*nisár*," a coin as its name shows meant for distribution, or scattering, amongst the people, on anniversaries of coronation days and birthdays and such like festivals. These coins are of great beauty, and are now amongst the rare things obtained by numismatists. The Lahore catalogue has three only, the British Museum none.

Jahángír issued one unique series of mohurs and rupees. They are called zodiacal, because they have on one side the signs of the zodiac. These signs were beautifully worked out images, the work of some European artist. They are now of the greatest degree of rarity. Many imitations are, however, obtainable. Jahángír, like his father, coined large gold and silver coins. In his biography he gives a list of these, and he speaks sometimes of making presents of them to ambassadors and people of rank. One only is now known, and it is only a five mohur piece.

Jahángír, of all the Mogul Emperors, was the only one who attempted his portrait on his coins. This is in several cases given with the addition of that greatest of all shameful abominations to a Musalman, the wine cup. On the reverse of one is the sun. The Moguls were said to be sun-worshippers. One old traveller says, that the Emperor used to rise every morning and worship the sun, and he describes the window where this act was performed. Both Akbar and Jahángír used the old Persian months on their coins, and these were the months used by the Sassanians, who were fire-worshippers. These two facts, the sun on some coins, the Persian months on many others, may have given rise to the misstatement. From the use of the word *divine* we know that Akbar and Jahángír laid claim to divinity. One of the coin couplets of Jahángír slyly hints at this. He says that the numerical values of the letters in his own name and in that of God **الله** are the same.

One other coin of Jahángír's deserves notice. He struck both mohurs and rupees on which are his own name and that of his lovely queen, Núr Jahán.

The workmanship of the coins of Jahángír is superb. It is the best that was ever performed by any oriental die-sinkers. After his time the art of die-sinking suffered decadence.

There are very few coins of Jahángír to represent divisional parts of the rupee, though it is said they were struck. The mints of Jahángír are fewer than those of his father. Some towns, however, occur on his coins which are not on Akbar's, but there are many mint towns of Akbar's time from which no coin has been seen of Jahángír's. Thus Multán was a mint of Akbar's, but no one has seen a coin of Jahángír's from this mint. This cannot be easily accounted for, as, from the 1st year of Sháh Jahán, Multan again figures on the coinage. All mint records being lost, we are dependent on the coins alone. They are our mint records, and we know scarcely anything beyond what they tell us.

Sháh Jahán succeeded his father, Jahángír. His name as prince was Khurram. A rupee of his, struck at Lahore, has that name on it, together with Sháh Jahán. In his first year Sháh Jahán, at some of his mints, caused the word *Hijr* to be struck on his mohurs and rupees, in contradistinction to *Ilah*, which had been so prominent on the rupees and mohurs of Jahángír. This was politic. Sháh Jahán needed the help of all the Muhammadans he could conciliate. The reverses of the rupees and mohurs had the Kalima restored to them. With it, however, for many years, from several mints, coins were issued having the Ilahi year and the old Persian month of the fire worshippers. Couplets were banished from the coins. There is, however, one couplet on a Dehlí rupee when new Dehli was first called Shahjahanabad. No genuine

square coin is known of Sháh Jahán's, in either gold or silver, although Jahángír had coined in both metals, round and square coins indiscriminately. The gold coin kept up the usual weight of the mohurs, and there was no alteration in the weight of the rupee. Halves of rupees were struck. Nisárs, the weight of a quarter of a rupee, were also coined. Copper coins of Sháh Jahán are seldom found now-a-days. There was no need for his adding to the copper currency. Some dāms and some eighths of dāms are all that are known. Large gold coins continued to be struck ; but only one is now known to be in existence. From all this it will be seen that Sháh Jahán's coins are monotonous. They were intended for use, and performed that function admirably. Perhaps, it ought to be mentioned, that a pretender named Dáwar Bakhsh issued rupees at Lahore in the first year of Sháh Jahán. Only one rupee seems to have survived.

When Sháh Jahán was dethroned, two of the rival brothers, Shah Shuja and Murad Bukhsh, issued rupees in their own names. But Aurangzeb, the sly, successful brother, soon obtained the throne, and the other brothers, in various ways and by various means, disappeared. Aurangzeb abolished the Kalima from his coins. He regarded it as too holy a sentence to be in the hands of infidels. After a year or so, during which he used his names and titles on his coins, he fixed on a couplet for the obverse of his mohurs and rupees, and during his long reign of 51 years he adhered to it. The only change he made was that of putting part of this couplet in a square area. The reverse of such rupees, as have this square area on the obverse, have the name of the mint in a similar square area.

Aurangzeb possessed more of India than any other Mogul Emperor, but it was in his time that disintegration commenced. Over fifty mints of his are known. They show the extent of his empire. His gold and silver coins must have been struck in vast quantities all over the country. The weight and quality of the metal were uniform. Only *nisárs* are known of his small silver coins. He must have been miserly, for not a dozen specimens have come down to our time. He struck very little copper, but he made a change in his copper coins. The rupee had become so plentiful that there was no need for copper in making large payments. It was needed now only for change and small purchases. He reduced the weight from 320 grains to about 220. One copper coin of Surat is known weighing now 316 grains. The Lahore catalogue gives 24 of his copper coins ; of Akbar it gave 284. This shows, perhaps, the relative proportion of the amounts of the copper coins issued in these two long reigns. In Akbar's time copper was a necessity. In Aurangzeb's, it was wanted only for small transactions.

One small silver coin of Aurangzeb's deserves notice. It was square and was called a "legal drachm." It weighs now 46·5 grains. This is about the weight of the old dirhams of the Khalifas of Baghdat and Damascus.

On the death of Aurangzeb, Azim Sháh and Kam Bakhsh set up as pretenders for a short time. They struck both mohurs and rupees, which are now amongst the rarest acquisitions of the coin collector.

Sháh Alam Bahadur I. succeeded to the throne. He gave orders that no couplets should be used on his coins. Of course, he was not obeyed. Three couplets have been found on his rupees. His short reign of 6 years was prolific in mohurs and rupees, but no copper coins are known bearing his name, and no silver coin less than a rupee. The only thing to vary the monotony of his issues is the mint names. Jahándár Sháh, who succeeded Sháh Alam, reigned only part of a year; so, of course, his coins were never numerous. They are known in gold and silver only. Farrukhsiyar next reigned for seven years. The minting of mohurs and rupees went on as usual. Some few coins in copper bear his name. One small square silver legal drachm has been found. It weighs 41·5 grains. He used one couplet on his coins. Jahándár Sháh had used several or rather several variants of one. In the year that Farrukhsiyar died, three kings ascended the throne of Dehli, Rafiá-ud-Daraját, Rafiá-ud-Daulat and Muhammad Shah. The two former died within the year. Their mohurs and rupees are known from several mints. Those of Rafiá-ud-Daraját had a couplet on them. The numismatic name of Rafiá-ud-Daulat was Sháh Jahán.

Muhammad Sháh reigned 31 years. His mohurs and rupees are even now abundant. His copper coins are rare, but still they are met with. They are of the reduced weight of Aurangzeb's copper coins. He used no couplets, and his coins in consequence have little on them besides the years and mints to recommend them. As usual, the mints were at work every year. The mints were getting fewer and fewer and nearer and nearer to Dehli. Muhammad Ibrahim was an interloper at the commencement of this reign. He coined mohurs and rupees.

It was during the reign of Muhammad Sháh that Nádir Sháh invaded India. His sack of Dehli is one of the most terrible things we read of in history. The loot his soldiers accumulated was taken from them; and much was melted down into ingots. Rupees were struck at Dehli by the invader, who had struck double mohurs at Lahore on his way down. Nádir Sháh must have taken away with him a vast amount of bullion, but it seems to have been of little use to him or his country. It was probably buried and has never been exhumed.

Ahmad Sháh was the next king of Dehli. Ahmad Sháh Durrání was crowned in the same year as Ahmad Sháh of Dehli, in Qandahar, and the same year he invaded the Panjáb and struck rupees in Lahore. Whenever he returned to his mountain home, the Lahore mint seems to have been busy coining for his Dehli namesake. This kind of thing went on in the reign of the next king of Dehli, Alamgir II, who was the last Mogul Emperor to coin in Lahore. It was in his days that Ahmad Sháh Durrání defeated and destroyed the Mahrattas at Pánipat. The Durrání and his son, Taimur, struck many coins in the north of India, but none in copper. They were of the same make and weight as the rupees of the Mogul Emperors. Ahmad Sháh Durrání's Lahore coins go on for many years. Alamgir II coined in gold, silver and copper. His copper coins were lighter still than those of Aurangzeb and Muhammad Sháh's.

After him Sháh Jahán III reigned just long enough to coin in gold and silver; and then Sháh Alam II was put on the throne, on which he sat as titular Emperor for 49 years. Coins in gold, silver and copper were struck in his name all over the north of India. The East India Company used his name extensively on their early issues. Many native States struck coins in his name also, so that, if we regard only the coins bearing his name, we should think he was one of the most powerful Emperors of India, instead of being what he was, a poor blinded puppet King. Early in his reign the Sikhs began to strike coin at Lahore, rupees only. Shortly after that they opened a mint at Amritsar. Both mints went on working every year. Their coins do not bear the name of Sháh Alam II, which appears only on the rupees of one trans-Sutlej State, Jummún. Towards the end of the reign of Sháh Alam, the British conquered Agra and Delhi. One of the copper coins, bearing Sháh Alam's name and struck at Agra, bears the initials J. W. H. These were struck by the orders of Lieut.-Col. John William Hessian, the Emperor's Governor of the Fort of Agra, who died and was buried at Agra in 1803.

The mohurs, rupees and copper coins struck by the East India Company in the name of Sháh Alam are very numerous. The records of the Company's mints give us full information about them. The coinage of the East India Company is outside the province of this short paper.

Akbar II succeeded Sháh Alam II. His empire was the Delhi Fort and nothing more. There he kept up a semblance of royalty and issued gold, silver and copper coins in his own name for many years. They were not numerous, and are now very rare. Coins struck in native States, bearing his name, are common.

Bahádur Sháh succeeded Akbar II. Of his coins only



rupees are known, struck at Delhi. Many native States, however, continued to use his name and that of the second Akbar. The Mutiny, and its result, put an end to all this playing at being Emperor.

We have shown in the above brief sketch that the Mogul Emperors conquered India, and from the time of their conquest to the very last days of the last puppet Emperor, coins were struck in their name. We have scarcely any mint records. The coins secured by years of patient collecting, however, enable us to tell the story of the work of the mints. In no history of India do we learn that at any time commerce and trade suffered from either the depreciation of the coinage, or from a paucity of coins. In the 21st chapter of Macaulay's History of England, we have a frightful picture of the state of the currency in England in 1695 A.D., which was the 39th year of Aurangzeb. Turning to the rupees described in the Lahore catalogue for that year and previous ones, we find that now, after 200 years of wear, the weights vary very little. No rupee is lower than 171 grains, while none is more than 178. So, no matter what the tyranny of the Emperors was, one thing at any rate was well looked after, the coinage. There was money in abundance, and it was good money. The gold, silver and copper coins were as nearly as possible unalloyed. Exchange varied as the intrinsic values of the metals varied. In Akbar's time the gold mohur was worth from 9 to 10 rupees. It afterwards rose to be worth 15 or 16. It is now worth 27 or 28. Gold was never a standard of value in India. Since the time of Akbar everything has been referred to the rupee. All our evils of to-day are caused by the fact, that while this standard of the rupee obtains in India, the sovereign is the standard of value at home. The enormous supplies of silver obtained during the last 20 years have far exceeded the proportionate supplies of gold, abnormal though they too have been. No one can help the present condition of things, for supply and demand are outside all legislation. *They* rule the market. Happy they whose pay is in pounds. They who receive their remuneration in rupees are unhappy sufferers, whose condition to-day, compared with their condition twenty years ago, suggests the two words—penury and prosperity.

It will be seen, from what we have written above, what a vast field the coins of the Mogul Emperors of India present to the numismatist. The catalogues of the Lahore Museum, of the British Museum, and of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, can be studied by those desirous of pursuing the subject numismatically.

CHAS. J. RODGERS,

*Honorary Numismatist to the  
Government of India.*

## ART. X.—THE EDINBURGH ACADEMY IN INDIA.

*Chronicles of the Cumming Club, and Memories of Old Academy Days*: MDCCCXLI—MDCCCXLVI. Compiled by Alexander Fergusson, Lieutenant-Colonel ; Historiographer to the Club. Edinburgh : printed for the Cumming Club, by T. and A. Constable, at the University Press, MDCCCLXXXVII.

*The Edinburgh Academy Army List, 1824-1894*, being supplement to the "*Edinburgh Academy Chronicle*," February 1894.

### INTRODUCTORY.

**A**N advertisement which appeared in some of the Indian newspapers early in January of the present year, inviting men in India, who had been boys at the Edinburgh Academy, to dine together in Calcutta, reminded me that I had for some time been contemplating the writing of an article, to be offered to the *Calcutta Review*, on the subject of the Edinburgh Academy in India, materials for which I had in the book of which I have first above given the title. Since I first thought of doing this, two articles tracing the connection of Ayrshire men with India have appeared in the *Calcutta Review*, namely (1) "Kilwinning in the East," by Mr Reginald Craufurd Sterndale, in October 1891, and (2) "Ayrshire in India," signed by R. M., in January 1892. Being half Ayrshire myself, these articles were specially interesting to me. R. M's article was suggested by Mr. Sterndale's, and was written by way of supplement to it. Kilwinning is a small town in Ayrshire, in the Parish of the same name, and it was the head-quarters of Freemasonry in Scotland from, as Mr. Sterndale shows, at least as early as 1286 down to 1736, when the Grand Lodge of Scotland was constituted ; and the Kilwinning brethren, resisting what they considered the usurpation of their ancient rights, continued to hold independent meetings and grant charters as before, until 1807, when the Mother Lodge relinquished her ancient privileges and joined the general Masonic body. Mr. Sterndale said :—

"I need not repeat the truism that Scottish men have always been foremost in foreign enterprise and adventure, but will point out what is equally true, though not, perhaps, so widely known, that of all the shires of Scotland, none has contributed so largely in this direction as Ayrshire."

"There was hardly an Ayrshire family of note in the last or present centuries which had not one or more of its cadets in India, either in the Military, Naval, or Civil Services of the East India Company, or pursuing fortune as free merchants or sea-captains."

"It was but natural, therefore, that when a number of men of Ayr found themselves thrown together in a foreign clime, they

should try to establish among them a reminiscence of their own well-beloved Western country, and, as many of them (as was often the case with those who went abroad in those days) were Free Masons, they formed a Lodge, which they named after the Mother Lodge of Scotland, and the Parish in which most probably many of them were born,—‘Kilwinning in the East.’”

Mr. Sterndale concluded his article thus :—

“The Western country has reason to be proud of the share her sons had in the acquisition and establishment of the great Indian Empire.”

R. M. backs up Mr. Sterndale, and says that his article—“Kilwinning in the East”—presents an example which might usefully be followed with reference to other countries, or towns, or districts of the old country, which have sent their sons or daughters to the East, though, perhaps, he says, there are few parts of Scotland, England, or Ireland, which have established so long a title to recognition in India as has the county of Ayr. But neither of these writers makes mention of Ayrshiremen now in India, or who have been in it of late years.

“Having been at the same school” is well-nigh as potent a bond of union between men in India as is the fact of having come from the same country. Eton, Rugby, Harrow, Cheltenham, Marlborough, Wellington, and Staff College dinners, or some of them, are annual institutions in India, and now the Edinburgh Academy has come into the field. So far as I am aware, no report of the gathering which was held in Calcutta on the 13th January last was published ; but by the courtesy of one of them, I am enabled to give a list of the names of those who attended, which, moreover, shows what they are doing in India. The peaceful nature of their occupations contrasts strikingly, as will afterwards be seen, with those of the men of war who proceeded from the school to India in the period which the “Cumming Club” commemorates. The dinner-roll of the 13th January 1894, taking the names at random, and giving the periods during which the eaters attended the Academy, is as follows :—

F. R. RAMPINI, 1854-57, Judge of the High Court, Calcutta.  
Surgeon-Captain C. G. ROBSON SCOTT, 1877-83, Indian Medical Department.

Surgeon-Captain A. W. T. BUIST-SPARKS, 1881-83, Army Medical Service.

J. ADAMSON, 1879-81, Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China.

R. D. MURRAY, 1878-81, Alliance Bank of Simla, Limited.

L. G. BALFOUR, 1862, Hong-Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation.

A. M. FINLAY, 1871-72, of Turner, Morrison and Company.

W. R. DONOGH, 1868-74, Barrister-at Law.

C. S. CONNELL, Bank of Bengal.

D. R. LYALL, 1852-59, Member of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, Bengal.

HARRY MACDONALD, 1867-69, Indigo Planter.

- GEORGE W. WALKER, 1870-73.  
 FRANK F. LYALL, 1881-1889, I. C. S.  
 R. CARSTAIRS, 1866-69, I. C. S.  
 J. F. FINLAY, I. C. S., Financial Secretary to the Government of India.  
 JOHN MACDONALD, 1863-65, Indigo Planter.  
 W. J. CUNNINGHAM, 1861-64, I. C. S., Foreign Secretary, Government of India.  
 JAMES DALLAS, 1869-76, Cant., R. E., Assistant Secretary, Government of India, Military Department.  
 P. BOOTH, 1860-62, Port Trust, Calcutta.  
 Lieutenant H. A. LYALL, R. N., 1881-83.

It will be observed that every year, from 1852 to 1889, was represented at the dinner. The following were unable to be present:—

- R. A. LYALL, of Lyall Marshall & Co., Calcutta.  
 Surgeon-Major T. R. MACDONALD.  
 Surgeon-Captain D. M. MOIR.  
 H. I. MCINTOSH, I. C. S.  
 N. D. BEATSON BELL, I. C. S.  
 J. D. FRASER, I. C. S.  
 A. E. CUNLIFFE, of Kellner & Co.

#### THE ACADEMY.

The *Edinburgh Academy* is a proprietary Day School, which was founded in the year 1825, to meet the felt want, as the phrase is, of a school for the boys of the new town, with suitable buildings, and an enclosed play-ground. Prior to the period with which Colonel Fergusson deals, it had, as he says, well fulfilled the expectation, in having produced sound scholars and good gentlemen. "It was considered a distinction to belong to such an institution. A certain responsibility lay on these aspirants of tender years" (those entering the first or lowest class, in October 1840), "seeing there were traditions of the school in respect of gentlemanly style and other matters." About sixty boys then joined the first class, which, Colonel Fergusson says, was an unusually large number; and, he says, the reason was that the first class was to be taken by one of the most popular of the masters, Mr. James Cumming. The system which existed from the foundation of the school down to the year when Colonel Fergusson wrote, when some changes were made, was that a boy, from the day of his joining the first class, advanced, year by year, under the exclusive care of the same master in classical studies during the first four years of his career. Then, though he was passed on to the Rector's hands to receive higher instruction in the classics—then the *spécialité* of the school—he did not altogether leave behind him the teaching of his old master, but had the advantage of the combined instruction during the remaining three years of the course. It was obvious that,

"under an arrangement of this kind it was matter of the utmost moment into whose hands a boy was likely to be intrusted on his first entry in the school. For better or worse, he and his master must be associated for many hours daily during the next six or seven years—perhaps the most important of the boy's life." Hence the run upon a popular master. Some boys would be kept back, others pressed on a little, to meet such an occasion. The fact that the boys who entered the "First" in October 1841, had fallen on most happy times and singular good fortune, was apparent to us all, says Colonel Fergusson, before we had been many days at school—

"It was, however, no new discovery that we had made. Already Mr. Cumming had secured for himself the reputation of a high-minded honourable gentleman of large attainments, and wide sympathies, which took the form of the most genial and kindly bearing towards his boys."

According to my recollection, Mr. Cumming's first classes were not the largest in this school. I think Mr. Macdougall used to have more pupils, and I think there was a Macdougall Club also, which may still exist. But Colonel Fergusson's praise of Mr. Cumming is fully justified. "Among the earlier of his pupils were Archibald Campbell Tait, Dux of the Academy, in its second year (the year in which Mr. Cumming joined it), the future Archbishop of Canterbury, and the late Frederick Robertson of Brighton." "In after years, Mr. Cumming's intercourse with Archbishop Tait was of a very cordial character." "The pupils of a former period held him in the same high esteem and affectionate regard that we did." Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff, ex-Governor of Madras, is mentioned by Colonel Fergusson as one of Mr. Cumming's early pupils.

It seems curious that Colonel Fergusson does not mention the fact that Mr. Cumming was an ordained clergyman, though he made education the business of his life. But "The Reverend" he was—originally of the Church of Scotland, but after the Secession,—of the Free Church, I well remember hearing him preach in a country Parish Church, shortly before that event took place, but I do not think his sermon was controversial.

Long before the first year was out, as Colonel Fergusson says, our faith in our master was complete; —"Firm without harshness, gentle without weakness," such was the description given of him by one who knew Mr. Cumming well; nothing could be better or more apt. His class discipline was firm, tempered with much of geniality and not a little humour; and he, by a happy knack,

'When'er he spoke,  
Made *work* seem lightsome by his mirthful joke,'

which was not wanting sometimes even when correction was administered." "Then his threats of punishment were terrible to hear. He could speak in an awful voice of 'a tremendous flogging;' but well we knew it was *sound*, and nothing more." I do not remember that Mr. Cumming ever lost his temper, or was in a passion; but he could be stern on occasion, and retribution generally followed swiftly on detection. The flogging was certainly *sound*, but perhaps that is what Colonel Fergusson means, not *vox et præterea nihil*. His "tawse" was full-sized, and heavy, and I have still a vivid recollection of the feel of it. Six lashes of the five thongs all over the palm and fingers, administered with a full swing of the body and arm, made one feel bad for hours. And Mr. Cumming did not confine the administration to the hand. He had a pretty way of whacking one over the shoulders, if he caught one up to anything as he was walking round the class. One way in which his "geniality and humour" were manifested, was in throwing the tawse at a boy, whom he saw in the distance misbehaving, whereupon the unlucky wight had to carry it up to the desk, and there receive his "palmies." The difference between the instrument and the mode of using it, was great in Mr. Cumming's and Mr. Gloag's classes. Gloag was the mathematical master, and Colonel Fergusson devotes a chapter of his book to his virtues, his humours, and his eccentricities, which I will make use of further on. Regarding Gloag's 'tawse' it is said:—

"In those days the *swish* of the 'tawse' was no unfamiliar sound at the Academy. Gloag's were produced on slight occasion. They—the instrument has no singular that we ever heard of—were hard, thin, and black" (and short, I may add), "the tips seemed—or rather we should say *seem*, for we had them in hand a few days ago,—to have been artificially hardened.

"This weapon he handled with skill and dexterity, and it was thought he took a pride in his proficiency, as those do who excel in any exercise where hand and eye must work in unison, so that the idea was common that he had acquired a taste for its use,—a

'Taste with a distempered appetite.'

"This is what Peter Guthrie Tait says on the point: 'To use a well known cricketing phrase, Gloag could *get more work on* the tawse than could any of the other masters. This secret was in great part a dynamical one.'"

I hope it was Tait that taught him the secret! Gloag's stroke with the 'tawse' was a sort of rapid draw-cut; he seemed to wish to take a bit out of you; but I think Cumming's heavy, unsophisticated sweep had a more lasting effect.

Among the subjects the classical masters at the Academy had to teach was Geography, and by Cumming, at least, it was well taught, and by the aid of large maps. He was fond of the subject, and made it interesting to us by reading to us

out of books of travel by the half-hour at a time. I have never lost the love of geographical subjects and books which I then acquired. May not some of the many boys of Mr. Cumming's classes, who chose careers which led them to India and other foreign countries, have done so in fulfilment of their school dreams?

### THE CLUB.

*Chapter VI of the Chronicles* is entitled "The Club." Mr. Cumming left the Academy in 1846, on being appointed Rector of the newly instituted Academy at Glasgow, which post he held for five years. In 1850 the degree of LL.D. was conferred on him by the University of Glasgow, and in the following year he gave up his rectorship as being appointed one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. This appointment he held for three-and-twenty years, that is, till within a short time of his death. Dr. Cumming returned to Edinburgh in 1850, and, says Colonel Fergusson, it will be readily understood how cordially he was welcomed back, and "how, when his old Academy pupils of the years 1841-46 formed the resolution of joining in a Club, which should bear their respected master's name, with the object of continuing their affectionate companionship with him, and of holding together friendships of long standing, it was an honour to the class when this good gentleman accepted the position which it was their desire he should hold, with regard to themselves. 'The Class' was by this time scattered; but those of them who remained in Edinburgh took effective steps to ascertain the feelings of their late companions in this matter. Whether from those still at their studies at various Universities, or already started in their careers of life; from the New World, and the far East, and from various foreign parts, there came expressions of the warmest sympathy." At a preliminary meeting, held on 23rd February 1850, the thirteen present resolved to form themselves into a Club, to be called *The Edinburgh Academy, 1841-46, Cumming Club*. All those who attended Dr. Cumming's First Class in 1841, and Fifth in 1846, or any one or more of the intervening years, were to be entitled to admission. It was resolved that—

"the design in instituting the Club is to promote good feeling generally between the members of the class, to stimulate friendship by intercourse among those of them who have the good fortune to be still within its reach, to revive mutual interest with those whom circumstances have dispersed, and to testify the respectful regard which they cherish for their former teacher."

A circular letter was sent to every member of the class whose address could be ascertained, in various parts of the world, and the success of the movement was so complete, that that twenty-two names were enrolled by the 4th January 1851.

The first dinner was held in the "Archers' Hall," on 17th January 1851, Drs. Cumming and Gloag, Mr. Hamilton, the writing master, and Monsieur Senébiér, the French master, being present as guests. "It was a great and remarkable occasion for these young fellows when they found themselves thus entertaining their old masters, and not yet able to overcome a sense of awe. Everything seems to have been done in the most dignified manner." The masters were toasted, and many more toasts followed. "The youngsters were pleased with the success of their first attempt at dinner-giving, and with themselves. The next annual dinner seems to have been equally successful, a little less stately, and perhaps more enjoyable."

"But a far more remarkable entertainment was shortly to be given by the young Club, the memory of which is still fresh with those so happy as to have been present, and no less so in the mind of the guest of this never-to-be-forgotten evening."

"In February 1852, Peter Guthrie Tait achieved the high distinction and position of Senior Wrangler at Cambridge," (and Smith's Prizeman also, I think) "This was felt to be an honour conferred on the Academy, the Masters Gloag in particular—the Class and the Club. Consequently they could do no less than offer to their old friend and Dux a banquet specially designed to do him worship." "For once the exclusive rule of the Club was broken through, and invitations scattered with a lavish hand amongst those—and they were many—who, beyond the limits of the class, held kindly memories of Tait and of the Academy. It was a high occasion for them all. Gloag could hardly divest himself of the idea that he was the hero of the occasion, such credit did he take to himself."

No wonder Gloag was proud; for though Tait, after leaving the Academy, studied for several years at the Edinburgh University before going to Cambridge, yet Gloag had taught the young idea how to shoot. I must refer to the Chronicles for an account of the pranks that were played that night, after the masters and other elder guests were gone. I well remember some of them, led by Doyle Shaw, who was always the wag of the class: a boy whose face you could not look on without laughing.

#### NOCTES CENÆQUE.

*Chapter VII, of the Chronicles* is entitled, "*Noctes Cœnæque.*" After the Archers' Hall, a tavern in the Flesh Market Close, in the old town, was for some years the venue. Then the Club emigrated to West Register Street, "on classic ground, and within a stone's throw of the famous spot, where 'Ambrose' and his 'Tavern' flourished. Who has not been stirred by the glorious '*Noctes*?'"

"Nothing could be more enjoyable and real than our nights in this locality of many memories."

"Here, for the next nine years, the dinners were held—excellent dinners; our own Chaplain to say the grace, and another class-fellow to give us good wine."

"At these meetings the thoughts of the class and the old masters naturally



turned to those who were away ; and we read that, one evening in January 1855, at the Flesh Market, they drank, with good wishes, to those of the Club who were abroad, especially such as were in the Crimea and Turkey."

At this time, says Colonel Fergusson, in a foot-note, there were with the Forces in the Crimea, James Paton, 4th King's Own ; James Craster, 38th Regiment ; Patrick Heron Watson, Assistant Surgeon, Royal Artillery ; W. Brown, Assistant Surgeon, 13th Light Infantry ; Frank Grant Suttie, with the Naval Brigade ; and Doyle Money Shaw, Assistant Surgeon, on board H. M. S. " Spiteful," in the Red Sea.

" And now some of the Fellows who had wandered began to return, and the worthy Secretary's anxieties, as shown by the records, to keep up the numbers of the Club to be somewhat at rest.

" William Olephane, from service with the Bengal Artillery ; James Vertue, of the Madras Engineers ; and later, Cockburn," " and Fergusson, after the Indian Mutiny, returned. Later still, Hall came home from long medical practice in Brazil ; and, after having been long ' wanted ' on the Club lists, Arthur Forbes, R. N., appeared, a wanderer from the Baltic, and the China and African seas ; then Charles Hope " (in 1872 ; I must have attended, or ought to have attended, the dinners, from 1851, until 1859,) " from India. In 1869 the Club received a welcome addition to its number in the return of Fleming Jenkin, appointed Professor of Engineering to the Edinburgh University. How pleased old Cumming was to welcome back his boys, and how genially he beamed on them through his silver-rimmed spectacles ! "

Colonel Fergusson has a word or two to say about the Club's Museum. The archives were preserved in a ponderous chest which had to be produced at each annual dinner. Its contents were interesting, *e. g.*, " a fragment of Dr. Cumming's ' Tawse,' sent by a zealous member from India."

" Further more, under date 11th January 1867, it is shown that the ' Museum of the Club,' having been opened, and the precious fragment exhibited, Dr. Gloag, amidst the applause of the company, undertook to lay on the table at the next dinner of the Club, for preservation with its archives, the veritable ' Tawse ' used by him during the period of his long incumbency at the Academy ; an instrument that ' he feared was already well-known to several members of the Club.' (see *Minutes*, p. 56)."

" In due course the promise was fulfilled. At the next annual dinner, 22nd January 1868, Dr. Gloag, with some solemnity, took from the pocket of his tail-coat the *Tawse*, and threw them on the table amidst a burst of rapturous applause. "

" When they had been safely placed under lock and key, and Dr. Gloag thanked for the ' gift of the interesting relic,' the feelings experienced were chiefly these : - That a high distinction had been conferred on the Club in Dr. Gloag's having given a preference to them, above all other aspirants, by thus making them the guardians of such a treasure, and, secondly - that at last a triumph had been achieved over the adversary of our youth, now scotched and consigned to perpetual durance."

It was in January, 1871, at their twentieth annual meeting, that the Club presented Dr. Cumming with a handsome album, containing three-and-twenty photographic portraits of former members of the class, which the Secretary had, with some labour, collected in accordance with a suggestion made two years before. In July 1874, Dr. Cumming retired from the office of H. M. Inspector of Schools, which he had held since 1851, receiving the usual pension from Government. " This with-

drawal from public life was a source of regret to a wide circle of friends. Their regret was freely expressed. 'During a long period of years,' it was said, 'there was scarcely a parish in Scotland, where the name and figure of Dr. Cumming were not familiar. His presence was missed in many a country manse.'" A public presentation was made to him by a large number of teachers and other friends, "as a token of their cordial appreciation of the fidelity and genial courtesy with which for twenty-three years he discharged the duties of his office."

Colonel Fergusson says there is a certain fascination in the manner of after dinner talk at the Cumming Club :

"Perhaps there is somewhat of the old Academy feeling of independence, want of reverence, if you like, for views propounded, because they are the views of somebody ; outrageous propositions answered in a like preposterous strain ; the same free criticism as in the play-ground of the School, all in the best of good humour " 'It is a rare chance, this yearly meeting, and the feeling is to make the most of it in good fellowship, and when the talkers, as they are wont to do, fall into pairs, what is 'the jargon of the schools' to the clatter of the Club !

"When the Secretary, as the night grows late, gets up to fetch in the chest, and lay it on the table, as he is by enactment bound to do, the chances are that on his return something of this sort will meet his ears—

'The squadrons, my dear sir, were left in front ;  
The enemy untouched by shot or shell ;  
Down hill they rode, and fell upon the square'—  
'No Sir, it was a meloid 'Dafty' drew ;  
The paper for the Royal Society  
Fixed such attention as you seldom see ;  
Eighteen he was'——'A great age for a judge,  
But then his intellect's as clear as when  
He first put on his robes long years ago'—  
'Long ears indeed ! I cannot quite agree'—  
'To hear him in a shipping case you'd say'—  
'Why fire the second barrel at the brute ?  
Only to spoil the skin, when stark he lay  
And dead'——'Not quite upon the putting-green,  
But then with my short spoon I seldom fail  
To manage such a shot'——'What luck indeed !'—  
'Ergs, or tenth-mètres, it matters not one whit,'  
'The foot-pounds were as seven are to two ;  
And that I will maintain, tho' all the pig-  
And wooden-headed owls'——' &c.

One evening the Professor of Natural Philosophy, P. G. Tait, was badgered into giving the Club a specimen of those prelections of his that were found so attractive to the young, and the fair, and the 'blue,' "and such a specimen." The subject was doubtful, but "the discourse flowed on in its course smoothly, with here a quip and there a quiddity. Nothing the speaker touched he did not adorn with points of light and bits of colours deftly and daintily thrown in."

"While pipes went out and eyes were opened wide, the Professor gave, with sweetest smile, glimpses of what may well have been the wiles with which he enticed the young, and the fair, and the 'blue' into paths leading onwards to the mazes of amphibicheiral and other species of Beknottedness, in the midst of which

the Cumming Club had long ere this been hopelessly entangled. During one of the momentary pauses, when the speaker stopped to keep his pipe alight with a puff or two, he casually remarks—

‘Just say when you have had enough of this—or I’ll go on for twenty minutes more.’

‘Loud as the wolves on Orca’s stormy steep

Howl to the roarings of the northern deep,

Such is the shout’

of indignation that sends the Professor—still sweetly smiling—back to his chair.”

On the 15th December 1875, “our good old master passed away. His death took place ‘with startling suddenness.’ “The Club could only give expression, in their minutes, to a feeling of ‘deep sorrow for the loss of one of whom they had so many pleasant reminiscences, and who was always so pleased to meet his old pupils.’ It is unnecessary to say more now.” Dr. Cumming’s son wrote that he was sure that it was not the mere name of the “Cumming Club” that made his father feel and speak so affectionately of the old pupils whom he met at the annual gatherings. “With great admiration for the talents of several, he seemed to think that an unusual amount of chivalrous and bright brotherly-kindness pervaded and allied the members. Of some he never spoke without the half laugh, half tears, which sought to conceal, and yet betrayed, his tenderness of feeling for them.”

For a moment, says Colonel Fergusson, there was a question whether, now that the centre of our little Society was gone, it should not be allowed to dissolve. “But it was called to mind how often our master had spoken of the hope he entertained that, when he should be called away, the Class would continue to meet as before. Accordingly the ‘twenty-fifth’ meeting of the Club was held on the 23rd March 1876. With increasing numbers and prosperity they have met annually till now. It was at the thirty-third meeting of the Club that it was ‘sincerely and solemnly declared’ that it was their wish that the Historiographer should undertake the long-talked of compilation of the Annals of the Club; he was exhorted to lose no time, and, in concert with the Secretary, endeavour to trace the careers of our class-fellows, the scraps of intelligence of some that had from time to time been received having led to the desire for more.”

#### THE CHRONICLES.

The book containing the Chronicles of the Cumming Club appeared towards the end of 1887. It is a small quarto volume of 229 pages, printed in antique type, with wide margins, on thick hand-made paper, and plainly but well half-bound. The publishers advertisement, which follows the preface, states that 250 copies of the book were printed, of which the Club had absorbed 150 and that the remaining 100 copies were for sale. In a circular

I received with my copy, the Secretary of the Club stated that it had been originally contemplated that the issue should be confined to the Class, the relatives of deceased members, and others, who had supplied information for the compilation, including also a few copies for the members of Dr. Cumming's family. As the work proceeded, however, it was thought that it might prove to be of interest to a somewhat wider circle of readers, and accordingly it was resolved to print 250 copies, Messrs. Constable offering to take the risk of printing and selling the extra 100 copies. "Their offer was accepted, and the whole of the copies taken by them were quickly disposed of, the demand having in fact exceeded the limited supply." The book, then, was soon out of print, and I have not heard that any subsequent edition has been printed. This must serve as part of my excuse for quoting so copiously from it. The *Chronicles* are, of course, inscribed with affection and gratitude, to the memory of Dr. Cumming, of whom a speaking likeness is given in a frontispiece, engraved from an etching, or a pen-and-ink drawing. A vignette of the Academy building is given on the title page.

In his "*Ad lectorem*," Colonel Fergusson admits that when a small Society that had hitherto sought the shade, stepped forward to break the golden silence of five-and-thirty years, and lay open the fact of its existence, and somewhat of its inner life, there seems some ground for the imputation of egotism. But the book was intended for an already contracted circle of readers, in which—and in certain outer concentric rings—there existed "That desire for sympathy that is the product of leisurely thought and kindly retrospection, to satisfy which, in some degree, this little book has been compiled.

'There's no such thing in Nature, 'and you'll draw

A faultless *Master*, whom the world ne'er saw.'

Our belief, however, runs to the contrary; and, having run these many lustres and decades, has gathered strength and momentum hopeless to resist.

"And this is part of the tenets of our creed—that however the principles of school-mastery may be laid down, and the theories explained, in lectures and treatises of to-day, how an ignorant and erring little mortal may be put in at one end of a scientific process, and turned out at the other a finished gentleman, in our time it came by the light of a kindly nature to a gentle-hearted man to do all this; and reap a rich crop of love and gratitude besides.

"But, we would not have it thought that any pretence is made in these records of our school days, that *we* were other than an average sample of the good old Academy's raw material; and, in our manhood, of her completed work.

"We are not of those who would set Class against Class, or our own above the rest."

Colonel Fergusson renders due thanks to those who helped him in his work; and he concludes his Preface by hoping that the *Chronicles* will not be thought of a complexion too mili-

tary. "Some *seven-and-twenty* of the Class went into the Services, as will be seen, at an important juncture in the history of our country ; and, with their weapons, have gathered in a goodly harvest of honours in the field and on the sea. *Thirty-nine* military decorations, including *six* of British and Foreign Knightly 'Orders,' have fallen to the share of *the Class*.

"To show how all this came about; and to record the achievements, no less heroic, of many of our class-fellows in Civil life; and of others with the pen; and to trace careers of quiet industry and usefulness, is the aim of the latter part of this volume, where it has been attempted to make mention, however slight in some cases, of each one of those who were under Dr. Cumming's care at the Academy, between the years 1841 and 1846, inclusive."

The 37th Annual dinner of the Cumming Club took place on the 20th July 1888. I was at home at the time, and was very sorry that I could not be present. From a circular put forth by the Honorary Secretary, MR. ROBERT LAIDLAW STUART, I learned that there were present—Colonel J. H. GAMMELL (who presided, and who from 1853 to 1886 had not been able to attend the meetings), MR. BEATSON BELL (a name now coming to the front in India), Lieutenant-General COCKBURN, The Rev. HENRY DUNCAN, Lieutenant-Colonel FERGUSSON (the Historiographer of the Club), Captain A. FORBES, R. N., Mr. GRAY, Mr. JOHN C. ROBERTSON, Mr. WM TOD, and Mr. R. L. STUART. Four others—Mr. BRODIE, Captain WILLIAM D. O. HAY-NEWTON, Major JAMES PATON, and Professor TAIT, had intended to be present, but were prevented at the last. Apologies, containing regrets for unavoidable absence, and best wishes for the success of the meeting, were received from Sir EDWARD HARLAND, Bart., Messrs. BROUGHTON, CARRINGTON, COBBOLD, COCHRANE, CONDAMINE, and HOPE, Lieutenant-Colonel MCDOUGALL, Major JOHN PATON, Mr. PITMAN, Major-General SHIRREFF, Mr. A. D. STEWART, Major-General A. UTTERSON, and Mr. P. H. WATSON, M. D. Only four out of thirty-three circulars issued had been unreplyed to. Occasion was taken of that being the first dinner since the completion of the "Chronicles of the Club," to present Colonel Fergusson with a mark of appreciation on the part of the Club of his labours in the compilation of that work.\* The

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\* While this article was in the press I have learned, with deep regret, from the Academy Army List, the title of which I have prefixed, that Colonel Fergusson died in 1892, though I have been thinking and writing of him as alive. No particulars are given. He must be sorely missed at the meetings of the Club.

gift consisted of a Silver Tankard or Claret Jug, of date 1743, on which was inscribed—

TO THEIR SYMPATHETIC HISTORIOGRAPHER,  
ALEXANDER FERGUSON,  
IN GRATEFUL RECOLLECTION OF HIS SUCCESS  
IN A LABORIOUS BUT CONGENIAL TASK,  
WITH THANKS, ESTEEM, AND GOOD WISHES,  
THE CUMMING CLUB,  
20th July 1888.

I have already quoted pretty freely from the "Chronicles," but I must find room for a few "tidbits," "Who has not been puzzled," says Colonel Fergusson, "to individualise some of the early Christian martyrs that one sees depicted as suffering unheard of atrocities?" Regarding one of these the knowledge was fixed in our minds once and for all time.

"On one occasion Mr. Cumming put the question to his class concerning the martyrdom of St. Lawrence: 'Could any one describe the manner of his death?' Beginning at the top of the class, the wise ones—Tait, Bell, Hall, Home, were tried, and all the rest; 'Shot with arrows,' 'Wheel with spikes,' and other horrors were in vain suggested. Then Mr. Cumming related, that in a former class of his, the same question had been put—'What was the end of St. Lawrence?' No one could answer, till at last an imp from the lower regions of the class 'got up dux' by answering, amidst shouts of applause—'He was brandered!' (Colonel Fergusson, owing to the imperfect nature of the English language, finds it necessary to put in a footnote—*Brander*, to broil on a gridiron,—Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*.)

"The process is associated with salmon cutlets and mutton chops. Consequently, it happens, that the ever-recurring pictures of the Saint and his gridiron, in the galleries of Italy and Germany, never fail to re-affirm the fact, for those who learned it then, that St. Lawrence was *brandered*."

There is a Scotch proverb, says Colonel Fergusson, to the effect that you find 'good gear in small parcels.' Mr. Cumming once, to the great enjoyment of all, tested the truth of the saying in so far as it applied to his class. The pupils used to sit, without desks in front of them, in horse-shoe fashion, the master's desk at the open end, and a great fire-place making a break at the toe end. "Thus it was that a rough division of the class was established between those whose *habitual* and recognised place was above the fire, and those who only casually attained to that eminence. There were about thirty on each side of the fire-place. For the purpose of Mr. Cumming's experiment the class was arranged in order of merit, the votes of the class being taken as to each boy's *usual* place, and a list drawn out." Then the class was sized, and a second list made. "The general result of the experiment, which caused intense amusement, seemed to be that many big hulking fellows found themselves for the moment advanced to positions they had

occupied but rarely ; and several below the fire, where they had never been before. Therefore, it was held, that the truth of the proverb was in some sort established—albeit there were exceptions. Our permanent dux (Tait) was hardly, if anything, moved from his place ; there were a few others, who were not displaced."

The 3rd Chapter of the Chronicles is entitled, " MATHEMATICS," and it is, perhaps, the most amusing in the book. The Mathematical Master has already been mentioned in this article for his skilful use of the 'Tawse', and his presence for long at the dinners of the Club as a guest. Mr. James Gloag (afterwards Dr. Gloag,) was described in the Rector's Annual Report for the year 1833 as 'a most honest, zealous, and energetic, teacher' and, it may be added, says Colonel Fergusson, a most eccentric one. "The name of no teacher of youth in Scotland during the last half century is more widely known than that of Dr. Gloag. A volume might well be devoted to Gloag's doings and pithy sayings. A 'chap-book' of such would run those of George Buchanan's very close." For a description of the man and his manners I must refer to the Chronicles. His dialect, or, rather, his pronunciation—unreferable to any part of Scotland—is said to have been, perhaps, his most striking characteristic. "Gloag's interchange of the words 'Rod' and 'Road' was interesting, though not peculiar to himself. For example, when a dux, distributing slates or slate-pencils, tried to pass between two crowded forms, he would say—'Haw, boni, whatna *rod's* that t' tak'?' When he had occasion for the implement of demonstration and correction, he would give the order, 'Fatch the *Road* !'" The good stories about Gloag are said to be innumerable. Perhaps the best Colonel Fergusson quotes is told at the expense of the Rector, Archdeacon Williams.

"The Archdeacon tried his best to pass for a geometrician, but Gloag knew how vain his pretensions were. 'Punch' had a habit that annoyed Gloag not a little, of coming into his Class-room, generally a Saturday morning, and asking questions, and so on, as though he were quite *au fait* of all that was going on.

"On the occasion in question, Gloag put upon the black board one of his fancy propositions, such as he was wont to call 'a nice little thing', and called on the fellow at the head of the Class to make the necessary demonstration. He, however, kept silence, as did the next, and the next, while 'Punch' continued jeering them all the time — "Dear *me*, what a blockhead you must be ! Don't you see it ? It is quite simple."

"'Haw !' says the artful Gloag, glancing further down the class to where 'Punch's' favourite sat, 'Sallar thinks he can do it, dōz he ? Tak it, Sallar !' This was Gloag's peculiar pronunciation of the name.

"There is a long pause ; the Rector's favourite makes no progress, though encouraged in turn by both masters.

"'Noo, Sallar,' says Gloag, with a tap on the board, 'Don't keep us waiting on ye all day.'

"Still there was no response.

"'Why, Sellar, my boy', says the Archdeacon, disappointed, 'Don't you see it? Think a moment. It's quite easy, Don't you know? Perfectly simple.'

"Here is the moment of triumph, so skilfully approached by Gloag, who, bursting out like a thunderbolt, exclaims—

"'Naw, Mr. Ractor, Sir, it's *nott* easy—the thing is impossible; it's gröss nonsense, Sir!'"

Gloag had a playful way, as I remember, when arithmetic was on, and the boys, as soon as they had done a sum, passed rapidly before him showing their slates, of appearing to be in a brown study, and saying, 'Right,' 'Right,' for a number of times without apparently looking at the sum. Probably he knew the answers off by heart, and saw them at a glance; but every now and then he would seize a slate, rub out the sum with his wetted hand, and order the unfortunate boy to 'cōpy down the first sax sooms' on the board, and bring me them to mōrray.' I was never sure whether this was all right, or whether it was not done at random, jst to establish a funk. Any how it reminded one of a spider sitting quietly in the centre of his web till a poor fly came near enough.

One scene in Gloag's class, of which I have always had a vivid recollection, is not mentioned in Colonel Fergusson's book. A boy—mentioned in the Muster Roll of the class as—St. Croix Minvielle, of the Island of St. Lucia, and to be remembered for his great strength and activity—was possessed of a very powerful nasal organ (an excellent thing in man, I think), and, performing on it one day, in Gloag's class, as if he wished to blow his brains out, Gloag burst out on him thus—

"Hoot, toot, what are ye blawin yer trumpet at in that fawshwn? If ye did the likes o' that in genteel Society, ye'd be putt to the door!"

It was a sincere pleasure to all his old pupils, says Colonel Fergusson, when the news reached them that, in 1848, the degree of L.L.D. had been conferred on Mr. Gloag. I remember that we met him at the annual dinners as a loved friend, all soreness connected with the 'Tawse' having by that time been forgotten or forgiven. He retired from the Academy in 1864, and, says Colonel Fergusson, if proof were wanting of the esteem in which he was held, it appears in the fact that, immediately after that date, a medal—called, in his honour, '*The Gloag Medal*,' was established at the Academy, the funds for which were provided by some of *his old pupils*. The medal is open for competition to boys of the 'Seventh' only, and is given for eminence in mathematics. Gloag very rarely, it is believed, was seen at the Academy after his retirement. "On one occasion some one asked him if he often went down to visit the School. 'Naw,' he answered, 'it's nothing but a *hert-break*.'"



*Chapter V of the Chronicles.*—"WITH THE RECTOR,"—The Venerable John Williams, M.A., of Baliol College, Oxford; Vicar of Lampeter, and Archdeacon of Cardigan—I must pass by with a few words, but solely for want of space, as—to old Academicians at least—it is very interesting. "The Horatian phrase, '*imperiosius*,' perhaps best describes the impression his grand manner and imposing presence conveyed, except that there was no idea of tyranny." But his ordinary manners and appearance earned for him the *sobriquet* 'Punch:' boys are so irreverent. Nevertheless, Colonel Fergusson, though in a footnote, records this of him:—

"The Rector was imbued with an inextinguishable dignity. On a certain occasion, in the early days of the Academy, 'the Sixth' had hunted a sow into the Rector's class-room. The brute took refuge in one of the presses. In rushing out she capsized the Archdeacon on the floor. Peace and an upright position restored, the Rector calmly remarked, 'Boys, our lesson has been—what you call—too long interrupted, let us get on.'"

The 'Ractor' certainly had his peculiarities: "Go Junior, Yis, Yis, Yis," was often heard, "Don't you know the difference between the '*h*aitch' and the '*no-h*aitch?' he would say, when pitching into a boy for not sounding the aspirate in reading Greek. This aspirating the name of the English letter was amusing to us Scottish boys, who, whatever their sins are, never misplace their "*h*s." Is it a Welsh, as well as an English peculiarity; or did 'Punch' do it on purpose, for emphasis? I never asked him.

"At the Great Jubilee Dinner of the Edinburgh Academy, in October 1874, when the Archbishop of Canterbury (Archibald Campbell Tait) presided, feeling reference was made to Archdeacon Williams by the Chairman in the course of his eloquent speech, and reminiscences of old Academy days.

"'As a strong man,' said the Archbishop, 'intellectually improved those among whom he lived, so this man taught them in a way that none but a very able man indeed could teach. He had his faults—as who had not? And many might say that these, as he grew older, predominated. He had, indeed, a strong sense of his powers, and he (the speaker) was not sure that he was not right to hold that opinion. He was a man, and a real man, and he taught and fascinated his pupils in a way that none but a man of great intellectual power could do. He (the Archbishop) ministered to him in his last illness, and followed him to his grave.'"

Colonel Fergusson alludes to the Rector's two handsome daughters. A daughter of the Archdeacon is, I believe, still in Calcutta—the head of a well-known educational establishment.

(*To be continued*).

C. W. HOPE.

## ART. XI.—HOOGHLY PAST AND PRESENT.

### CHAPTER XI.

#### THE BANDEL\* CHURCH AT HOOGHLY.

THE Portuguese may have, as Faria y Souza † says, first entered Bengal as military adventurers about the year 1538, ‡ but there is nothing to show that they had made their settlement at Hooghly before the Pathan domination was put an end to by the Moguls. Indeed, that event, as we have already shown, took place somewhere in the eighth decade of the sixteenth century. After Bengal had come under the Mogul sway, Akbar ordered his Viceroy to send up a picked man among the Feringhees to the Presence. Accordingly, a captain of the name of Tavarez went up to Agra § which had been newly made the capital of the empire. He was treated by the Emperor with the utmost kindness, and, as a mark of Imperial favour, was given permission to pitch upon any spot near Hooghly for the erection of a town, with full liberty to build churches and preach the Holy Gospel. Availing themselves of such an unexpected opportunity, the

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\* The name Bandel appears to be another form of the Persian word *bandur*, the letters l and r being convertible, and to signify a fort, as Hooghly, the *Porte Pequeno* of the Portuguese, was. So also there is a Bandel Church (Le Bondor) at Chittagong, the *Porte Grande* of the Portuguese.

† Manuel Faria y Souza's history of *Asia Portuguesa*, which is in Spanish, commences with 1412 and closes with 1640.

‡ This was the last year of the Portuguese Viceroy of India, Nuno da Cunha. In 1534 he had sent Martin Alfonso with 200 men in five ships to Chittagong with a view to establish friendly relations with the King of Bengal, and to obtain permission to erect a fortress and build a factory at Chittagong. The mission, however, failed, and Martin and some of his men were made prisoners and forwarded to Gour. Antony de Sylva Meneses was then sent by Cunha, with 350 men in nine vessels, to try and effect the ransom of the prisoners. At this time Mahmud Shah, the last of the independent kings, reigned in Bengal. The Portuguese having agreed to assist him against Shere Khan, the King released most of the captives retaining only five as hostages for the succour which was expected from Goa. But when this succour arrived in nine vessels, under the command of Vasco Perez de Sampaio, Shere had taken Gour and Mahmud had been killed. Sampaio came and saw and went away without doing anything. (*The Feringhees of Chittagong* by Mr.—now Justice—Beverley, Calcutta Review, 1871.)

§ Agra (*Agravan* of the Pauranic writers) was a mere village before Akbar's time. He turned it into a splendid city, and graced it with a palace, the largest and most magnificent in the East. The world-renowned Taj is also near Agra. To this newly-built city Akbar removed his capital from Futehpore Sikri in 1566, calling it after his own name, *Akbarabad*.

Portuguese settled on the lands now occupied by the Church and its surroundings, and built houses for trading and other purposes.\* As the province was then anything but peaceable, and as disturbances were always apprehended, the new settlers deemed it absolutely necessary to fortify their settlement. The requisite sanction being given by the Mogul Governor, they built a fort † in the place now called Gholeghat. It was of a square form, flanked by four bastions and surrounded by a deep ditch on three sides and by the deeper river on the fourth. This must have been done before 1585, inasmuch as the well-known traveller, Fitch, who visited Hooghly in that year, described it as "the chief keep of the Portuguese." As the Portuguese went on prospering in their new settlement, the missionaries of the order of St. Augustine came to Hooghly and founded, in the year 1599, ‡ the Convent of Bandel, the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, and the Church of Misericordia, to which was attached an orphan-house for the protection of young ladies. Merchants and others, whom business or enterprise called to distant parts, committed their maiden daughters, in their absence, to sacerdotal protection in the orphanage of the Church of Misericordia. These sacred edifices were frequented by a large body of worshippers, and thus Hooghly became a place of great importance from a secular, as well as from a religious point of view.

The Portuguese drove a brisk trade, and their fame as master

\* The *Shah Jehan-namah* states that the Portuguese, purchasing some lands in Hooghly, built houses thereon with the permission of the Nabob.

† Purchas, speaking of the Portuguese settlements in Bengal, writes:—"The Portuguese have here Porte Grande and Porte Pequeno, but without forts and Governments; every man living after his own lust, and for the most part they are such as dare not stay in those places of better Government for some wickedness by them committed." But the historian does not appear to be quite correct in his statements, for the Portuguese had built a fort at Porte Pequeno (Hooghly) in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, whilst the first volume of his *Relations of the World* was published in 1864 in the reign of James I.

‡ This is certainly a memorable year, as in it the East India Company was formed, and the Dutch first traded to the Moluccas. But not only from a commercial, but also from a religious point of view, it is kept in remembrance, for in it the furious bigot, Archbishop Alexis de Menezes, held his famous, or rather infamous, Synod at Diamper or Udayampura, entirely effacing the individuality of the Syrian Church in India. The efforts which culminated in that Synod had their origin in the full fervour of missionary enterprise which set in after the time of St. Francis Xavier, and which was directed towards stamping out the peculiarities of the Syrian Christians, and bringing their doctrines into harmony with those practised by the Catholic Church in Europe. St. Xavier came out with the Governor of Portuguese India, Martin Alfonso de Souza, and arrived at Goa on the 7th May 1542. He was the recognised head of the Jesuits of India. He lies buried in New Goa, and his tomb is certainly, as Bishop Wilson has said, "a great curiosity."

merchants spread far and wide. In the meantime the great Akbar was summoned from this world by the mightiest of monarchs, and was succeeded by his son Jehangir. The latter, though undoubtedly much inferior to his father in wisdom and ability, was not an intolerant prince. So far from molesting the Portuguese, he bore kindly feelings towards them. The French traveller Bernier \* states, "that Jehangir suffered the Portuguese in Hooghly upon account of traffic, and of his having no aversion to Christians, as also because they promised him to keep the Bay of Bengal clear from all pirates."† In this way the Portuguese gradually rose to be a power in the land. They acquired lands on both sides of the river, and collected the rents, or rather revenues thereof after the manner of princes. Their fort at Hooghly was well garrisoned, and they had also a sufficient number of war-vessels always ready to protect them from the attacks of the enemy. Though nominally subject to the Great Mogul, they often assumed an air of independence, and were certainly not very regular in the payment of tribute due to the Paramount Power. At this time, however, an event happened which had the effect of undermining their power and prosperity in Bengal. The Empress, Nur Jehan, who had absolute control over the pleasure-loving Emperor Jehangir, and

"—whose lightest whisper moved him more  
Than all the ranged reasons of the world,"

having shown herself hostile to the interest of the Heir Apparent, the latter revolted, and, being pursued by the Imperial army, fled to Bengal and stationed himself at Burdwan. While at this place, he asked for some assistance from the Portuguese Governor of Hooghly, Michael Rodriguez, who had waited upon him ; but his request was not complied with. This refusal, polite though it was, so

"Rankled in him and ruffled all his heart,"

that, after ascending the throne, he made it a point to drive the Portuguese out of Bengal. Accordingly, he directed his Viceroy to watch their movements with the eye of a spy, and to lodge complaints before him, if in any matter they overstepped

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\* Bernier resided in India for twelve years from 1657 to 1669. The greater part of his residence was spent at the court of Aurungzeb, whose camp he followed in 1665 from Delhi to Cashmere, through the entire length of the Punjab. He was a physician by profession.

† In the time of the early Mogul Emperors, the Bay of Bengal was infested with Mughls and Portuguese, who lived by "levying *chout* on the seas" as that arch-pirate, Angria of the Malabar Coast used to say of his dreaded sea-robbery.

the bounds of law and justice. The result of this well-laid plan was the siege and capture of Hooghly in 1632. The fort was demolished, so also the Churches, but it would seem that the Convent did not suffer much, if at all. The Governor and a large number of Christian captives were dragged to the Imperial residence at Agra, where they were very harshly treated. Excepting the five Augustine Friars, the rest of the prisoners of war were distributed as slaves amongst the grandees of the Court. The monks were more cruelly dealt with. Four of them were immediately put to death, and the fifth, Padre \* da Cruz was reserved for a severer punishment, for which a day was appointed. When that dreaded day dawned, the Emperor, forgetting his usual good nature, ordered him, in the spirit of a Nero, to be cast under the feet of a furious elephant. But, wonderful to relate, the burly brute, moved at the sight of the holy man, lost his native ferocity, and commenced caressing him gently with his "little proboscis." The Emperor was taken quite unawares, and, seized with religious awe, at once determined on the Padre's pardon, and also offered to grant any reasonable request he might make. The good Augustinian solicited his own liberty, with permission to reconduct the surviving Christian captives to Bengal, and also a grant of some rent-free lands as an endowment to the Bandel Church. Both the requests were readily granted by the awe-struck Emperor, and thus some amends were made for the immense loss which the Portuguese had sustained at his hands.

The grant, thus made in 1633,† covered an area of 777 bighas of land. By the *firman* which was granted on this occasion, the Portuguese were given permission to found churches, and the friars were exempted from the authority of the Fouzdar and other officers of Government. Within the precincts of that small tract they were allowed to exercise all magisterial powers with regard to the Christians, save and except the strictly royal prerogative of life and death. They were, at the same time, exempted from all taxes and tolls. This little bit of a principality, as one might say so, appears to have included all the foreshore from the present jail to the northern limit of the circuit-house compound. There is a small piece of a very old wall still remaining on the extreme east of the Hooghly-bridge yard, which is said to be the re-

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\* Padre is a Portuguese word signifying a priest, a missionary. It has a close affinity to the *Sanscrit* *pitarā*, Latin *pater*, and English *father*. Several other words which are in common use in Bengal are also of Portuguese origin, such as *chabi* (Port. *chave*) a key; *kobi* (Port. *quove*) cabbage; *grija* (Port. *igreja*), a church; *fitah*. (Port *fitá*) a ribbon; *caste* (Port. *casta*, breed) a class; *nilam* (Port. *leilam*) an auction.

† This grant was confirmed in 1646.

mains of the Portuguese fort. The *Kuti-pukur* or the factory tank, which is at the south-west corner of the jail, was, it is believed, attached to the Portuguese factory, as in later times it certainly was to the English factory. Much of the land so granted was, however, lost during the times of the hostilities between the English and the Nabob of Moorshidabad, and the area has now dwindled down to about 380 bighas, yielding a rental of about 1240.\*

The Convent of Bandel, which is dedicated to the *Virgin Mary of Rosary*,† is the only building which remains to tell the sad tale of Lusitanian grandeur at Hooghly. It is the oldest Christian building in Bengal. Eight years after the siege of Hooghly, it was pulled down, and all the records that were preserved in it were destroyed. In 1661 it was rebuilt by that pious Christian, J. Gomes de Soto, and, as if to wipe out all marks of Mogul outrage, the new building was inscribed with the date of the old. In the nice little chapel which forms one side of the Convent, there is an inscription which shows that "the chapel was privileged for Saturdays by the Supreme Pontiff Benedict XII. in 1726." The vault below contains the remains of Soto and his family, as well as of some other fortunate Catholics.

The Augustinians of Bandel hail from Goa, and are subject to the Bishop of Meliapore,‡ not to the Vicar Apostolic. The Portuguese in Bengal, like the Jesuits in Pondicherry, have never recognized the ecclesiastical authority of the Pope of Rome.§ The Court of Portugal, ever since the first establishment of its dominion in India, has invariably claimed the exclusive right of ecclesiastical patronage, and has viewed with great jealousy any interference with it.|| But it is very much

\* Besides property in lands, which are all leased to ryots, there are, as the present Prior says, other sources of income. But he is not aware of the net annual proceeds, nor of the amount of expenditure.

† Convent De Nossa Senhora De Rozario of Bandel.

‡ Meliapore (probably *Malayapuram*) was erected into a Bishopric in 1607. It is now known as St. Thomas.

§ The Padroado was granted by the Pope to the King of Portugal in the days of Portuguese supremacy in the East. But now that Portugal is only a petty Indian Power, the great majority of the Catholic Missionaries and Catholic converts who reside in British India, resent the claim of the Portuguese to this right of patronage to all bishoprics and benefices in India. The Portuguese cling to the right of the Padroado as a relic of their ancient greatness, while the Popes sympathise with the attitude taken up by the majority of Indian Catholics. After many fruitless attempts at an amicable settlement of the question, Concordats were signed between the two parties, first in 1856, and afterwards in 1886, which have had the effect of placing the Catholic Church in India, outside the sphere of Portuguese territory, under the direct rule of the Pope. This dispute about Padroado has been a great obstacle to the progress of the Catholic Church in India.

|| The present Prior of Bandel, the Rev. De Silva Furtado, however, informs us that the reigning King of Portugal, Don Carlos De Braganza, is on friendly terms with the Pope, and is in spiritual communion with him, as the head of the Catholic Church. He also states that year before last His Holiness made a handsome present to the Queen of Portugal.

to be regretted that it has not been equally careful in making a proper use of that privilege. The priests appointed by Government as a rule, not only were ignorant, but also bore a bad character. "Buried in debauch," as they were, they were studious of their own ease rather than of the good of their spiritual charge. At any rate, they have never been highly spoken of for purity of morals. Captain Alexander Hamilton\* thus wrote about Bandel:—"The Bandel at present deals in no sort of commodities, but what are in request at the Court of Venus, and they have a Church, where the owners of such goods and merchandise are to be met with, and the buyer may be conducted to proper shops, where the commodities may be seen and felt; and a priest to be security for the soundness of the goods." Thus the profligacy of the Bandel priests seems to have equalled what is told of the corruption among European ecclesiastics in the Middle Ages, and their ignorance was equal to their licentiousness. Nothing was more common than to see high ecclesiastical offices conferred on men as amorous as Sybarites and as ignorant as Boestians.† The church Government is still with the King, and, judging from the lax and careless way in which it is sometimes administered, it would seem that the cause of morals and letters would not suffer much by its being taken out of his hands and placed in those of the Pope. Attached to the Convent there was a Nunnery in which many dark deeds were done, over which a thick impervious veil has been cast.‡ Mention is made in 1723 of a College of Jesuits at Bandel on the way to Keota. Georgi stated that the Christian religion and learning flourished in Hooghly under the auspices of the King of Portugal, and that the hospice of Bandel was as much crowded with monks as its schools were with native converts. But these statements must be received with considerable modifications, for, as a

\* Hamilton traded in the East Indies from 1688 to 1723. He wrote his *Account of the East Indies* about the year 1690, when Bandel was "chockful of pretty women." De Foe's well-known lines apply with full force to the state of the Bandel Church at that time:—

"Wherever God erects a house of prayer,  
The Devil always builds a chapel there,  
And 'twill be found upon examination  
The latter has the largest congregation."

† The distinguished writer of the Article, "The Feringhees of Chittagong," to which we have already referred, very justly observes: "The general neglect of education among the Feringhees was chiefly owing to the character of the priests sent from Goa. These half-caste men, renowned for their superstition, ignorance, and selfishness, brought discredit on their profession." What was true of the Bandel at Chittagong was more than true of the Bandel at Hooghly.

‡ This has unfortunately been the case with almost all nunneries. Though the nuns are closed about by high narrowing walls, and are kept afar from the world and all its lights and shadows, they are seldom found "to lead sweet lives in purest chastity." Nothing has contributed so much to immorality as the unholy vow of celibacy.

matter of fact, neither the cause of religion nor that of education was much advanced.

In 1760, this place suffered much from the calamities which were brought about by hostilities between the English and the Nabob of Moorsshedabad, and, as a matter of necessary consequence, it was denuded of most of its inhabitants. The state of things precipitated from bad to worse, so that when, in the first half of the present century, the author of the *Sketches of Bengal* wrote his valuable work, he found that Hooghly had well-nigh reached its last stage of ruin. He says: "The ancient and famous port of Hooghly contains now but a few small houses, and several poor huts. The lascivious damsels of this once gay city slumber under its ruins. When Pomp withdrew from thence, Debauchery vanished. Poverty now stalks over the ground." The sight of the Convent, however, impressed him considerably, and he could not avoid recording, that the frontispiece of the sacred edifice "appeared to him to diffuse a cathedral gloom, and struck him with religious awe.\*"

The Bandel Church† does not deserve to be called a grand building, but its architectural skill lies in its very strong and durable structure. Though nearly three long centuries have spent their elemental rage and fury over it, still it looks as fresh as if it had been built only recently. The Church faces towards the south, and is entered by a big gate, which is kept open only on service days and other important occasions. It has three "long-drawn aisles," which terminate in three handsome altars, of which the one in the middle is the most splendid. At the other extremity, over the entrance, there is a big organ, which none but the initiated may touch. Service takes place before the midmost altar, when the burning censer and the sounding organ add much to the sacredness and solemnity of the occasion. In front of that altar, at a distance, rises, under the support of the left wall, the winding pulpit, which attracts the sight by its gorgeous appearance. One of the side altars is very properly dedicated to the patron Saint Augustine, who seems to exercise a greater influence over the priests of Bandel than St. Veronique, the favourite Saint of the Portuguese. A spacious hall was built about a

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\* In 1829, the number of Christian inhabitants of eighteen years of age and more was only thirty in Bandel. (Toynbee's *Hooghly*, p. 141). At the present day the number is still smaller.

† Bishop Heber visited Hooghly in June 1824. He thus speaks of this Church in his well-known *Journal*: "At Chinsura is a Church, and beyond Hooghly, at a place, I believe, named Banda, is a large Italian-looking Church, with what appears to be a Convent." Vol. I, p. 64. Most probably the good Bishop did not enter the Church, otherwise he would have given some account of its sacred interior.



quarter of a century ago at the expense of Mr. Barretto \* and other Roman Catholics of Calcutta. It was intended to serve as a sanatorium for invalids. The building, as a whole, is a quadrangle, one side of which forms the chapel. It has three gates, of which the one on the east, which faces the ever-receding river, is now the main entrance, though that honour is justly due to the big gate on the south, which, as we have already related, is opened only on service days and other important occasions. The west gate, which skirts the public road, is seldom unbolted. The Bandel Church, though itself a branch of a bigger establishment, has a branch of its own in the neat Catholic Chapel at Chinsura. This sacred building, as the tablet on it shows, was erected in 1740 with the funds left by the well-known Mrs. Sebastian Shaw, † and is dedicated to Jesus Maria Joze.

At one time the Bandel missionaries possessed considerable power and influence ; but, by the end of the eighteenth century, it had well-nigh become a thing of the past, and they regrettingly found themselves absorbed into the general mass of British subjects. In 1797, the then Prior of Bandel memorialised Sir John Shore's Government with a view to having independent civil and criminal jurisdiction over the ryots of the Bandel lands restored to him. He based his claim on immemorial usage from the date of the original grant by Shah Jehan in 1633, and also on a certain letter from a high authority, dated the 17th July 1787, in which the Collector was prohibited from exercising any civil or criminal jurisdiction over the inhabitants of Bandel. But the Governor-General decided against him. His Excellency held that no such claim could now be admitted, and that, "the inhabitants of Bandel are subject to the juris-

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\* The famous Barretto family came very early to Asia. Both F. Barretto and A. M. Barretto were Governors of Portuguese India in the second half of the sixteenth century. The celebrated Barretto brothers, Joseph and Loujs, who were the recognised heads of the Portuguese in the metropolis of British India, have immortalized themselves by several pious acts. The new church at Calcutta and the Roman Catholic Church at Serampore are standing proofs of their piety and liberality. The Portuguese burial-ground at Baitakhana was the gift of Mr. Joseph Barretto, who purchased it for Rs. 8,000 in 1785. At Sukhsagar a neat domestic chapel was built, in 1789, by the family, at a cost of Rs. 9,000. This fine building has since been washed away by the Hooghly, on the banks of which it stood. The Barrettos have done so many good acts in Bengal that they are not likely to be forgotten. Surely the censure of the poet does not apply to them :—

"Doing good

Disinterested good, is not our trade,

We travel far 'tis true, but not for nought."

† This pious Lady was a native of Chinsura, where she died in 1725. Not far from the chapel built with her money is St. John's church, which was founded by the celebrated Markar family in 1695-97, and is the oldest church the Armenians have in Bengal. The building was begun by Markar Johannes, a famous merchant, and was completed by his brother Joseph. It was dedicated to St. John the Baptist in 1697.

diction of the Courts equally with other inhabitants of the Company's provinces ;" but that there was no objection to the Prior's "continuing to arbitrate and settle the disputes of the Christian inhabitants of Bandel, as heretofore, whenever it may be agreeable to the parties to refer to him for the purpose." Thus the question of jurisdiction was set at rest by the highest authority in the land, and one would have expected that thereafter the church dignitaries would quietly abide by the decision. But it does not appear that the Priors always demeaned themselves as peace-loving and law-abiding subjects. In June 1828, the then Prior, the Rev. F. A. Guia, was proceeded against in the Company's Court, in consequence of his having wantonly assaulted two natives. A summons was issued against him in the usual course, but, so far from obeying it, he behaved in an "extremely indecent, violent, and illegal" manner. He was, accordingly, reported to Government, and it is very likely that he got a severe reprimand at its hands. This censure, well-deserved as it undoubtedly was, had a very wholesome effect not only upon the individual for whom it was intended, but also upon his successors in the Priory. In 1869 we find the Rev. Augustine Gomes in charge of the Church. He was a good man, and so was his successor, the Rev. A. C. Rodriguez. The latter tried to retrieve the reputation of the Portuguese as promoters of the cause of education, and established the present Bandel School on the 10th July 1870. This little Institution prospered under his parental care, and its successful working induced the English Government, in 1874, to allow a grant of Rs. 20 a month. The grant is still continued, and, together with the Mission allowance of Rs. 10, makes up nearly one-third of the establishment charges of the School, the remainder being supplied from schooling fees. The School teaches up to the minor scholarship course, and the teaching staff consists of three English teachers and two pundits. The Rev. A. C. Rodriguez was succeeded by the Rev. D. Sante Maria, and the latter by the Rev. G. A. Britto. On the death of Britto, which took place on the 7th July 1891, the Rev. J. Beatly, the present incumbent's predecessor, was appointed Prior. Though not in charge of the church for a long time, his knowledge of Hooghly was much above average. The Rev. Da Silva Furtado has been in charge for nearly two years. He possesses considerable ability and has been discharging the duties of his sacred office well. He is a quiet sort of man, as becomes a Christian of his Order, and, what is rare among monks and friars, bears a pure and unspotted character. The Prior gets nothing from the English Government. He is paid by the Portuguese Mission, and he has also other sources of income, the principal of which

consists of presents from Roman Catholics on marriage and such like occasions.

Four solemnities are principally observed in the Bandel Church, namely, the Feast of the Blessed Lady \* of Happy Voyage in the "merry month of May"; the Feast of the Patron Saint Augustine† in the imperial month of August; the Feast of the Blessed Lady of Rosary, commonly called the Novena, in the cold month of November; and the Feast of Domingo da Cruz, in the hot month of February or March. The first solemnity mentioned above is not of much importance; but it must not be confounded with the Feast of the Assumption which is observed on the 15th August, on which day, Virgin Mary, the reputed Mother of Jesus Christ, is believed to have miraculously ascended to Heaven without passing through the gate of death. Augustine being the patron Saint of the monks of Bandel, his feast is observed with considerable pomp in the memorable month in which he, having done his work here below on earth, found supreme happiness in

\* A statue of this Lady, with the infant Jesus in her lap, is placed in a niche in the triangular form, which is raised on an elevated surface in front of the church.

† St. Augustine is one of the Great Fathers of the Catholic Church. He was born at Tagaste, in Northern Africa, on the 13th November, 354 A.D. His father was a heathen, quite regardless of religion and morality; but his mother, Monica, was an exemplary Christian. Young Augustine began life as a heretical debauchee; but the sermons of St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, backed by the constant prayer of his mother, effected his reform, and he was baptised in 387 A.D. After the death of his mother he returned to Africa, where, in 395, he was appointed Bishop of Hippo, an important seaport, the site of which is now covered by the city of Bona. At Hippo he laboured for 35 years, and, while it was in the forcible possession of the Vandals, who had invaded Africa under their King, Genseric, in 428, he died in the full possession of his faculties on the 28th August 430 in the 76th year of his age. After his death the people, hard pressed by the Vandals, escaped by sea, and the town was burnt to the ground by those furious savages.

The writings of Augustine, which have always been held in high veneration by the Roman Catholics, form the basis of that system which is commonly called scholastic divinity. His *Confessions*, which gives a plain unvarnished account of his infancy to the death of his mother, has been with Thomas-a-Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, one of the three most popular Christian books in the world. Another great work of Augustine's is *On the Holy Trinity*, which explains very clearly and learnedly one of the peculiar doctrines, if not the main doctrine, of Christianity. But his greatest single work is the *City of God*, in 22 books, which occupied him thirteen years. The object was to defend the Christians and the Christian Church from the charge made against them, that the calamities which befell the Empire, and the sacking of Rome by the Goths, originated in Christianity.

The old Bandel Church was built under the protection of this Saint, and his altar very properly graces one of the halls of the present Church. The following pregnant saying is attributed to him: "Thou hast made us for thyself, and our heart is restless until it find rest in Thee."

There is an order of monks, who call themselves the hermits of St. Augustine. They are mendicants and live by begging alms. But some of them have thrown up the bowl for the sword. Conspicuous amongst these stands that notorious Prior Fra Joan, who, as Bernier says, domineered over Sundeeep (*Sawundweep*) for several years, after having killed the commandant of the place.

'sweet communion with his Maker in Heaven, realizing the words of the poet—

" Man's sickly soul, though turned and tossed for ever  
From side to side, can rest on nought but thee,  
Here in full *trust*, hereafter in full *joy*."

But the Feast of the Novena is the grandest of the festivals which are observed in the Bandel Church; and this is as it should be, for the church is dedicated to the Blessed Lady of Rosary, in whose honour the feast is celebrated. On this important occasion the church is brilliantly illuminated, and divine service is performed with the accompaniment of music, which adds much to the sacred solemnity of the occasion. After service fireworks of divers sorts are let off which, like a flourish of trumpets, wind up the ceremony. Visitors flock to the spot from Calcutta, Chandernagore, and some other places, and the scene assumes a most splendid appearance. The pyrotechnic exhibition and the solemn peal of the organ, with its "winding bout of linked sweetness" have such a fascination for the common people, that the numbers that assemble on the occasion are very considerable. Sight-seers and others leave the place in the course of the night, so that, when the day dawns, one finds it difficult to realise that it has only a few hours before been the scene of such rejoicings.

The last, though not the least, is the Feast of Domingo da Cruz. This is a peculiar ceremony with the Portuguese, and is as rigidly observed by them as the *Rosa* is by the Mahomedans. On this occasion a procession representing the Saviour bearing the cross is formed on a Sunday in Lent, which makes the circuit of the entire quarter. The name of this ceremony reminds one of that very remarkable Friar, Padre da Cruz, who, by his miraculous encounter with the royal elephant gained the favour of the Great Mogul, Shah Jehan, and with his permission conducted the Christian captives back to Bengal.

Bandel is not what it was in bygone times. "Stern ruin has driven her ploughshare" hard over it. It has lost all its former pomp and magnificence, and stands as a sad and sorry relic, reminding one of the mutability of all mundane things. The very sight of the place amply testifies to its ancient grandeur. Indeed, at one time, it teemed with a gay stream of population in which the gaudy train of beauty shone the brightest. The present inhabitants of Bandel might be counted on one's fingers, and the sad loneliness of the locality offers a striking contrast to the sweet liveliness with which it was pregnant even at the beginning of the present century.

Save and except the church, which rears its hoary head in solitary gloom, a few broken walls, overgrown with bushes and

brambles, are all the "splendid wrecks" which remain to tell the painful tale of its former pride and populousness. From a splendid town Bandel has dwindled down into a sorry village of the lowest type possible. Even the very river, which forty years before laved the church foundations with its sweet waters, as if afraid to catch the contagion of the surrounding desolation, has receded considerably to the east, leaving a large space of dry land, which was one vast sheet of water, displaying a hundred gorgeous sail. But Bandel does not stand unique in this respect; this has also been the case with all the Portuguese settlements in India, now that their power in the East has fallen so very low. Bishop Wilson visited New Goa, the metropolis of Portuguese India, on the 6th December 1835, and this is how he has described it in his Journal: "The Portuguese, for one hundred and fifty years the great European power in India, is silent in darkness, and the 'Beast,' which enjoyed her protection, expiring. Instead of two thousand priests, whose licentiousness was proverbial, there are now fifty, or even fewer stragglers. Immense masses of building crumbling daily, and some positively without a single monk. The nunnery alone remains, and that is to receive no more inmates. The Abbess has never been without its walls for forty-five years. One sweet-looking pupil attended her at the *grille*, downcast as a flower doomed to fade. The nuns we could not see." The reason why the good Bishop could not see them is, however, not far to seek; for, as a matter of fact, nuns there were very few, if any. Similar fate has befallen the Convent of Bandel: it, too, is bare of its inmates. Indeed, the place looks like

"a thing  
O'er which the raven flaps his funeral wing."

SHUMBHOO CHUNDRA DEY.

ART. XII.—PRATAPGAD FORT, AND THE  
MAHRATTA VERSION OF THE DEATH  
OF AFZAL KHAN, BY SHIVAJI.

**I**N the course of a visit to the Great Mahratta fortresses I had to see Pratapgad, which is rendered famous by the bloody episode of Afzal Khan's death. I was struck by the great discrepancy between the story found in Grant Duff and all English books, and the version of it given in Mahratta *bakhars* and universally current among the people. In this paper I have tried to represent this latter view by the side of the former, as, for historic truth, it is necessary that both sides should be stated, and the other side not passed over in contemptuous silence as is done by Duff and all who follow him.

For the internal defence of the country Shivaji, as is well known, had provided by a very skilfully planned chain of fortresses which play a very important part in the history of his people. "Regular fortifications," says Orme, "well armed and garrisoned, barred the opener approaches; every pass was commanded by forts; and, in the closer defiles, every steep and overhanging rock was occupied as a station to roll down great masses of stone, which made their way to the bottom, and became the most effectual annoyance to the labouring march of cavalry, elephants, and carriages. It is said that he left 350 of these posts in the Konkan alone." (*Historical Fragments*, p. 93.) Of all these hill forts with which the Konkan and the Deccan are studded, probably the most famous is Pratapgad, connected as it is with the well-known episode of Afzal Khan's death at the hands of Shivaji, and the consequent rise in the great Mahratta Chief's fortunes. From all the western "points" of Mahableshwar, it forms a prominent feature in the distant landscape, appearing to its best advantage from the lofty picturesque tongue of land rising abruptly from the Koyna valley, known as Lodwick, or Sydney Point. Thence, being right in front of it, it looks like Noah's Ark resting on Mount Ararat, with its square, solid and massive top lined by the encircling fortifications, resting on wide expanding rocks spurring a way into the valleys below, that of the Koyna to the east and that of the Savitri to the north. It is easily reached from Mahableshwar by the Fitzgerald Pass road, which leads from these hills through Mahad and Dasgaon, along the banks of the Savitri, in the Konkan, to the sea at Bankot. The first eight miles of this road, which descends in a slow winding curve, through thick woods, along the edge of the hill between Sydney and Bombay Points, into the valley 2,000 feet below, bring us to the well-furnished and comfort-

able bungalow at Vada, at the foot of Pratapgadh. Thence, by a fair ascent through a pretty dense wood, the fort is reached, and we set foot on the historic ground of Shivaji's most famous fortress. Nowhere does the *pax Britannica* now reigning universally in the land, strike one so forcibly as in these once terrible forts, now either dismantled or rendered harmless by thorough blasting, and visited at intervals only by the historical tourist, who, taking his stand on a broken arch here or a grass-grown bastion there, tries to realise the dreadful times when the Mahrattas were a power in these parts, and their name struck terror wherever sounded; when these forts were the scourge of the country around, the source of cruel raids which swept away, in their merciless career, men, beasts, and vegetation alike. The Mahrattas have left behind them no such famous monuments of their greatness as the gigantic Buddhist topes and beautiful Hindoo temples of antiquity, the wonderful architectural buildings and columns of their Mogul predecessors, or the more useful but equally wonderful public works of their English successors. Like their contemporaries, the Portuguese, the only relics of their former power and supremacy are their great fortresses, which are mostly, if not entirely, hill-forts, owing to the genius of the people, and the force of circumstances, as those of the former were all sea-forts (if the term can be used), on account of the maritime genius of that nation. Forts were, in past times in India, the chief instruments of war, owing to the peculiar nature of the warfare of the times. With the establishment of the English as the paramount power in the land, they have ceased to be of use, as the hostile strength that could be supplied to them has been cut off at its source. But in the event of the central power relaxing or breaking down, there is every likelihood of these fortresses renewing their former warlike existence, and swarming anew with marauders.

Pratapgad was one of Shivaji's early forts, built for him by his trusted lieutenant, More Trimal Pingli in 1656. Its position attests the great sagacity of the great "Mountain Rat," as he was contemptuously called by his enemy, Aurangzeb, who, however, had to acknowledge the great ability and organising sagacity of his foe. "Mountain Rat" he certainly was, knowing every nook and corner of this mountainous country, and how to turn his knowledge to the best account. This fortress stands on the brow of the Deccan, commanding on all sides a very important country. On the south it overlooks the Par Pass, the old high road leading from the Deccan into the Konkan, and the only good outlet from the interior. To the north it guards the source of the Savitri and the Krishna, two rivers that rise a few miles off, near the Mahableshwar temples.

To the east flows the Koyna, past the Mahableshwar hills on to Satara; and its banks are protected by this fort. To the west stretches away an undulating hilly tract, joining the Konkan and sloping to the sea sixty miles off. Pratapgad is to the extreme north of a range of hills which extend far into the interior, and of which Makrangadh, the hill known as the saddle-back to the visitors of Mahableshwar, and Choragadh, are other prominent peaks. But there is no important pass between any of these hills, which, indeed, are almost impassable, and the only outlet is the Par Pass between this fort and the rest of the range. Shivaji thus pitched upon this high commanding rock to secure access to his territories on the Nira and the Koyna, and to strengthen the defences of this important pass. The fortification consists of a double wall, encircling the top of the hill, one wall below the other, thus forming a lower and an upper fort, with a long outwork projecting from the eastern gate of the lower fort, and ending in a high round bastion called Abdalla's tower, from the head of the famous Abdalla, or Afzul Khan, killed below, being buried in it. The walls, which are nowhere very thick or high, follow the lie of the ground in zigzag lines, rising in one place and falling in another. Both the forts have bastions on all the four sides, commanding all the approaches. In the lower fort is the temple of Bhowani, the patron goddess of Shivaji and his family, who inspired him throughout his career. It is an unattractive, old, gloomy-looking building, with a black stone image of the goddess in a dark cell, the scene being quite in keeping with the bloody deeds in the Mahratta Chief's career connected with this Bhowani Mata.

The upper fort, which is called Bala Killa, contains smaller temples of Mahadev and Maruti, and a small building, a few feet square, which is pointed out as Shivaji's house. One can well imagine, standing in this grass-grown, roofless shed, how, two hundred and thirty-five years ago, Shivaji must have passed sleepless nights here, contemplating the utter ruin of his power that was planned by the Bijaporé court, with the enormous army of its great General encamped in the plain and valley in the distance, whose camp fires he could clearly descry, and whose fanfare of trumpets fell on his listless ears as he lay here revolving his daring and unscrupulous projects of defence in his mind. We must now describe shortly this great event, for ever connected with Pratapgad and renowned in Mahratta history.

Within three years after the building of Pratapgad, the Bijapore authorities determined to crush with a great effort the rising power of their rebellious subject, Shivaji. A large army of 5,000 horse and 7,000 foot, with artillery and other



supplies, marched from Bijapore under the ill-fated Afzul Khan, and, after various stages, encamped in the valley of the Koyna between Mahableshwar and Pratapgad. Shivaji entrenched himself in the latter fort, and, knowing the hopelessness of meeting such a large and well-appointed army in open battle, meditated how best to overcome his adversary by stratagem. He feigned submission and sent humble messages to Afzul, requesting him to depute some men to receive his homage and settle the terms of peace. The Mahomedan General, who seems to have been of a frank nature, totally unsuited to meet Mahratta diplomacy, sent a Brahmin in his service, Gopinath Pant, to settle the affair with Shivaji. The Brahmin, who was won over by religious scruples as well as promises of a *jagir* by the crafty Mahratta, who disclosed to him his plan of overcoming the Mahomedan foe, Afzul, was to be inveigled to an interview, alone and unarmed, and to be murdered, and his army, demoralised by its Chief's sudden death, was to be surprised and cut down. The Brahmin easily persuaded his confiding Chief to go unarmed and with a single attendant to the foot of the fortress, where Shivaji was to meet him in the same state and surrender in person. The army was to be kept at a distance, as no fight was expected, and the whole thing was to end, in peace and order, and the great Mahratta plague was to end for ever. Afzul Khan, dressed in a plain white muslin garment, with nothing but a sword by his side, advanced in a palanquin to the place of interview. Shivaji prepared himself in a characteristic manner for the critical occasion. After bathing and worshipping and receiving the blessings of his mother, he put on his steel armour concealed under the cotton gown, hid a dagger in his right sleeve, and under the fingers of the left hand held the treacherous weapon, shaped like the tiger's claws, famous among the Mahrattas as the *wagnakha*. Thus prepared, he slowly descended the fortress, and, after much hesitation and slouching, came in sight of Afzul, who advanced alone to meet him with the customary embrace. No sooner was the spare form of Shivaji in the arms of the huge Mahomedan, than the treacherous *wagnakha* was plunged into his side, and the dagger did the rest. The Mahratta soldiers, who had been kept in ambush in the woods, came out and surprised the escort which was at a distance. The Bijapore army, quite demoralised, as was expected, by this sudden stroke of treachery, was paralysed and surrendered in disorder and confusion. The vast horde of cavalry, infantry, and artillery melted away before this daring stroke, and Shivaji became master of the situation. The dead body of Afzul, with its head cut off, was buried on a southern spur of the hill, and the plain tomb,

built of chunam, is still to be seen under a miserable shed, a little to the left of the road leading to the top. The head was taken to the fort, and buried under the bastion which Shivaji is said to have built after this event, and rather cynically to have called Abdalla's tower, after the over-confident Mahomedan General's name who lies in it.

This is the ordinary version of the episode given by historians like Grant-Duff, and the one to be found in that excellent guide and historical tourist's companion, the *Bombay Gazetteer*. It is based on the great Mahomedan historian of Aurangzebe, Muhammad Hashim, better known as Khafi Khan, who writes with a strong and evident bias against the great Hindoo Chief, but who has been followed almost implicitly by every European writer. "The truculent rebel," says Khafi Khan, "knowing that he could gain nothing by regular warfare, artfully sent some of his people to express his repentance, and to beg forgiveness of his offences. After some negotiation, the deceitful Brahmans made an agreement that Shivaji should come to wait upon Afzal Khan at a certain place under his fortress, with only three or four servants, and entirely without arms . . . . The designing rascal, by sending various presents and fruits of the country, and by his humbleness and submission, conciliated Afzal Khan, who fell into the snare, believing his false, deceiving statements, and observing none of the caution which the wise commend. Without arms, he mounted the *palki* and proceeded to the place appointed under the fortress. He left all his attendants at the distance of a long arrow-shot. Then the deceiver came down on foot from the fort, and made his appearance with manifestations of humility and despair. Upon reaching the foot of the hill, after every three or four steps, he made a confession of his offences, and begged forgiveness in abject terms, and with limbs trembling and crouching. He begged that the armed men and the servants, who had accompanied Afzal Khan's litter, should move further off. Shivaji had a weapon, called in the language of the Dakhni *bichua*, on the fingers of his hand, hidden under his sleeve, so that it could not be seen. He had concealed a number of armed men among the trees and rocks all about the hill, and he had placed a trumpeter on the steps, to whom he said, 'I intend to kill my enemy with this murderous weapon; the moment you see me strike, do not think about me, but blow your trumpet and give the signal to my soldiers.' He had given orders to his troops also that, as soon as they heard the blast of the trumpet, they should rush out and fall upon the men of Afzal Khan, and do their best to attain success. Afzul Khan, whom the angel of doom had led by the collar to that place,

was confident in his own courage, and saw Shivaji approach unarmed and fearing and trembling. He looked upon his person and spirit as much alike, so he directed all the men who had accompanied his litter to withdraw to a distance. The treacherous foe then approached and threw himself weeping at the feet of Afzal Khan, who raised his head, and was about to place the hand of kindness on his back and embrace him. Shivaji then struck the concealed weapon so fiercely into his stomach that he died without a groan. According to his orders, the trumpeter blew a blast of triumph to arouse the concealed troops. Men on horse and foot then rushed forth in great numbers on all sides, and fell upon the army of Afzal Khan, killing, plundering, and destroying. The blood-thirsty assassin rushed away in safety and joined his own men, whom he ordered to offer quarter to the defeated troops . . . Fortune so favoured this treacherous, worthless man, that his forces increased, and he grew more powerful every day." (Elliot and Dowson, History of India, Vol. VII., p. 251.) The strong bias of this varnished dramatic account is patent, and it is hard that it could have been accepted without scrutiny by any historian.

By the side of this account there is another written at about the same time by the celebrated Englishman, Dr. Fryer, who was in India from 1672-81, and was, therefore, a contemporary of Shivaji :—"Abdool Khan, an experienced soldier, was outwitted by Shivaji. For he, understanding of his having taken the field, while the main body was yet at distance enough, he sent to him flattering and seducing messages, intimating withal if he would stop his march, at an appointed *choultry* out of sight of such rendezvous, he would meet him and kiss his feet ; begging that he would act the obliging office of peace-maker between him and the King. Abdool Khan, thinking no less than that he meant sincerely, consented, though advised to the contrary by his friends (whether out of superstition, as the dying of an elephant and other bad presaging omens, or they doubting the integrity of Shivaji, I know not), but they could not prevail. At the day prefixed, therefore, he takes with him his son and a selected number, which he credited would not be outequalled by Shivaji upon his former protestations and hopes of reconciliation ; but the perfidious man had placed an ambuscade, and with a smaller show in appearance than Abdool brought, waits his coming, who as soon as he spied him afar off, went forth to meet him, and prostrates himself before him with feigned tears, craving pardon for his offence, and would not rise till he had assured him of his being his advocate to procure it. Going to enter the *choultry* together, he cries out like a fearful man, that his lord (so he styled the General) might

execute his pleasure on him, and ease him of his life, which Abdool Khan surmising was because he was armed, and the other came seemingly alarmed, delivered his sword and poniard to his page, and bade him enter with courage, where after some parley he slips a stiletto from under his coat sleeve, and then eyeing his blow, struck it at his heart, whereat the signal was given, and his men came forth, in which scuffle Abdool's son gave Shivaji a wound, but was forced to change habit with a *frass* immediately; and, venturing through untrodden paths, hardly escaped to the camp, who thereupon were so discomfited that they quickly dispersed themselves and left the field open to Shivaji.\* This account, with its embellishments, must have been taken up by Fryer from hearsay, and is of a piece with the other wonderful and absurd things he recounts of the Mahrattas. Moreover, the English then bore no good-will to them, as they were greatly harassed by Shivaji, whom they dreaded and detested. Other contemporary authorities, like Manucci-Catrou and Dellon, write in the same strain: and later writers follow them. Even the judicious Orme, justly called the Thucydides of Indian History, who wrote about Shivaji in his *Historical Fragments* in 1782, and takes, on the whole, a very high view of his character, briefly says: "He seduced the Commander Abdool to a conference, by professions of submission, and stabbed him with his own hand; it is said, by a device which, if practicable, could not be suspected; on which an ambuscade cut down all the retinue, except the General's son, who escaped back to the camp, which immediately broke up and dispersed" (p. 7, ed. 1805). Jonathan Scott, writing a few years later in 1794, in his *History of the Deccan*, based on Ferishta and other Mahomedan authors, tells the same story: "Shivaji with artful policy now wrote to the General imploring pardon for his crimes and inviting him to come and receive his submission. Abdoolla advanced without opposition near the residence of the rebel, and it was agreed that he should repair to a tent with ten followers, where Shivaji would meet him with only five attendants. They met, accordingly, when the treacherous zemindar stabbed Abdoolla in embracing him." (*History of the Deccan*, Vol. II., p. 8.) Scott Waring, in his *History of the Mahrattas*, written in 1810, gives the same, with a word for the Mahratta Chief, as we shall see presently. Grant Duff followed him in 1826 with the story, whose history we have traced just now, and he has stereotyped it, as it were, for every writer who has followed him, to our own days, quotes bodily from him. Even the excellent volume of Mr. Lane Poole on Aurangzeb, published a few months ago, gives this traditional account without criticism.

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\* *New Account of the East Indies*, p. 64.

But the Mahrattas have, from the first, given their own account of this episode, which differs entirely from what we have seen to be the Mahomedan and European view. It occurs in prose as well as verse in their various *bakhars* and *powadas*. In the *powada* or ballad written on this affair by Agnyandas during Shivaji's lifetime, and given by Messrs. Acworth and Salingram in their recent laborious collection, it is given in stirring indigenous verse, with many interesting details. As I have said, all the *bakhars* agree in this matter. I have taken the most important of these for a basis of my account. This is the *bakhar* of Shivaji, by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad, who was an official at the court of the first Rajaram, and wrote a few years after Shivaji's death, in about 1695. There are many other *bakhars* of Shivaji, especially that by Chitnis, written at the beginning of this century, which contains many important traditions, and other matter not quite authenticated. But Sabhasad's account, as it is one of the earliest, is also accepted as authentic and trustworthy, especially in the pains-taking edition of Mr. Krishna Narayen Sane. Mr. Rajaram Bhagwat, Professor of Sanskrit at St. Xavier's College, who is known for his studies in Mahratta history, also attaches great value to Sabhasad's *bakhar* in his own excellent life of Shivaji. Mr. Udas' work in Marathi may also be mentioned in this connection.

Sabhasad's *Bakhar* differs in two main points from the Mahomedan view. It will have been seen that the latter makes Shivaji very anxious for the interview during which he wanted to kill his enemy. But here it is Afzal Khan who is anxious to see Shivaji. Afzal, before starting, had boasted before the Queen-Regent of Bijapur, that he would bring Shivaji before her dead or alive within a short time; and he was now thinking how best to capture Shivaji and redeem his honour. He resolved to send some one as his agent to Shivaji to make peace with him and to inspire confidence in him, and then to make him a prisoner alive. So he sent Krishnaji Bhaskar to the Mahratta camp as his agent, offering to Shivaji very favourable terms if he submitted, and requesting him to arrange for a personal interview. The wary Mahratta, who had throughout his career an extremely able intelligence department, came to know at once of the motive which prompted this request, and he immediately prepared to meet the enemy on his own ground. He spied out the secret of Afzal's intention of murdering him from his own agent, Gopinath Pant,\* whom

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\* In the translation given by Mr. G. W. Forrest in his "Selections from the Bombay State Papers: Mahratta Series, Vol. I," of the *Bakhar* of Shivaji's life kept at Raigad, the ancient capital of his empire, and considered by Scott Waring to be the most authentic of the four Mahratta

he gained over by appealing to his religious sense and also to his patriotism, and in addition, promising a Jaghir. Gopinath told him that the Khan meant treachery, and, under the pretext of a friendly interview, intended to take him prisoner and send him to Bijapur. He, therefore, undertook to throw Afzal off his guard if Shivaji would be daring enough to strike the blow himself. Gopinath smoothed the way for Shivaji, and encouraged Afzal in his thought, that he would succeed in his plan of taking his enemy dead or alive at the meeting.

Shivaji prepared himself for the worst. He put on a sherstran, or steel cap and chain armour, underneath his simple coat and armed himself with the weapons of his people, the *bichva* and *wagnakha*. He descended slowly from the top of this fortress, and approached the Khan hesitatingly, as he was really afraid of being betrayed. The fact, that Afzal's attendants were kept at a distance, did not re-assure him, as he knew that the Khan was bodily very powerful and would, and did intend to crush him in the very act of embracing. The tradition about the Khan's bodily strength among the Mahrattas, which I heard from the Brahmans on Pratapgad Fort and elsewhere, is that he used to eat daily a whole large goat. The *Bakhar* compares him to the great Duryodhan, the leader of the Kaurava princes, whose

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histories he had used for his own account. Dattaji Gopinath is given as the name of Shivaji's agent, or Vakeel, to the Khan. This *Bakhar* differs in many points from Sabhasad's, but agrees with it in saying that Shivaji doubted the sincerity of Afzal Khan in inviting him to a personal interview. Afzal Khan sent his Divan, Krishnaji Bhaskar, to Shivaji, to say that his improper conduct was forgiven, and that he would now consult his true interest if he joined him without any apprehension and accompanied him into the presence of the King. He would then procure him a pardon and increase of rank, and also permission to leave the Court. Krishnaji Bhaskar delivered his message to Shivaji. Shivaji suspected the sincerity of it, did not think it advisable for him to go and visit Afzal Khan. He replied that if Afzal Khan was really desirous of obtaining a pardon and additional rank for him from the King, he hoped that he would, in the first place, come unattended and visit him, and after Afzal Khan had done that, and satisfied his mind with regard to his apprehension, and sworn to the sincerity of his assurances, he might then take him by the hand and conduct him to Court and there exert himself in his behalf as he might think proper. If Afzal Khan should agree to this proposal he would prepare a place of meeting below the gate of the fort, where he would wait unattended to receive the Khan. Shivaji then sent Dattaji Gopinath, as his Vakeel, to the Khan, along with Krishnaji Bhaskar. These two persons arrived at Wai, and communicated Shivaji's answer to Afzal Khan, who agreed to Shivaji's proposal. Dattaji returned to inform Shivaji, and that Chief fixed upon a spot for the interview. . . . Uncertain as to what might happen when the meeting took place, he sent for some Brahmans, gave them a great deal of money, and desired them to go to Banaras and Gaya and perform all the ceremonies which were prescribed by the Hindu religion, to be performed on the death of a person. He also gave a number of cows in charity and cut his beard short." (page 11.)

great strength is mentioned in the Mahabharat, and says that he was like him in nature, in huge bodily strength, and was also just as vicious. The meeting took place, and here the Mahratta and the Mahomedan accounts differ considerably. The former says that as soon as the Khan got Shivaji in his embrace, he seized his head in his hand and pressed it hard. He further drew his sword from his scabbard, and used it on Shivaji's body, but it made only a rattling noise upon the chain armour with which his body was protected, and had no effect. Seeing this, continues the *Bakhar*, Shivaji thrust the *wagnakha* in his left hand into the bowels of the Khan and thus killed him in self-defence.

This is the Mahratta version, not got up in a later age, but one which was current at the very time, and which has never lost credit among the people up to our own day. Every nation has a right to have its own say on important events connected with its history and great men. Shivaji is the greatest national hero of the Mahratta nation, and certainly deserves to have his actions judged not only and exclusively from the point of view of his enemies, the Mahomedans—but also from that of his own countrymen. The Mahratta version is just as trustworthy as the Mahomedan, and it has, perhaps, greater probability on its side. Can it be believed that a great and skilful Mahomedan General like Afzal should be so simple and unwise as to trust himself to a person like Shivaji and have an unguarded interview, especially when, only a short while before this, he had had his eldest brother Sambhaji, the favourite son of his parents, treacherously murdered? Indeed, this murder of his brother rankled in Shivaji's mind, and furnished an additional motive to him to turn the tables upon the wily Mussulman; and one of the instructions given him by his mother, devotion to whom is one of the most beautiful traits of his character, on his final leave-taking, was to remember that treacherous deed, and, if possible, to avenge it. Again the Bijapur Court had treacherously taken his father Shahji a prisoner through their agent Ghorepede, and Afzal must have known how deeply the son felt for this treachery to his father. On the other hand Shivaji was known to Afzal and the other Mahomedans as treacherous, and in the beginning of this very campaign, they believed him,—though there is some doubt about his guilt in this matter—to have caused the assassination of the Raja of Jaoli. The desecration of the temples of Bhavani and other gods at Tuljapur and elsewhere, along the route of the Bijapur army, had greatly incensed such a staunch and enthusiastic Hindu as Shivaji was even then known to be, and Afzal must have easily guessed that he was an irreconcilable foe. It was such an enemy,—a man whose father was treacherously imprisoned

by his King, and whose brother was deceitfully killed by himself, whose gods, for whom he felt more than for his parents and family, he had insulted, and destroyed their temples ; it was such an enemy, in whose arms, the current account wants us to believe, Afzal Khan trusted himself in friendly embrace.

We would refuse to believe this even about an age which was guiltless of frequent treachery, and about men who were pretty scrupulous in their means. But Shivaji's age was quite different, and his contemporaries free from scruples to an uncommon extent. What we call treachery was considered almost a lawful means of gaining their ends, and at its worst, was very lightly thought of. It was only the party that was worsted by it that complained. When both sides tacitly recognised it to be a legitimate mode of warfare, its heinousness must to some extent have disappeared. The Mahomedans used it to the full as much as the Mahrattas. And the very Bijapur Court, implicated in the tragedy we are considering, furnishes many more examples of this than those given above. A short time before this event, Khan Mahomed, Adil Shah's prime minister, was inveigled and treacherously murdered at the city-gate in open day-light ; and people thought lightly of it. His son, Khawas Khan, the Commander-in-Chief, met with a similar fate during the latter years of Shivaji's life, when he was treacherously killed by Abdul Karim, the prime minister. Abdul Kareem treated Dinanath Paul, who instigated him to do this deed, in a similar way, and killed him treacherously. Nor were the Deccani Mahomedans alone in this respect. The Northerners were just like them. What was it but gross treachery when Aurangzebe, having inveigled Shivaji by false promises to his court, kept him a close prisoner ? Aurangzebe gave similar instructions to Khan Jehan as regards Abdul Kareem. Rao Kerran of Bicani was to be dealt with in a treacherous way by Dilir Khan, owing to instructions from Aurangzebe, but Bhow Sing gave him timely information. And accounts of the last Moguls, the Childerics and Chilperics of Delhi, furnish instances of gross unscrupulousness and breach of faith.

But it is rather hard upon men of that age, with its own peculiar ideals and methods, to judge them by our present high standard. If we believe in the evolution of morality, the present high western stand is the result of ages of development, being the slow outcome of circumstances, influenced by wider and wiser knowledge and a higher religion. We are the heirs of all the ages in our knowledge and judgment and morality. If we are wiser, more moral, and have a higher standard of ethics ; in short, if we look further ahead in matters of morality as in others, it is because we are mounted on the



shoulders of all the past generations of the West and of the East. We would not think of blaming Shivaji and his contemporaries for not being as learned as we are in the end of the 19th century ; then why should we come down so severely upon them for not having a higher standard of ethics? If history teaches us anything, it is to judge of nations and heroes with reference to the times in which they lived and their entire environment, mental and moral, political and social. To try Eastern nations by a Western standard, to judge ancients by modern ideas, to condemn Pagans in the light of Christianity and other pure religions, is manifestly unjust. Of course, tried by a universal and eternal standard of right and wrong, which knows of no circumstances, of no time and no space, which is blind to extenuations and excuses, all wrong-doers are on the same level, and Shivaji and Napoleon are on the same platform as Cain. But we leave that awful task of judgment to the highest tribunal, whose mysterious ways we know not, nor can know. History has a humbler task and less wide sweep. In judging Shivaji, it reminds us that he was born and bred in a rude age, rendered still ruder by political chaos which unsettled life in all its departments, that his environment was such as could not make him see the more excellent way which it is our great good fortune to see and follow, that the ideals of his times were low compared with ours, that his contemporaries were not on a higher, but on the same, if not a lower level, and above all that he had not the means available to us of knowing better.

In his whole life there appears no sign to show that a doubt ever crossed his mind while doing things we call treacherous, and meeting a mine by a countermine. On the contrary, he prepared for most of the doubtful deeds of his life, in a manner which clearly shows in what light he viewed them. Before preparing for this very meeting with Afzal Khan, he thought that he was only doing a very brave deed, and that, if he lost life in doing it, he would obtain glory. In the *bakhar* he is represented as quoting verses whose refrain is : " As life is mortal in any case, why should we be afraid of losing it in the battle-field." And he quite sincerely believed that he was to fight a fair fight in killing Afzal by his dagger. Nor was he alone in this. His age and people thought the same. The chronicler represents them both when he lauds the deed, and compares it to the fight of Bheem with Duryodhan, celebrated in the great Hindu epic, and thus gives it the highest praise possible for a Hindu to give. The chronicler further states that Shivaji must have been not human, but divine, in doing such a brave deed. To judge of such a man in such an age as we would judge a European, is really unjust. To put him in the same category with Napoleon, who had so

many of his enemies assassinated, is unfair to Shivaji, because Napoleon certainly knew better and had ample opportunities of knowing better. Again, Clive's guilt, when he deceived the miscreant Omichund, is greater than Shivaji's, because he, too, had higher lights, which he could have followed, and certainly knew that he was doing something wrong, while about Shivaji there is no such evidence of such knowledge.

I am not, after what I have said, to be understood to exculpate Shivaji altogether. What I insist on are the extenuating circumstances, even at the risk of being called a casuist. And a casuist in the literary sense I may be, as I insist on considering each case of historical wrong separately, with its peculiar circumstances, and not involving all indiscriminately in one universal anathema of condemnation. I have given this Mahratta view at some length, because I have never seen it put forth at all by any European, except the solitary instance of Scott Waring, who, too, only put a part of it. The writer of the historical portion of the *Sattara* volume of the *Bombay Gasetteer*, after quoting from Waring, curtly dismisses this view by remarking in a note that "this intention of Abdoollah does not extenuate Shivaji's conduct, for Shivaji had made up his mind from the first to murder the Musulman General," (Vol. XIX, page 237). May I ask the writer about the authority for this statement of his that Shivaji had *made up his mind from the first to murder Afzal*? He should not refer me to Grant Duff, whose account he has given word for word. I have ascended higher in point of time than Duff; in fact, I think I have succeeded in showing that Duff merely stereotyped the one-sided Mahomedan and the hearsay European contemporary account—the latter most probably also derived from the former—without criticising it, and even without giving the equally plausible and more probable account of the Mahrattas.

After this great event Pratapgad has witnessed no other important scene in Mahratta history, and its existence as a fort ended in 1818, when, on the fall of Baji Rao II. and the total destruction of the Mahratta power, all the Mahratta forts, great and small, were taken and dismantled. Now Pratapgadh Fort is only important as a relic of the greatness of the power which was once so formidable in the country; and it well repays the tourist, who takes the trouble to go to its top, by the splendid panoramic scenery which it commands. The view to be obtained from the top on all sides is one of the grandest in these parts, and is much better than that from Mahableshwar, in that the latter is confined chiefly to the west, while from here is viewed a panorama extending in all directions, and rivalling, in wildness, grandeur and extent, any to be obtained elsewhere in Western India. As we make the narrow circuit of

the upper fort, the whole scene revolves around us with the varying effect of a phantasmagoria. To the east stands out boldly against the horizon the Mahableshwar range with its thickly wooded flat top, through which here and there peep out the high roofs and chimneys of bungalows, especially "Bella Vista," and the rounded peaks of Duke's Point, and Carnac Peak, and its cliffs, wooded and green, falling with a gentle slope into the valley to the right, and those to the left bare and precipitous. The various western points appear in bold relief as huge bastions and buttresses against the side of the hill—the flat plateau of Babington, the thick green knoll of Bombay, the picturesque tongue of Lodwick Point, with its tiny monument hardly visible from this distance, the wild and precipitous crags of Elphinstone, and the steep bare cliffs of Arthur's Seat to the extreme left, complete the whole western side of Mahableshwar opposite to Pratabgad. Mahableshwar, indeed, looks much like what Matheran appears from the opposite hill-top of Prabal, the same flat, wooded summit with the cape-like points running down into the valleys. To the left of Arthur's Seat and separated from Mahableshwar by the valley of the Krishna and the Savitri, and yet appearing to belong to it, is the hill of Jor, equally high and wooded, with steep precipitous sides. From Arthur's Seat, as well as from Jor spur, away to the Konkan below, three long lines of rugged hills, inexpressibly wild and bare, now appearing gray under the rays of the afternoon sun, broken into peaks of all shapes, of which Kangori is the only one fortified. Beyond these, to the north, is the long massive wall of hills in Bhore State, separating Poona and Kolaba from the Satara country here, which contains three other great and famous forts of Shivaji—Rajgad, his capital fortress, in which he was crowned, to the right and east, the long-lying Torna in the middle, and Raigad to the left and west, in Kolaba, his family fortress. Between Pratabgad and Mahableshwar is the valley of the Koyna and the district of Ambanali, green with dense forests, to which the eye willingly turns away from the wild and desolate scene to the north and north-east. From Raigad the hills turn to the west almost at right angles, while beyond them, in the distance, against the north-western horizon, dim in the haze, appears the indented line of the Kolaba hills sloping to the coast. Between these hills and the north-western side of Pratabgad, there is the same striking scene of bare desolation as to the north-east hills and undulating plain between, through which winds the thin silver streak of the Savitri, widening in the distance into a gulf at Mahad, and flowing onward past Dasgaon, meeting the sea at Nagotna. Immediately below the northern bastion is the spur, abutting on Pratabgad, of the Gowra hills, round

whose sides twines the Fitzgerald Pass road to the sea, meeting, at the village of Kineshwar, the old Par Pass road. From the western bastion there is the view of the steep sheer cliffs, nearly a thousand feet in height, going down to the bed of Adira, which meets the Savitri at Kapri, near the village of Poladpur. In the distance the scene is bounded by the sea at Janjira and Ratnagiri, now shining like a sheet of whitish red copper under the rays of the declining sun, whilst between, again, are four lines of hills, rising wave-like, one behind the other in irregular forms. The barren desolation of the northern and north-eastern view here changes again into dense woods and green vegetation in the south-west, where begins the long range of hills receding from the low country into the Deccan above. They are seen to better advantage from the southern bastion which overlooks the temple of Bhowani in the lower fort below. This almost impassable range begins with the rounded peak of Sibtok to the right, and includes the flat Chowragadh, and, next to it, the well-defined double peak of Makrangadh, whose two humps and the connecting ridge between look quite like a saddle. Between these two last, from behind the connecting hills, stand out against the southern horizon the distant hills of Parbat, the southern limit of Satara separating it from Ratnagiri. To the south-east is the hill of Kelgar, close to Mahableshwar on its south, and equally well and thickly wooded, though lower in height. Between these ranges of hills on either hand, in a beautiful valley, green with woods and lawns, winds the Koyna, which flows from its source in these parts on to Satara and the country beyond, receiving on its left, below Kelgar, the stream of Solshi.

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## THE QUARTER.

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**I**F we except the great public meeting held in the Calcutta Town Hall, on the 8th April, to protest against the exemption of cotton goods from the new import duties, and the mysterious smearing of mango trees in certain parts of Behar, the past twelve weeks in India have been more than usually uneventful. The legislative session at Simla has not yet begun, and the Viceroy has as yet made no sign, unless the somewhat stand-off attitude of the Government of India in the Financial Department, can be regarded as such.

The Financial Statement was presented by Mr. Westland on the 22nd March, and passed the following week after a debate which was noteworthy as showing how completely the forms may be divorced from the spirit of constitutional Government. From the speeches it was transparent that, with possibly a single exception, the Council unanimously condemned the policy imposed upon the Government by the Secretary of State in the matter of the cotton duties, the only difference being that the non-official members voted in accordance with, and the official members in opposition to, their convictions.

The Statement itself had been largely discounted by that made by Mr. Westland, in connexion with the Tariff Bill, on the 1st March. The Revised Estimates for 1893-94 showed a deficit of Rx. 1,793,000, being worse than the Budget Estimate by Rx. 198,000. The Imperial Revenue was better than the Budget Estimate by Rx. 319,000; but there was a great loss on Opium, the revenue from which was lower by Rx. 1,185,000 than any recorded in recent years, and the expenditure exceeded the Budget Estimates by Rx. 517,000.

The Estimates for the current year showed a deficit of Rx. 2,923,000, which it was proposed to meet in part by the new Import duties, expected to yield Rx. 1,140,000; by a suspension of Railway expenditure on Famine Insurance account, to the extent of Rx. 1,076,000, and by contributions from Provincial revenues to the extent of Rx. 405,000, leaving a final deficit of Rx. 302,000. Loss by Exchange was estimated as worse than the Budget Estimate for 1893-94 by Rx. 1,371,000, and there is every prospect of its far exceeding the amount thus anticipated.

The meeting at the Town Hall, to which we have already referred, was largely attended by all classes of the community. The first Resolution, which was moved by Rajah Peary Mohun

Mookerjee, was to the effect :—" That this meeting most emphatically protests against the exclusion of cotton goods from the Indian Tariff Act, a course which, without providing for the whole of the deficit, has led, as a consequence, to the diversion of the Famine Insurance Fund, an appropriation of a large portion of the Provincial balances to Imperial purposes, and the suspension of public works urgently required to maintain the development of the resources of the country."

The second Resolution, moved by Mr. Pugh, ran :—" That this meeting views with the gravest alarm the action of the Secretary of State for India on this occasion, since it appears that, besides setting aside the unanimous public opinion of this country—an opinion the existence of which he has admitted—, he overruled the recommendation of the Government of India, and determined the course to be followed in India, against the dissent of every Member of the Council of India, and, on this and other occasions, has unduly fettered the action of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General."

The third, moved by Mr. Womack, was as follows :—" That, in order to bring home to the people of England the grievances of the people of India, and with a view to the principles upon which English rule is founded being once for all enunciated and placed beyond doubt, the petition, which is before the meeting, be adopted for submission to the House of Commons."

The Resolutions were all unanimously passed.

In the House of Commons on the 14th March, Sir George Chesney moved a Resolution that the House had "learnt with regret the determination of Her Majesty's advisers, contrary to the wishes of the people of India, to restrain the Government of that country from taking the measures proposed by them for meeting the deficit in their revenues, and that, in the opinion of the House, such a disregard of the feelings and interests of the people of India was at variance with the principles which should regulate our conduct towards them." Mr. Fowler, in replying, pleaded that the mandate of the House of Commons which had led to the abolition of the duties on cotton goods, barred the Government from re-imposing them without its consent, conveniently ignoring the fact that the mandate in question was so worded as to make it conditional on the financial position of the Government of India being such as to justify the abolition. At the same time, he admitted that a countervailing excise duty on Indian manufactures would remove the chief objection to the duties, though he added that there were formidable difficulties in the way of an excise. He further promised that the question should have the careful consideration of Her Majesty's Government. He has since denied that any question exists.

Public interest on the subject in India has, of late, somewhat abated, but the question is destined to be revived at an early date.

Local opinion regarding it found an echo in the speech of Sir Frank Forbes Adams, the President, at the recent meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. Referring to the widespread preference of both Natives and Europeans for this form of taxation, as shown by the recent agitation, the speaker advised its acceptance, on the condition that it was accompanied by a corresponding excise on Indian goods.

Exchange has continued to fall, till within the last three weeks, with successive sales of Council Bills, and though, for the moment, it shows slight signs of improvement, it is probable that the recovery is only temporary. On the 19th ultimo the Indian Currency Association, whose energy seems to outrun their discretion, addressed a letter to the Government of India, strongly urging them to ascertain the Secretary of State's intentions regarding the "forced sales" of Council Bills. To this the Government of India have replied, that the Secretary of State has adhered strictly to the programme laid down in the Financial Statement ; that it is incorrect to speak of " forced sales " of Council Bills, as the sales, so far, have not exceeded the amount due to the period of the year which has passed ; that the Government of India cannot undertake to be the intermediary of criticism of the policy of the Secretary of State, and that they have stated their general policy in the Budget, and, while recognising the gravity of the situation, adhere to it unreservedly.

Sir David Barbour has somewhat surprised the more thorough-going advocates of the closing of the mints by a speech on the Currency question which he delivered recently at the Egyptian Hall, and in which, while stating that it was as yet too soon to say whether the attempt to establish a gold standard would be successful, he said it was clear that it would be a work of time, and would require further heavy sacrifices. In this he is considered to have blown cold on the work of his own hands ; but it is really no more than he said in Council, when the Government scheme was launched. The great mistake which the Government have made is in thinking that they could establish a gold standard without paying for it. The heavy sacrifices which Sir David Barbour has in view, should have been accepted frankly, and provided for in the first instance ; and every day's delay in accepting and providing for them, must add to the ultimate cost of establishing the new standard at a given rate.

The vague apprehensions that have been aroused, in England in a greater degree than in this country, by the smearing of the mangoe-trees in Behar, furnish a striking testimony to the last-

ing character of the shock to public confidence caused by the events of the great Mutiny. It is quite possible that the incident possesses no serious import whatever, and more probable than not, that, if it possesses any, it in no way directly concerns the European community. But a fancied analogy between it and the famous incident of the ehuppattis, combined with the theory, evolved on the *post hoc propter hoc* principle, that the latter was connected in some way with the terrible events which followed it, has set timid people imagining coming troubles of a similar order, under conditions, humanly speaking, incompatible with their occurrence, and foolish people talking and writing about them with an indiscretion which is really much more alarming than the incident itself. The gravest offender in this respect has been the London *Spectator*, which made the matter the occasion for an article virtually predicting another Mutiny, if not a widespread popular insurrection, within a week. This was followed by a letter from Colonel Malleon, who ought to know better, to the *Times*, endorsing the writers views and fears, and there was every chance that, had not men so much more competent, from their comparatively recent experience of India, to speak with authority, as Sir Alfred Lyall, Lords Lansdowne and Roberts, and Sir Lepel Griffin, come forward to re-assure the public, a most unfortunate and discreditable panic would have been created. Sir Alfred Lyall's opinion is, that the significance of the incident is religious rather than political, and that it need create no such alarm as that which the *Spectator's* article was calculated to create, and this view of the matter is generally endorsed by the other authorities named. The worst feature, however, in the discussion to which the incident has given rise in England, is the attempt to which certain writers have descended, to make political capital out of it, by roundly declaring it to be an expression of the indignation excited in the native mind, by what they happen to consider the latest example of British tyranny and injustice. For one writer this is the refusal of the Government to accede to the demand for simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service ; for another it is the exemption of Cotton goods from the import duties !—suggestions which, to people on the spot, seem too preposterous to be seriously entertained by any sane human being. By an unfortunate coincidence, in the midst of the excitement caused by this incident, it has become known that a spirit of insubordination, of a somewhat grave kind, has exhibited itself among a portion of the 17th B. N. I stationed at Agra. The men paraded without orders, refused to disperse when called upon to do so, and expressed in emphatic terms their dissatisfaction at the admission of certain recruits into the regiment,



which is a caste one, more distinguished for its gallantry in the field, than, it is said, for its peacefulness in cantonments. Thirteen of the men and one native officer have been tried by Court Martial in connexion with the matter, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and to be struck off the rolls of the Regiment.

The despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the subject of the recent religious disturbances, especially those in connexion with cow killing, has been published. The Government of India attribute the growing frequency of such occurrences mainly to three causes: (1) the greater frequency of communication and interchange of news by post and telegraph; (2) the greater forwardness of the Hindoos in the race for life, and their participation in the spirit and practice of political organisation after modern Western methods, and (3) the Hindoo revival at present in progress, as a re-action against the spread of religious indifference caused, in the first instance, by Western education.

The simultaneous examinations question has been disposed of, for, let it be hoped, at least a generation, in a despatch of Mr. Fowler to the Government of India, dated the 19th April, in which he states that, while anxious that the natives of India should enjoy every facility for entering the public service compatible with the security of British rule, he is convinced that insuperable objections exist to the proposed scheme. The best method of meeting the legitimate claims of natives, it is added, is to bestow the available higher posts on tried and trustworthy subordinates, and that the system lately established by the Government of India, appears to be based on wise and just principles and should be maintained.

A Bill to enable Indian Railways under construction to pay interest on capital, has been read a second time in the House of Commons, and will remove a serious obstacle to the investment of private capital in such enterprises.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Bengal Municipalities Bill, which, among other things, enables the local Government to disestablish or alter the boundaries of Municipalities; to appoint *ex-officio* Commissioners; to appoint an auditor, when the accounts of a Municipality are found to be in confusion, and what is, perhaps, the most important change of all to the rate-payer, to appoint an official assessor, if dissatisfied with the valuation of the Commissioners, was passed on the 28th April; and the Bengal Sanitary Drainage Bill, which is justly exciting considerable dissatisfaction and alarm, has been advanced a stage. An important Bill to amend the Revenue Sale Law was also introduced in the Council on the 31st March, by which it is proposed to abolish the discretion, at present

vested in the Collector, to exempt an estate from sale on the day of sale, giving the proprietor, instead thereof, power to prevent the sale before that day, by full payment of all arrears with interest and penalty. The Bill also contains a dangerous provision, depriving the Civil Courts of the power to annul a sale on account of arrears of revenue.

An interesting ceremony was performed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on the 23rd April, when he opened the water-works at Arrah. The works, the cost of which is close on four lakhs of rupees, of which a lakh and a half was contributed by Raja Rajgurni Prasad Singh, a lakh by the District Board, a similar sum by the Local Municipality, and the rest by public subscription, were completed in less than a year by Messrs. Martin & Co., the contractors. The intake stands on the rightbank of the Sone, about five miles distant from Arrah, where is also erected an engine-house with a large pump-well. From this centre the water is carried through a cast-iron pipe, ten inches in diameter. There are three engines in all, manufactured by Messrs. Tangye Brothers, of Birmingham, on an improved principle. The water is discharged into four settling tanks drawn through a suction-pipe. The settling tanks are built to hold a day's supply of water, or, roughly, 300,000 gallons. Here the water undergoes a process of settling, and is conveyed to three filters, the total area of which is 6,000 superficial feet. Thence it passes into a clear-water reservoir, and is distributed, by one of the large engines through a cast-iron main into the town. The water will be distributed to the precincts of the Municipality by forty stand-posts of one tap, and five of two taps. Besides these, there are eleven hydrants. The water will be led to the stand-posts by more than five miles of piping. It will be delivered, in the first instance, into a large wrought-iron cistern, 30 feet above ground-level, and will flow thence into the main by gravitation.

An important discovery has been made at Ferozepore of systematic robbery of the Government arsenal at that place. Through information given by a prisoner under trial for receipt of stolen goods, a large quantity of rifles, locks and barrels were found concealed in the bazaar, and the investigation which followed, disclosed long continued dealings in these articles by former European Conductors with men in the bazaar, who resold them to Pathans at a large profit. Three of the culprits have been arrested in England, and charged before the extradition Court at Bow Street.

It is hoped that this exposure will put a stop to the pernicious traffic which has, for a long time past, been going on between the bazaars in the Punjab and the frontier tribes. An

even more serious mischief would be prevented if the less dishonest, but not less iniquitous, trade in arms of sorts, which has long been carried on by British subjects, not always bazaar dealers, with Nepal, could also be put a stop to.

The failure of the wheat crop in certain parts of the Central Provinces, especially in the Saugor and Damoh districts, owing to rust, is causing considerable distress, and it has been found necessary to start relief works on a small scale.

A committee, whose investigations, if they do their work thoroughly, should be attended by important economies, is sitting at Simla, under the Presidentship of Mr. D. Lyall, to enquire into the establishment charges of the Department of Military Works, and the causes of the reluctance of Royal Engineer Officers to volunteer for service in the Public Works Department.

Among the personal changes of the quarter, we may note the appointment of Mr. D. R. Lyall to officiate as Chief Commissioner of Assam, *vice* Mr. Ward, and of Mr. Hewett to act for him in the Home Secretaryship to the Government of India ; of Major Temple to officiate as Chief Commissioner of the Andamans ; of Colonel Bissett to succeed Mr. O'Callaghan as Secretary to the Government of India in the Public Works Department, and of Mr. Pearson, of the Calcutta Bar, to succeed Mr. Marsden as Chief Presidency Magistrate.

Though, owing to the defection of the Parnellites, the Ministerial majority has been reduced by half, and notwithstanding one or two serious contretemps, the predictions of an early dissolution, as a result of the change of Premiers, has been signally falsified. Sir William Harcourt's Budget, which was read a second time on the 10th ultimo by 14 votes, has, on the whole, been favourably received by the country. The accounts for the year show a deficit of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions, which is reduced by nearly one half by the repayment from the new Sinking Fund of portion of the burdens arising from the Naval Defence Act. To make up the rest, it is proposed to equalise the death duties, and introduce a graduated scale, according to which estates under £500 will pay 1 per cent. ; estates from £500 to £1,000 2 per cent. ; estates from £1,000 to £10,000, three per cent. ; from £10,000 to £25,000, four per cent. ; from £25,000 to £50,000, four and-a-half per cent. ; from £50,000 to £75,000, five per cent. ; from £75,000 to £100,000, five and-a-half per cent. ; from £100,000 to £150,000, six per cent. ; from £150,000 to £250,000, six and-a-half per cent. ; £250,000 to £500,000, seven per cent. ; £500,000 to £1,000,000 seven and-a-half per cent. ; over a £1,000,000 eight per cent. ; to add a penny to the Income Tax, at the same time extending the limit of exemption from £120 to £160, and to increase the spirit duty by

6*d.* a gallon and the beer duty by 6*d.* a barrel. In the debate on the second reading, the rejection of the Budget was moved by Mr. Grant Lawson, seconded by Mr. Cosmo Bonsor, and supported by, among others, Mr. Goschen and Mr. Balfour. In the division the Parnellites voted against the Government, and three Liberal brewers abstained.

The Registration Bill, which abolishes plural voting, and provides that the Register shall be revised twice a year and all elections be held on the same day—Saturday—, was read a second time, on the 4th ultimo, by a majority of 14, the Parnellites abstaining. The Scotch Grand Committee was passed on the 25th April, and the Miners Eight Hour's Bill was read a second time on the 25th idem.

The Evicted Tenants Bill was introduced by Mr. Morley on the 19th April, and the Bill for the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales was read the first time on the 30th idem. Under the latter Bill, disendowment will be gradual, the corpus of the Church property will pass from the Church to the nation, to be enjoyed locally and parochially, a measure of compensation being granted to clergy and patrons. Mr. Asquith, in the course of the debate, gave a tempting list of the objects to which the property might be devoted. This included the support of cottage or other hospitals, dispensaries or convalescent homes, the provision of trained nurses for the sick poor, the foundation and maintenance of public parish and district halls and institutes of learning, the erection of labourers' dwellings, the 'promotion of technical and higher education, including the establishment of a national library and museum and an academy of art, and the promotion of any public purpose of local or general utility for which provision is not made by statute out of public rates.

The Government have determined to withdraw the Bill for the local control of the sale of liquor. Colonel Nolan's Bill for the repeal of the Coercion Act was read a second time, by a majority of sixty votes, on the 17th April.

Lord Rosebery has won golden opinions by the firmness, we might almost say the boldness, of his Foreign policy. As a party tactician, he has, perhaps, failed to realise the full measure of the duplicity required from a man in his exalted and responsible position. His speech in the House of Lords, on the 19th March, furnished a notable instance of this failure. England, as the predominant member of the partnership, he said, must be convinced before Home Rule could be given to Ireland. The effect of this reckless frankness on his Irish supporters, however, proved so serious, that he found it advisable, at Edinburgh the following week, to qualify his statement, by explaining, that it was by no means intended to imply that

a majority of English members must be in favour of Home Rule. On the contrary, if a majority of 100 members in the entire House were in its favour, but a majority of 45 in England against it, he would consider the voting a sufficient proof that England was convinced ; after which, it would be interesting to know Lord Rosebery's definition of conviction.

Through what can be described only as gross carelessness on the part of the Liberal whips, Mr. Labouchere was allowed to carry an amendment to the Address in reply to the Queen's speech, praying her Majesty that the Lords' power of veto might cease, by a majority of two, and Sir William Harcourt had to extricate the Ministry from the difficulty by a motion proposing the rejection of the Address, and the substitution of another, which was carried unanimously. Mr. Morley, speaking at Newcastle on Tyne recently, declared that the House of Lords had gone too far to be mended and must, consequently, be ended, a statement, which taken in connexion with what Lord Rosebery has said, and what are known to be the views of the more moderate Liberals on the subject, seems to foreshadow a split in the party over the question, should it ever come up for legislation.

The Government have announced in both Houses of Parliament that, after full consideration of the late Sir Gerald Portal's Report, they have determined to establish a regular administration in Uganda, under a British Protectorate. A no less important event, and one which threatens to lead to serious complications, is the conclusion of a treaty between Britian and the king of the Belgians, by which the province of Bahr el Ghazal is leased to the Congo Free State, thus barring the road of France from the westward, and Great Britian secures a strip of territory uniting Lake Tanganyika with Lake Albert Edward, and completing her communications by road, lake and river between the Cape and Cairo. The treaty has caused great indignation in France, which claims a right of pre-emption over the territory leased, and declares its determination to contest the matter with Great Britain. The German Ambassador at Brussels is also said to have lodged a protest against the treaty on behalf of his Government ; but this is probably a purely formal step. A treaty has also been concluded between Great Britain and Italy, by which the two Powers agree to a delimitation of their respective spheres of interest in the territory about Aden,

Commercial treaties have also been concluded between Germany and Russia and Austria and Russia.

In France the late Ministry have resigned, owing to the passing of a socialist resolution, demanding that the servants on State Railways should be allowed to attend the Railway Men's

Congress, a somewhat small matter, it might seem, to upset a Government. A new Ministry has been formed by M. Dupuy with M. Hanotaux as Foreign Minister and M. Faure as Minister of Marine.

A series of severe earthquakes in Greece have desolated the Atalanti district, completely destroying the city of Thebes, which seems to have been the centre of the disturbance, and causing considerable loss of life. Some of the shocks were felt at Athens, and the Parthenon has suffered considerable damage.

Among noteworthy personal events of the quarter have been the marriage of the Princess Victoria Melita, second daughter of the Duke of Coburg, to the Grand Duke of Hesse, son of the late Princess Alice, at Coburg, in the presence of her Majesty the Queen; the betrothal of Princess Alix of Hesse to the Czarewitch, which was announced at the Coburg wedding, and the appointment of Lord Roberts to succeed Lord Wolseley in the command in Ireland.

The obituary of the quarter includes the names of Lord Hannen; Lord Justice Bowen; the Marquis of Ailesbury; Major Le Caron; Mr. Edmund Yates; Mr. Henry Morley; Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson, B. C. S. *Ret.*, formerly Minister at the Court of Nepal, and well-known for his philological investigations; Mr. George James Romanes, F. R. S., the naturalist, and Mr. F. W. Broughton, dramatist; Rai Bunkim Chunder Chatterjea, the Bengalee novelist, and Mir Ali Murad Khan, Chief of Khairpur, in Sind.

*June 10th 1894.*

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## SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

### *General Report on Public Instruction in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year 1892-93.*

**I**N 1892-93, 204,556 boys and girls were under instruction in 4,845 State and aided institutions under Departmental control, compared with 204,568 in 4,975 institutions in 1891-92. The total attendance was thus almost the same in the two years, though there was a slight increase in the number of boys and a corresponding decrease in that of girls. The decrease in the number of schools was due to the closing of inefficient primary schools for boys and girls. The aggregate *direct* expenditure shows an increase on that for 1892-93, and the portion of that expenditure borne by the public revenues also increased. The *indirect* expenditure was Rs. 8,91,659, against Rs. 8,40,974 in 1891-92, showing an increase of Rs. 50,685. Of the indirect expenditure Rs. 6,09,804 was borne by public revenues. The large increase in these indirect charges was mainly on account of buildings and apparatus, and was for the most part met from endowments.

The proportion borne by the expenditure from public revenues to the whole direct expenditure on each of the main classes of education was—

|            |     |     |     |     | 1892-93. | 1891-92. |
|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----------|----------|
| University | ... | ... | ... | ... | 50       | 47       |
| Secondary  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 45       | 40       |
| Primary    | ... | ... | ... | ... | 79       | 78       |

The number of students attending Arts Colleges and collegiate  
126.

An increase in the number of candidates at all the University examinations and in the number who passed is noticeable. In the Intermediate examination of 1891-92 failures were exceptionally numerous, owing to the severity of the papers in English and Mathematics. This defect from candidates' point of view has been *redressed* in the examination of the year under report. The Canning College was remarkably successful in both the B.A. and the Intermediate examinations, passing 35 students in the former, out of 53 sent up, and 50 in the latter out of 84. The corresponding figures for the Muir Central College were 37 passed out of 68 sent up for the B.A. examination, and 54 passed out of 106 sent up for the intermediate. The B, or scientific, course in the B.A. examination appears to be growing in favour in the larger colleges.

In the law departments of the different colleges 615 students were enrolled, and 24 obtained the degree of bachelor of law. In the Sanskrit College, Benares, and the Arabic department of the Canning College, useful work is adjudged to have been done during the year.

State secondary schools, commonly known as zila schools, numbered 37, with an enrolment of 7,036 boys, and an expenditure of Rs. 37'7 per head, of which Rs. 23'2 was defrayed from public funds. The aided secondary schools numbered 76, with an enrolment of 12,009 boys, and an expenditure of only Rs. 26'2 per head, of which Rs. 11'6 was met from public grants-in-aid. The branch schools, which numbered 34, with an enrolment of 2,500 boys and an expenditure of Rs. 7'5 per head, are restricted to primary classes, and their object is to relieve the zila schools of the burden of teaching the primary classes. The average tuitional expenditure in State secondary schools is considerably greater than that in aided schools of the same character; but the higher tuitional expenditure results in a higher average standard of instruction. In 34 of the 37 State schools there is a high, or matriculation, section: but this is the case in 44 only of the 76 aided secondary schools. Again 50 per cent. of the scholars in the aided schools are in the lower primary section, while in the Government schools the proportion is only 20 per cent. The fact is that the aided Anglo-Vernacular schools are so varied in character that a general average either of expenditure or of examination results is misleading. The expenditure of a first class aided school like the Jubilee High School in Lucknow is as great as that of a first class State school, and the efficiency is the same. At the other end of the scale is the lately opened aided school at Bilgrām, which does not profess to teach the Anglo-Vernacular course beyond the middle standard, and which has a staff barely sufficient for even this modest ambition. An important class of the aided Anglo-Vernacular schools are those managed by the different missionary societies. We are glad to hear that it is within the knowledge of the Government that not a few of them are doing excellent work. It has been recognised by liberal grants.

The introduction of science and drawing teaching into five selected high schools, with the object of enabling students to be prepared for the School Final examination, was the chief event of the year. To Professor Murray, of the Muir Central College, the Government is indebted for the supervision which he voluntarily gave to the science teaching at the outset. The drawing classes have from the first been under the superintendence of Mr. Crosse, Officiating Inspector for Oudh, and appear to be progressing satisfactorily. Statistics show that the



science and drawing classes are well filled in four of the five schools, the Meerut Aided School being the exception. The revision of the Middle English curriculum which has lately been sanctioned has now brought the bifurcation of studies to as early a stage in a student's life as is possible. Under the revised scheme, a boy, on entering the middle section of an Anglo-Vernacular school, may take up elementary science and drawing instead of a classical language, and thus begin to specialise for the School Final examination, or the B course of the University.

During the year a punishment code was experimentally introduced, which, by defining the powers of head masters and specifying the punishments awardable for particular offences, will, it is hoped, be of some disciplinary value. In the matter of out-door games and gymnastics considerable progress is chronicled, and inter-school tournaments were held with success in every circle. School fines have been transferred to the recreation fund, and, furthermore, the grant to the fund of a sum equal to the subscriptions raised in its behalf in each district, has greatly improved the prospects of school sports in the provinces.

Vernacular middle, or "town," schools are all maintained by the State. In 1892-93 they numbered 315, with an enrolment of 29,171 on the 31st March 1893, and an average monthly enrolment of 27,729. In 1891-92 the average monthly enrolment was 26,915. Of the total number of enrolled scholars 5,631 were in the middle section, 5,950 in the upper primary, and 17,590 in the lower primary. Thus the schools classed as middle, as having classes which teach up to the vernacular middle examination, are really primary schools in respect of two-thirds of their attendance.

There is an increase in the number of candidates for the vernacular middle examination and in the number who passed. The popularity of this examination, on account of its being the obligatory educational qualification for appointment to inferior posts of Rs. 10 and upwards in the public service, leads to the frauds and mean devices which have lately been notorious. The Lieutenant-Governor stigmatises it as a matter of deepest regret that the difficulties attending popular instruction in this country should be increased by chicanery and despicable tricks on the part of masters and scholars.

It is noted that subordinate officials who have not passed the middle vernacular examination at schools, not unfrequently present themselves in later life in order to obtain the qualifying certificate.

Of State vernacular primary schools there were 3,878, with an enrolment of 140,395 scholars on the 31st March 1893. The

policy which has been pursued for some years back of improving the village schools, rather than of increasing their numbers, has, in the year under report, been marked by an increased enrolment of scholars. The average cost per scholar was something under Rs. 4 a year. The Director of Public Instruction remarks, that the great majority of the pupils attending village schools are of the higher castes, and that "the ultimate substratum, the actual tillers of the soil," remain absolutely untouched. It is a trite, but true remark of the Lieutenant-Governor's in this connection, that an education that frequently results in profound dislike of manual labour, is not an unmixed good. Nor is it good that primary education does not keep up with the progress made in higher education.

The special schools in the North West Provinces and Oudh comprise the three normal schools at Agra, Lucknow and Allahabad, for the training of teachers in vernacular schools, and the Industrial School at Lucknow. In the three normal schools there were 322 pupils, being fewer by 26 than the average enrolment in 1891-92. At the final examination of 1892-93, 53 received the "upper grade," and 91 the "lower grade" certificate. The number of "upper grade" teachers turned out from the normal schools has been considerably in excess of the demand. This is admittedly distinct mismanagement, and should be put a stop to.

The Industrial School at Lucknow is the first attempt in the North-West Provinces to combine manual training for native boys with elementary general education. So far as admissions are an evidence of success, the school is succeeding. But it is well observed that the real test of success will be the extent to which the students, on leaving the school, prove able and willing to engage in handicraft trades : and this cannot be known for some years. In rigorously restricting admission to the sons and near relatives of artizans, and in insisting that most of the school hours shall be spent in the workshop and the drawing room, the Government has done what it can to prevent boys resorting to the school for the gratuitous instruction which it gives in English and the Vernacular. The progress reported to have been made by the pupils in carpentry and drawing is encouraging : and if the school proves able to turn out cheap and suitable apparatus for elementary science teaching and gymnastic appliances, it will be of material service.

There is no general wish for female education, and so long as that is the attitude of the popular mind, little can be done. For the progress that has been made, the Government is indebted mainly to missionary efforts. In 1892-93 there were 128 vernacular primary schools for girls maintained by Government, or by municipalities, at a cost of Rs. 16,285, and with an enrolment of 2,880

scholars, all but 162 of whom were in the lower primary classes. The reports on the progress made by these schools are, as usual, not encouraging, though the ten schools maintained in the city of Lucknow by the Municipality are said, owing to the efforts of the Deputy Inspectress, Miss D'Abreu, to be an exception. There were also 128 aided vernacular schools for girls, with an enrolment of 4,417 scholars, and costing Rs. 59,412 a year, of which Rs. 16,730 was contributed by public funds. These schools are all the fruit of missionary enterprise. Many of the girls are said to be Native Christians ; but little is known as to the quality of the instruction, and grants-in-aid are given more on general repute than on hard and fast lines. Missionary societies also support 16 Anglo-Vernacular schools, with a total enrolment of 1,229 girls, at a total cost of Rs. 44,621, of which Rs. 13,956 is contributed by the State. These schools, which are attended exclusively by the daughters of Native Christians, are reported the most promising girls' schools in the province.

In 1892-93 there were 30 schools for Europeans and Eurasians receiving aid under the code, of which 16 were for boys and 14 for girls. Of the boys' schools, nine teach up to the High or Final Standard of the special code, the passing of which is recognised by the University as equivalent to the University Entrance examination ; two teach up to the Middle Standard only ; and five up to the Primary Standard. Of the girls' schools, nine are High schools, two middle, and three primary. The aggregate enrolment in these 30 schools was 1,329 boys and 942 girls, or 2,271 in all, against 2,271 in 1891-92. About one-half of this school-going population attended hill schools and one-half schools in the plains. The sum earned from Government by these schools was Rs. 90,346 in 1892-93, which, however, included Rs. 7,300 on account of school fees and boarding charges of indigent children placed by orders of the Director of Public Instruction, on the recommendations of District Magistrates, on the Government list. In 1891-92 the sum earned was Rs 83,678, of which only Rs. 3,949 was on account of indigent children. The above figures are exclusive of special building and furniture grants, and are held to indicate that the State is not indifferent to the special claims of the European and Eurasian population domiciled in the province. Of the necessity for State aided schools for the poorest section of this population, such as the free schools in Allahabad, there can be no question. But doubt is expressed as to whether the aid given to high class European schools is in all cases required, and whether it does not tend, by keeping the scale of tuitional fees and boarding charges extremely low, to drive unaided private enterprise out of the field. Some of the State-aided schools in the hills

received the children of persons who might reasonably be expected to bear the entire cost of their children's education. Judging from one or two cases which have recently been before the Lieutenant-Governor, there appears to be a disposition on the part of persons or societies interested in schools of this kind, to think that their responsibility ends when the school has been started; and that the existence of a building debt, the absence of all endowment or private support, and a scale of fees too low to pay, are good grounds for invoking the help of Government. He thinks it desirable that such misconceptions of the duty of the State in this matter should be removed.

The results of the Primary, Middle, and High or Final Standard examinations of 1892 held under the special code applicable to European schools, were highly creditable to La Martinière College and the Girls' Diocesan School, Naini Tal. The La Martinière College for boys is not aided by the State, but the governing body have decided to adapt its curriculum to that prescribed for aided schools, and to send up candidates to the public examinations framed on that curriculum. The successes won by its pupils in these examinations show that the school has nothing to fear from public competition with others.

The last two paragraphs of the report deal briefly with the special schools for the education of Muhammadans, and the special school at Lucknow for the education of the sons and relatives of Oudh Talukdárs. The latter, which is better known as the Colvin Institute, is still in the experimental stage, but is fortunate in having secured the services of an exceptionally qualified Principal. The wards are reported to have made satisfactory progress both in their studies, and in riding and school sports. The list of special schools for Muhammadans enumerates 1,846 institutions, attended by 22,731 scholars, of whom 20,691 were Muhammadans. Of a total enrolment of 221,022 scholars of all creeds in State-aided or unaided "public" schools and colleges in the provinces on the 31st March 1893, 35,530 were Muhammadans. Of the 68,394 other scholars attending "private" schools, 30,144 were Muhammadans. Thus nearly one-half the Muhammadan school-going population is being instructed in private schools. It may be conjectured from the classified list of these schools, the greater number of which do not profess to take their pupils beyond the elementary stage, and many of which teach the Korán only, that their instructional value is small. Applying the test of the results of the public examinations held in 1892, the relative numbers of Muhammadans and Hindus among the passed candidates stand thus :—

|                                     |                   |     |     | Hindus. | Muham-<br>madans. |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-----|-----|---------|-------------------|
| Master of Arts                      | ...               | ... | ... | 16      | 2                 |
| Bachelor of Arts                    | ...               | ... | ... | 105     | 24                |
| Intermediate                        | ...               | ... | ... | 213     | 52                |
| Entrance                            | ...               | ... | ... | 540     | 109               |
| Middle                              | ...               | ... | ... | 2,229   | 706               |
| Thomason<br>Engineering<br>College. | Engineer          | ... | ... | 8       | 0                 |
|                                     | Upper Subordinate | ... | ... | 5       | 0                 |
|                                     | Lower             | ... | ... | 32      | 5                 |
|                                     | College Entrance  | ... | ... | 52      | 8                 |

As the Muhammadan population stands to the Hindu in the proportion of 1 to 6 in the province, the above comparison of examination results is pronounced not unfavourable to it. It has to be borne in mind, on the one hand, that in these provinces the Muhammadans are, to a larger extent than the Hindus, dwellers in towns and dependent on clerical or official pursuits : and, on the other, that many Muhammadans, through prejudice, apathy or poverty, will not give their children the education which the State has placed at their doors, and without which the lowest paid clerical post is not to be obtained.

*General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1892-93.*

THE Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for the year 1892-93 is submitted by Dr. C. A. Martin, who received charge on the 27th December 1892, on the retirement of Mr. C. H. Tawney, C.I.E.

There has been an increase in the number of pupils under instruction, *viz.*, from 1,392,371 to 1,400,067, in public institutions, and a decrease from 139,594 to 134,989 in private or indigenous institutions. On the whole, the number of pupils has increased from 1,531,965 to 1,535,056. At the same time the aggregate number of public institutions has decreased from 53,956 to 53,131, and that of private or indigenous institutions from 13,868 to 13,473. Among the schools classed as "Public Institutions" which adopt departmental standards, the number supported or aided by public funds has decreased from 43,972 to 41,697, and the number of unaided schools has risen from 9,984 to 11,434. The number of pupils receiving University and secondary education has increased from 202,510 to 207,192, while the number in primary schools, upper and lower taken together, has slightly fallen, *viz.*, from 1,123,560 to 1,123,225, the upper primary having gained almost as many pupils as the lower primary have lost.

The population of Bengal, excluding Kuch Bihar, Hill Tippera, and the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur, of which the schools are not included in the Educational returns, is 73,043,697, of whom 36,412,749 are males and 36,630,948

females. This gives, at the conventional rate of 15 per cent. 5,461,912 male children and 5,494,642 female children of a school-going age. Of the scholars on the Educational returns 1,431,528 are boys and 103,528 girls. Hence of all boys of a school-going age, 26·2, and of all girls of a school-going age, 1·9 per cent. are at school. The percentages in the previous year were 26·2 and 1·7, respectively. While it thus appears that one boy in every four throughout these Provinces is receiving instruction of some kind in schools, public or private, the Director's report shows great differences in the degrees of educational progress attained in the various districts and divisions. According to the figures given in that table, Hooghly shows 63·8 of the boys of a school-going age as actually at school, against 42·6 in the 24-Parganas; Balasore shows 48·2 per cent. as against 27·8 per cent. in Puri, while Cuttack shows 33·8 per cent. of its boys at school in 1892-93, against 43·3 in the preceding year. Patna gives 31·9 per cent. against half that (ratio) 15·8 in the neighbouring district of Gaya and 11·1 in Shahabad. Assuming the correctness of the figures, the great disparity in educational progress between the different districts and divisions might be accounted for by differences in material comfort or in the habits of the people, or in the varying degrees of interest in the subject and of energy displayed by the local educational and district officers.

The total expenditure on education, including all disbursements from public and private sources, such as the fees and contributions paid to the University and in all public schools and colleges, amounted to Rs. 96,45,408, as compared with Rs. 93,52,000 in the preceding year, an increase of Rs. 2,93,408. The expenditure from Provincial revenues decreased from Rs. 24,96,000 to Rs. 23,87,906, or by Rs. 1,08,094. Expenditure from all public sources, including District and Municipal Funds, decreased from Rs. 36,29,000 to Rs. 34,66,457, or by Rs. 1,62,543, while expenditure from private sources rose from Rs. 57,23,000 to Rs. 61,79,000, or by more than four-and-a-half lakhs. This is a satisfactory feature in the year's retrospect. Collegiate education cost less by Rs. 11,265; secondary education cost more by Rs. 1,19,810, primary education by Rs. 35,853, and female education by Rs. 1,10,085, of which the share from private sources came to Rs. 1,06,000. Under primary education District Funds contributed Rs. 45,000 less. This, however, is attributed to the fact that uncashed cheques, though issued, were not included in the accounts of the year. Under female education they contributed Rs. 2,000 more than in the preceding year. Municipal funds contributed under the two heads Rs. 8,000 more than in the preceding year. The expenditure by Municipalities on secondary education is still more

than 50 per cent. in excess of that on primary education, which means that children who cannot pay for education are refused it in order that children who can pay may receive it gratuitously. Admittedly, this is not as it should be.

The number of colleges stands at 34, the same as last year, divided into Government 11, Municipal 1, Aided 7, and Unaided 15. The students on the lists are returned as 5,443 instead of 5,225 as last year. The Aided colleges have, taken together, gained 70 students. The Government colleges show a decrease of 133 students. The Midnapore College had 39 instead of 46 youths under instruction. The Unaided institutions have attracted 288 more than last year.

Out of 3,766 youths reading on the 31st December 1892 for the F. A. Examination, 2,216 attended the examination: the proportion was lowest in Aided colleges. The percentage of successful candidates decreased from 44 to 37. In Government colleges the percentage was 44, in Aided colleges 36, and in Unaided colleges 36. The most successful Unaided Mufassal College was the Jagannath College, Dacca, which sent up 172 candidates, of whom 61 passed.

Of 118 candidates for the Mastership of Arts 54 passed, as compared with 46 out of 128 last year.

The suggestion made by Government in paragraph 7 of the Resolution on last year's Education Report, that the University authorities should make efforts to secure uniformity of standard by continuity in the examining body, was referred to the Syndicate by the Director of Public Instruction. That body have replied that they are very sensible of the importance of attaining and of preserving uniformity in the standard of examination, but they think that the present system secures this as far as is practically possible, while at the same time it enables the Syndicate to exercise a control in the matter which it is desirable they should retain.

The number of candidates who took up the A or Literature Course has risen this year from 967, to 987, while that of the students of the B or Science Course increased from 182 to 220. The increase in the former case has been two per cent.; in the latter about 21; thus showing the growing popularity of the B Course. On the other hand the percentage of success is 1 in the A Course and 42 in the B Course.

The relative position of the different classes of secondary schools remains the same as before, institutions under public management standing at the top, with 81 per cent of their candidates passed, the Aided schools next with 66 per cent. and the Unaided schools last, with 59 per cent.

Sir Antony MacDonnell sees much reason in the Director's view that the vernacular schools of the Dacca Division are

being stifled owing to the scholarships being awarded in that division on the aggregate marks obtained, so that students even with a smattering of English get a great advantage over the vernacular candidates, and will be prepared to consider the question when proposals are submitted in a definite form.

In para. 60 of his Report Dr. Martin gives a table showing the progress made in drawing in those Entrance schools in which drawing-masters have been appointed. Out of 13 pupils from nine schools who took up drawing, only two passed, both of whom came from the Hare School. The moral is that the artistic sense cannot be, like a Course of "public instruction in Bengal," acquired by rote.

Almost every high school under the department is supplied with a gymnastic teacher, one teacher sometimes working in a group of schools, two or three months at a time in each school of the group. Many high English schools under private management have followed the example of the zilla schools, according to their resources. The middle and primary schools mostly satisfy themselves with indigenous games which, though not costly in their apparatus, are none the less useful in promoting muscular development. The Boards of Nadia and Midnapore are making commendable efforts to introduce physical training in middle and primary schools, and other Boards might follow their example with advantage. It is noticed with satisfaction that Mr. Growse at Faridpur, Mr. Greer at Tippera, Mr. Oldham, the Commissioner of Chittagong, and the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioners of Chota Nagpur organised inter-school cricket and football matches, which they encouraged by their presence, and the Lieutenant-Governor agrees that kindly sympathy like this will do much to popularise games among the pupils. The Society for the higher training of young men, for which a grant of Rs. 100 a month was sanctioned during the year, has given prominence to the question of physical training, but nothing practical has yet been done—nor will be, until the meaning of practicality is understood by the people of Bengal.

The Director reports that there has been a perceptible change for the better in the *morale* of school-boys, and that serious breaches of discipline and offences against morality were in most divisions very rare. Nevertheless some very disgraceful cases of breach of discipline and of disrespect towards teachers and other constituted authorities occurred in Noakhali and in Backergunge.

The importance of boarding-houses as a powerful factor in promoting school discipline has not been lost sight of. Most Government institutions have attached boarding-houses, in



which the pupils live under the charge of one or more of the resident teachers. Schools under private management follow the example of Government schools, whenever their means allow and the exigencies of the localities require such establishments.

There was a steady advance in the numbers of upper primary schools and pupils, while there was a loss of 1,090 lower primary schools and of 4,672 pupils. The fluctuations in the numerical statistics of lower primary schools originated, as explained by Dr. Martin, from different causes, *viz.*, the state of the public health, the price of food-grains, floods or drought—in fact all the agricultural circumstances of the year; but, allowing for these considerations, it is still unsatisfactory to find that there has been little or no progress in primary education during the past five years. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks that, in a country in which only one boy in every four of a school-going age is learning to read and write and the other three are absolutely illiterate, the statistics of primary education ought not to show merely a few more one year and a few less the next, but they should show increases in all years. He agrees in the opinion that the loss in primary education during the year points to a decline in efficiency and activity of the inspecting staff, and thinks that, if more money were spent throughout the Province in this branch of education, the result would be increased numbers at school.

In the Resolution accompanying the Report stress is once again laid on the ruling that, when due provision has been made for the required number of primary schools, but not before, any further sum which a Municipality is desirous of expending on secondary education can be so devoted.

The Bihar Industrial School was opened during the year. The total capital of this school is Rs. 2,50,411, of which Rs. 2,39,900 is invested in Government securities and Rs. 10,511 deposited in the Bank of Bengal. The monthly establishment charges amount to Rs. 182, and the total cost came to Rs. 16,011, the chief portion of which was devoted to the erection of a building. The institution had 32 pupils on the rolls, divided into two departments—the apprentice with 20 pupils and the artizan with 12. Twenty-five of the pupils received stipends varying from Rs. 7 to Rs. 3 a month. The course of instruction includes Arithmetic, Algebra, Euclid, Drawing and Carpentry. The management is vested in a Committee with the Commissioner of the Patna Division as President. A new Industrial School was opened during the year at Patna; the Comilla Artizan School was brought on to the books of the department, and a new technical school was opened at Noakhali.

Dr. Martin believes that District Boards and other local Educational authorities are becoming alive to the importance of technical education, and that, year after year, there has been not only an advance in the number of such schools, but a steady endeavour to place the existing ones on a better footing. Sir Antony MacDonnell hopes that this is only the beginning of a great movement. Higher education, he declares, has now taken such firm root in Bengal, that it has ceased to require from Government the same fostering care as formerly. The educational authorities are enjoined now to pay special attention to the preparation of the youth of the country for new industrial and scientific pursuits, and to the fostering of primary education among the poorer classes.

If it lay with Sir Antony MacDonnell, we are informed, to decide whether the Sibpur Workshops should remain under the control of the Public Works Department or be transferred to the Educational Department, he would have no hesitation in deciding in favour of the transfer. Under the Public Works Department the Workshops serve no substantial purpose, while they compete with private enterprise. Under the Educational Department they would form a necessary and most valuable adjunct to a broad scheme of technical instruction for the Province.

A material advance in female education is reported. The number of girls' schools increased from 2,706 to 2,821, and their pupils from 54,199 to 56,579. The number of girls in boys' schools also increased from 32,749 to 34,200. The net gain of schools was therefore 115, and of pupils 3,831. The only Government schools are the school department of the Bethune College and the Eden Female School in Dacca. The *Bethune School* passed two girls at the Entrance examination, the Dacca Female School sent up two, of whom one passed. Mrs. Wheeler, the Inspectress of Schools, furnished examination returns of 5,537 pupils; the number of schools examined by her was 104, of which 46 are in Calcutta. In Calcutta there were 150 primary girls' schools with 5,872 pupils against 162 schools with 5,516 pupils in the preceding year. Arrangements have recently been made and rules framed under which the grants to schools in and near Calcutta will be revised, so as to bring them to some extent into proportion with the actual work done. The special standards for girls' scholarships that were originally decided for Calcutta and its neighbourhood, could not be largely extended to the mufassal for want of funds. It is a matter for congratulation to read that, in the last examination under these standards, out of 276 examinees, 236 passed against 175 out of 292 in the preceding year.

Though the total number of schools remained unchanged,

there was an increase of 346 scholars during the year. With the exception of a slight falling off in 1886, the number has steadily increased since 1883.

The total number of Muhammadan pupils decreased from 448,847 to 447 485, or by 1,362, and the percentage from 29·2 to 29·1. In public institutions the Muhammadan pupils increased by 4,430. A large increase, *viz.*, 3,094, of Muhammadan pupils, took place in the upper primary schools. The private institutions sustained a loss of 5,792 Muhammadan pupils. In advanced private schools there was a loss of 1,793 Muhammadan pupils, while in the elementary schools there was a gain of 2,753. In other schools not coming up to departmental standards, there was a loss of 56 pupils.

The number of passes gained by Muhammadan candidates was greater in 1892-93 than in the preceding year at all the examinations except the First Examination in Arts. The percentages also of Muhammadans among successful candidates advanced except in the case of the First Arts Examination. The Lieutenant-Governor considers that, though these results show some slight improvement, they are disappointing when the proportion which the Muhammadan element bears to the total population is considered. The ratio per cent. of Muhammadan pupils at schools, of all kinds, to the total number of Muhammadan pupils of a school-going age, is 25 against 29 per cent. in the case of Hindus. Of pupils receiving secondary education, 81 per cent. are Hindus and only 14 per cent. Muhammadans, while of students receiving collegiate education, 90 per cent. are Hindus and only 5 per cent. Muhammadans.

In the general results of the central examination of the Madrassas 169 out of 313 passed this year, as compared with 224 out of 270 last year. The total number of candidates increased by 43, but the total number of passes diminished by 55. Three of the seven Madrassas are maintained from Provincial revenues; the rest from the Mohsin Fund. The 1,722 pupils at the seven Madrassas cost Government Rs. 25,231, and the total expenditure on their account was Rs. 59,933. Physical training is receiving attention both in the Calcutta and in the Nawab of Murshidabad's Madrassas. On the subject of the comparative backwardness of Muhammadans in education, especially of the higher kind, the Director remarks:—

“One of the most depressing influences which have had the effect of discouraging the advance of education among the Mahammadan community, arises from the fact that so little has hitherto been done towards giving employment to Musalman gentlemen in the Department of Public Instruction. This is a matter which I have recently brought to the notice of Government in a separate report, so I need not do more than allude to it here. Another matter upon which I wish to

make a passing remark is the constitution of the District Boards, upon which in the majority of cases Muhammadans are not represented in such proportions as their numbers would seem to demand. This is a difficulty for which, seemingly, a remedy might easily be found. The Muhammadan Assistant Inspector for Patna and Bhagalpur Divisions, pointing to the fact that some of the Boards in Bihar 'have no Muhammadan members at all, and some perhaps only one or two,' goes on to say :—'The result has been just what could be anticipated, with such imperfect and one-sided representation, so that even in some cases the presence of a European Magistrate-Chairman, with all his powers and endeavours, cannot do anything to help the cause of Muhammadans and check the growing tendency to retard it.'

The number of pupils of aboriginal races under tuition increased from 29,657 to 31,712 or by 2,055. The Christians advanced by 964 and the non-Christians by 1,091. The divisions in which the aborigines chiefly live are Burdwan, Bhagalpur and Chota Nagpur. In the first of these there were 3,426, in Bhagalpur 5,231, and in Chota Nagpur 17,579, of whom 4,424 are Christians and 22,812 are non-Christians. The five missions in Chota Nagpur maintained 136 schools, as compared with 146 in 1891-92, and the pupils attending them decreased from 4,194 to 3,920 or by 274. The aboriginal pupils gained 133 more passes at the Entrance and other examinations than in the previous year.

Under the heading the figures for the last five years are as follows :—

|             | 1888-89. | 1889-90. | 1890-91. | 1891-92. | 1892-93. |
|-------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Schools ... | 11,709   | 13,867   | 13,387   | 13,868   | 13,473   |
| Pupils ...  | 117,284  | 139,603  | 132,057  | 139,594  | 134,989  |

The total number of institutions decreased by 395 and the pupils attending them by 4,605. The largest decrease was in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and is attributed by Mr. Oldham to the fact that foreigners are imported to supervise education.

The advanced schools for teaching Arabic or Persian decreased by 77 and their pupils by 1,933, while the Sanskrit tols increased by 102, but their pupils diminished by 202. Under the orders of Government Mahamahopadhyaya Mahesa Chandra Nyayaratna, C.L.E., visited the Sanskrit tols in the Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts. His visit to Orissa proved a success, and evoked much enthusiasm in the cause of Sanskrit teaching in that province. Under his auspices three Associations have been established for the promotion of the study of Sanskrit.

*Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab and its Dependencies during the year 1892.*

**T**AKING a period of seven years (1886—1892) the number of suits instituted annually has averaged about 245,400. In the year 1888, the number rose to its highest point, namely, 257,975, and in the year 1892, the lowest figure of the period has

been reached, namely, 239,028. The number of suits instituted represent 11 per thousand of the population. In Simla, which is altogether exceptional, the proportion was 46 per thousand. The number of suits per thousand of the population was above the average in the following districts besides Simla :—

|                          |     |    |    |                              |
|--------------------------|-----|----|----|------------------------------|
| Gujránwála               | ... | .. | 17 | per 1,000 of the population. |
| Amritsar, Muzaffargarh   |     | .. | 16 | " "                          |
| Siálkot                  | ... | .. | 15 | " "                          |
| Jullundur, Lahore, Jhang |     | .. | 14 | " "                          |
| Hoshiárpur               | ... | .. | 13 | " "                          |
| Delhí, Ludhiána, Bannu   |     | .. | 12 | " "                          |

The Ferozepore, Ráwalpindi, Gujráat, Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Gházi Khan districts stood at 11 per thousand. In the Gurgáon, Karnál, Hissár and Hazára districts the number was five per thousand or less.

There has been a decrease, as compared with the figure for the year 1891, which was itself above the average, of 7,331. but the number is only 1,651 below that for 1890. In dealing with such large numbers, fluctuations of three or four per cent, may be expected. The cholera and fever which prevailed for several months of the year under report over large areas of the Punjab, and the scarcity in some parts, sufficiently account for the general decrease in institutions,

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## CRITICAL NOTICES.

*Women of Renown, Nineteenth Century Studies.* By G. BARNETT SMITH Author of "The History of the English Parliament," Critical Biographies of Shelley and Victor Hugo, "Life and Enterprises of Ferdinand De Lesseps," etc. London : W. H. Allen & Co, Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W. 1893.

**E**MOTIONALISM would appear to be the passport to Mr. Barnett Smith's sympathies, as displayed in this collocation of *Women of Renown*.

The eight modern instances whose right to that distinction he analyses are drawn from different strata of society and differ widely as the poles in their conduct of life and their concepts of Art, but all have this feature in common and in marked degree. His choice of suitable models has been eclectic, and is narrow ; does not for instance include Lady Caroline Lamb, Letitia Landon, Emily Brontë, the Hon'ble Mrs. Norton, or many other notorieties of the period indicated, who were quite as æsthetically disposed and intense (though not so vulgar) as the Countess of Blessington and Lady Morgan. Perhaps they were not respectable enough for their life-records to be bound in the same covers with those of Rachel and George Sand ; perhaps their modes and moods did not march with his predilections ; perhaps he seasonably remembered that a big book is a great evil. Whatever his motives may have been, his title page stands in need of amendment. "Studies of Eight Notable Women" would have been more appropriate.

Happily, Mr. Barnett Smith, although of sympathetic temperament, is not himself too emotional for the rôle of fair and discerning critic. His judgments are generally sound ; and they are supported by appropriate citations. Moreover, without pretence of being a humourist, he is not deficient in sense of humour ; *à propos*, for instance, of Frederika Bremer's nose, which, resenting her efforts to reduce it to reasonable dimensions, revenged itself by becoming more formidable than it had been before resort was had to constrictions, and putting on a fine high colour ; and her disconsolate parting (ætat 17) from her first sweetheart, when she gave him one of her curl-papers as a souvenir, and "sighed his name in her heart—but very calmly." Of this young woman's novel *Nina*, it is remarked that some of its characters behave in an idiotic way, but that, when everything has been discounted, there is still plenty of human interest left in it.

The story, in short, is true to nature. In middle age the gushing Frederika assumed a mantle of priggishness. In *Hertha* she is by way of preaching from the strong-minded woman platform, and vociferates, with the social, political and educational rights of the subjected sex for text. A visit to America, where she lectured and was made much of, established her faith in her vocation to this mission. She was profoundly religious, and charitable in the fullest sense of that much abused word :—

Humanitarian projects were not advocated by Miss Bremer with the pen alone. She threw herself heart and soul into the efforts made by the women of Sweden to establish a Refuge and Reformatory for neglected children. Her personal aid was forthcoming for this excellent project, and to convince others of its necessity and usefulness, she wrote a statement of her views on the problems requiring to be grappled with. While her immediate object was to call forth, or to rouse the consciousness of social dignity and worth in woman's life and sphere of activity, considered from a Christian and social point of view, her inner aim went beyond the immediate visible and stated purpose, and she sought to implant seed which should strike root and grow like the grain hidden in the earth. She appealed to the motherly element in society to feel, think, labour, and, above all, to take actual charge of the destitute children—to save them, and through them to ensure the future of the nation. A refuge was necessary for children who were merely unfortunate, and thrown by a variety of circumstances upon the world. Such an institution would prevent them from becoming criminals. For older, depraved children, a Reformatory was absolutely necessary, and it must have an imperative moral tendency. It must be an educational institution. 'It becomes to the young person everything or nothing. The State must here, for the sake of its own good and for its own security, meet the prodigal son as the father did in the Gospel. Mercy must there go before justice.'

Miss Bremer succeeded in establishing the desired Refuge and Reformatory, and lent helpful hand and purse to the foundation of many other benevolent institutions. Her sister, Charlotte, helped her by acting as drag on the hind wheel of the too rapidly driven coach. She held (with Pope) that a woman "Should seek but Heaven's applauses and her own ;" that her mission in life was the quiet and noble one of home. There were, she admitted, exceptions, but this ought to be regarded as the rule, for God designed woman to be wife, mother, bringer-up of children in the right way. She maintained that, woman's true mission and sphere of activity having been clearly pointed out to her by nature, she may, if she rightly understands and follows after that sign, become educator of the whole human race, and, as such, be of infinitely greater service to the State and her native country, than she could be by dabbling in politics, constituting herself an Inspector of Education, or holding any employment under Government.

Frederika's literary criticisms were sometimes *ad rem acu*. After reading Lord Brougham's *Statesmen* she remarked—

I longed to see *characters*, distinguished men, and I see before me only—*orators*. Lord Brougham appears to me to be so preoccupied by the *speeches* of his statesmen and their talents in that line, that he almost overlooks their actions as moral people; or at, any rate, looks upon *that* characteristic as a secondary consideration, alluding to it only in passing.

The following slightly paradoxical summing up must be left to explain itself:—

Frederika Bremer has been compared with Jane Austen; but the Swedish writer was the intellectual superior of the English. Though not so great as a novelist, her culture was wider, and her thought deeper; she had also a more vigorous imagination, and a greater command both of the springs of humour and of pathos. She had the delicacy of perception and love of quiet home-life which distinguished Jane Austen; but she could not rival the style of the English novelist, a style that is inimitable, but one likewise as difficult to define as it is easy to appreciate; nor could she lay claim to Jane Austen's marvellous insight into character, with its thousand little shades and divergences. But Frederika Bremer was an authoress of whom any country or people might be proud.

Because, stalwart Thomas Carlyle excepted, all the literary notabilities, and all the prominent politicians of her day frequented Lady Blessington's *salon*, Mr. Barnet Smith concludes that she must have possessed intellectual gifts and graces. Her many books show no trace of them. The explanation of her social ascendancy strikes us as more simple. Harking back to the keen-eyed little philosopher—poet of Twickenham—, we get it in one line: "And beauty draws us with a single hair." Then, too, Lady Blessington was a full-blown peeress in a generation pre-eminently snobbish. Furthermore, she had kissed the blarney stone. Conjunction of beauty and blarney, with snobbish surroundings and a dash of Bohemian sauce thrown in, sufficiently account for the concourse of *ennuyé* club-men seeking dissipation of the blues in her Ladyship's drawing rooms. Her circle only included men: ladies fought shy of it. Alluding to the frequency of Tom Moore's appearances in it, our essayist writes:—"Anacreon the second was very fond of the homage and adulation of lovely women." Byron saw through this modern Aspasia's artificialities. She retaliated by pronouncing him too gay and flippant for a poet. Incompatibilities of temper and slight\* acquaintanceship did not hinder her from publishing, on her return from Italy, *Conversations with Lord Byron*, whereby His Lordship's chronic vanity was appeased:—

Lady Blessington told Madden, that on the occasion of a masked ball to be given in Genoa, Byron stated his intention of going there, and asked her to accompany him. Joking, *en badinant*, about the

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\* The Countess Guiccioli is the authority for the statement that their intercourse was slight. There could be no better one, though Mr. Barnett Smith thinks otherwise.



character she was to go in, some one suggested that of Eve, upon which Byron said : 'As some one must play the devil, I will do it.' Shortly before Lady Blessington left Genoa the poet composed a series of stanzas upon her.

Byron one day made her ladyship a present of a breastpin containing a small cameo of Napoleon Buonaparte — and next day sent a note requesting its return, as he was superstitious with regard to memorials with a *point*. He sold his yacht, the *Bolivar* to Lord Blessington, 'and it was subsequently considered by Lady Blessington that the poet drove a hard bargain with her husband.' *Tantæne animis cælestibus, &c.*

Extravagance was the fascinating Countess's ruling passion. After her husband's death she lived in London at the rate of from five to six thousand pounds a year, when her income was but two thousand. As a means of bolstering up her failing fortunes, ministering to her love of display, and supporting her *cher ami*, the costly Count D'Orsay, she took to what she was pleased to call literature—wholesale output of Keepsakes, Friendship's Offerings, Books of Beauty, "Children of the Nobility"—and the like panderings to snobbery. Of such was, from such came, her renown. The inevitable crash supervened in 1849, when with one consent money-lenders, jewellers, lace-vendors, upholsterers, gas companies, began to press their claims in earnest, and put in executions at Gore House. "It was a long time before the gay Count (D'Orsay) could be persuaded that the game was up, but when at last he realised the fact, he set out for Paris, attended by his valet with a single portmanteau. *Sic transit gloria D'Orsay!*" His stay and support wrote verse as well as prose, but it was—

"Of that intolerable kind to which neither gods nor columns grant permission to exist ; and what is singular, all the verses made by poets and poetasters under the inspiration of her society have a leaden dulness about them which is almost preternatural." Moore was no more successful than Wilson Croker, and Byron himself no more successful than 'Dr. William Beattie, M. D.,' who discharged three or four heavy pieces at Lady Blessington and himself. I have gone through a great deal of her ladyship's own poetry—I mean verse—and can honestly find none of it worthy of quotation.

Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan, is, in many of her aspects, a companion picture to the other Irishwoman whose story we have glanced at above. She was as theatrical, as ostentatious, as Leo Hunterian, and a good deal more conceited. We find her, after some disparaging remarks about Jane Porter's personal appearance and habiliments, purring complacently :—

I am the reverse of all this, *et sans vanité* the best dressed woman wherever I go. Last night I wore a blue satin, trimmed fully with magnificent point lace, and stomacher, *à la Sevigné*, light blue velvet hat and feather, with an *aigrette* of sapphires and diamonds! *Voilà!* The party at the Murchison's—Lord Jeffrey, of the *Edinburgh*

*Review*—Lockhart, of the *Quarterly*; Hallam, *Middle Ages*; Milman, the poet; Mrs. Somerville, etc., etc. Lord Jeffrey came up to me, and we had such a flirtation. When he comes to Ireland, we are to go to Donnybrook Fair together; in short, having cut me down with his tomahawk as a *reviewer*, he smothers me with roses as a *man*, and so he comes to see me. I always say of my enemies before we meet, "Let me at them."

There you have Lady Morgan\* in a nutshell, barring her aptitude for always keeping a keen look-out on the main chance. Her hardness in driving a bargain was, throughout her career, provocative of unseemly squabbles with her publishers. Starting in life as a governess, she passed gallantly under fire of infructuous † flirtations until (when not far off 30), patronised by the Abercorn family, by whom she was introduced to her predestined husband, a London physician, with a good practice, they applied themselves to accomplishment of the predestination with all the fervour proper to the business of match-making, promising the prudent "wild Irish girl" that, if she accepted the staid, sedate, middle-aged widower as her husband, they would be friends for life to both. "The wild Irish girl" wanted afterwards to make out that the marriage was forced on her by a stratagem similar to that by which Benedict and Beatrice, in "All's Well that Ends Well," were brought together. The pretence is too flimsy to deceive any one; and only indicates her Ladyship's inveterate proneness for what children call make believe. She was a clever actress when her own fortunes were at stake. Secure in the possession of £5,000, safely invested, she affected coyness, and told the Duke of Richmond, the affable Viceroy of that time:—"The rumours respecting Dr. Morgan's *denouement* may or may not be true, but this at least I can with all candour and sincerity assure your Grace, that I shall remain to the last day my of life in single blessedness, unless some more tempting inducement than the mere change from Miss Owenson to Mistress Morgan be offered me." His Grace good-naturedly took the hint, and, by virtue of the powers attaching to this high office, knighted the Doctor on the spot. It only remained then for the lawyers to engross a marriage contract settling the bride's £5,000

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\* Sarah Tytler, in a recent work, describes one of her characters in these terms:—"Mrs. Lumsden was not half so popular a person as her husband was. If he was short and square, she was shorter and squarer, well nigh to dwarfishness. She had been compared in personal appearance to Sydney Lady Morgan. In face Mrs. Lumsden had the disproportionately large head which is often present in deformity."

† After her death, a packet of love letters was found by her executors, endorsed in her own hand—"Sir Charles Montague Ormsby, Bart., one of the most brilliant wits, determined *roués*, agreeable persons, and ugliest men of his day." She would have married him in spite of his ugliness and bad character, if only he had had money: it was failure in that respect that stood in the way of linking her fortunes with his.

strictly on herself, and stipulating that she should have, in the future, sole and independent control over her own earnings. These financial details arranged, Glorvina was no longer coy, but loved the husband of her choice with most devoted love. In time he became useful to her as a collaborateur, compiled statistics for her use, marshalled facts for her, executed all the laborious and ungrateful part of the work she got all the credit for. The part of it she undertook was French polishing, imparting grace and a savour of social distinction to accounts of tours in France and Italy, skim milk of politics, a *Life of Salvator Rosa*, *Dramatic Scenes and Sketches*, etc., etc.

To show the sharp difference of opinion which always prevailed among the reviewers of her ladyship's works, one authority pronounced these *Scenes* to be 'very poor in matter and affected in style'; while another held that they were 'written in a very forcible and effective manner.' The truth, as usual, lay between the two. It was the writer's aim to show 'the condition of Ireland as a country, and the state of the Irish peasantry, their sorrows and ignorance; the evil influence of agents and middlemen, in the absenteeism of the landlords and the clashing pretensions of the High Protestant Church party with the priests.' She was anxious to demonstrate 'the ignorance and misconception which prevailed in England of the real condition and necessities of the country; the difficulties, almost impossibilities, thrown in the way of Irish landlords wishing to do their duty, and to see with their own eyes what measures of reform and relief were urgently needed.' Notwithstanding the serious purport of the sketches, however, they were by no means destitute of humour.

Turning to social matters for a moment, here is an entry from Lady Morgan's diary: "The party at Lady Cork's had some curious contrasts. There was Lady Charleville herself, the centre of a circle in her great chair. Lady Dacre, author of everything: plays, poems, novels, etc., etc.; Lady Charlotte Campbell, author of *Conduct is Fate*; Miss Jane Porter (*Thaddeus of Warsaw*), cold as ever, though the muse of tragedy in appearance; Mrs. Bulwer Lytton, the muse of comedy; Lady Stepney, the author of *The New Road to Ruin*; lots of lay men and women, a crowd of saints and sinners. The men were still more odd. Sir Charles Wetherell; Prince Cimitelli; D'Israeli, who ran off as I skipped in; some other remarkables and one young man, Lord Oxmantown, an impersonation of a 'Committee of the House.'"

As a sample of her Ladyship's society manner, we are told that, on one occasion, the Earl of Derby (the "Rupert of debate,") when he was Mr. Stanley, and Chief Secretary for Ireland, said to her, with a half sneer on his face: "Oh, Lady Morgan, you are a great Irish historian; can you give me a census of Ireland in the reign of Henry II?" She affected confusion, and replied, "Well no, Mr Stanley, not accurately; but may I presume to ask you what is the census of the English people in the reign of William IV?" Like other people of her calibre, she was unable to distinguish between impertinence and wit. With her ignorance of a subject was never a bar to exposing it. Mr. Barnett Smith admits frankly that her

excursus, *The Missionary*, "was only worthy of the Minerva Press." Its subject is the attempt of a Spanish priest to convert a Brahman priestess. This ends in their falling in love with one another's fine eyes, and an elopement, after several warmly coloured love scenes. The book is said to abound in pictures of Indian life and expositions of Oriental lore. It need not surprise us that Lady Morgan considered *The Missionary* her masterpiece. Not long before her death she revised the story for the press. She wrote during her lifetime seventy volumes of sorts, for which her publishers paid her handsomely, and in 1837 Lord Melbourne granted her a Civil List Pension of £300 per annum. Judged by a monetary standard, she did well with her life. Born about 1780, she died in 1859, gay and debonaire to the last. Her works have not lived after her.

Like Lady Morgan, Elisa Rachel Félix, the "Rachel" of the Theatrical world, whose name is still one to conjure with, was fond of driving hard bargains and making money.

At the house of a friend, Madame S., she saw a guitar of most respectable antiquity, the original colour of which had long ago disappeared under the thick black crust with which time had coated it. The actress was so drawn towards the guitar, that the owner presented it to her. Some time afterwards the guitar, enveloped in a beautiful silk net, was seen in Rachel's boudoir by a certain Count, who enquired what it was. Rachel is said to have unblushingly replied :—

'That is the humble guitar, the faithful companion with which, in the days of my childhood, I earned the scanty pittance bestowed on the poor little street-singer.'

The Count was at once wild to possess the inestimable treasure.

'Oh,' said Rachel, 'I can never, *never* consent to part with it.'

'I must have it at any cost; do not deny me this gift, to be held as a sacred relic, and permit me to offer you, as a poor exchange, the set of diamonds and rubies you appeared to admire some days ago at the jewellers.'

'Ah, well!' quoth the tragic muse, heaving a deep sigh, 'since you will have it, I cannot refuse you.'

The jewels were worth about 50,000 francs. On the credit side of her account, with humanity let it be set down, that she could be nobly generous, unostentatiously charitable when her heart was touched. And she had a great heart; one that the faults implanted in her by the sordid guides of her youthful years, and her self-acquired waywardnesses and imperiousnesses obscured the valours of. Her father was an itinerant German Jew pedlar; her mother a harpy, of unappeasable greed. Through force of character, as much as dramatic talent, she wrested triumphs from Parisian salons and Parisian theatres alike. 'Great ladies caressed her, and her bearing was so dignified, and yet so attractive, that Theodore de Banville said, her most marvellous creation was neither Hermione, nor Phèdre, nor Tisbé: it was that *chef d'œuvre*, worthy of Balzac and Gavarni, Rachel Parisienne."

She was admitted into the exclusive society of the Abbaye aux Bois, where Madame Récamier, no longer rich, beautiful, or young, succeeded in keeping around her a large circle of illustrious admirers, and where Alfred de Musset was greatly impressed by her originality—a cultured circle, unanimously charmed with the young actress's simple dignity, unassuming manners, ready wit. Off the stage she had a horror of declamations ; on it, the unassuming manner fell away from her ; she was translated, inspired :—

“Phèdre, the culminating point of French tragedy, has ever been looked on as a test play for all great actresses. The whole range of human feelings, love, fear, grief, jealousy, revenge, repentance : all that can move and excite an audience, are represented in three stages of development by one central figure ; and yet, though a prey to all these passions, the daughter of Pasiphae, both in Euripides' and Racine's tragedy, remains an elevated person, victim of the persecutions of Aphrodite. Being thus absolved from moral responsibility, she is likewise saved from moral obliquity. Racine seldom allows himself thus to adopt a Greek myth, and it is hardly necessary to show how enormously the complex idea of the interference of the gods increases the difficulty of giving an idea of the character to a modern audience ; for, although a woman in her weakness and her sin, Phèdre must be almost divine in her sorrow and her love. And it was from this point of view that Rachel so immeasurably surpassed all other actresses. Sarah Bernhardt, who, in this *role*, has most nearly approached her, is weak, unequal, passionate. We see all the viciousness of Phèdre, and none of her grandeur. She breaks herself to pieces against the huge difficulties of the conception, and does not succeed in moving us. In the second scene, where Phèdre, thinking her husband is dead, confesses her incestuous passion to the object of it, Sarah Bernhardt never rises above the level of an *aventurière* or a *Frou-Frou*. Rachel was the mouth-piece of the gods ; no longer a free agent, she poured forth every epithet of adoration that Aphrodite could suggest, clambering up higher and higher in the intensity of her emotion, whilst her audience hung breathless, riveted on every word, and only dared to burst forth in thunders of applause after she had vanished from their sight.”

“Her Phèdre gave rise to the saying by an observer, ‘ she does not act—she suffers.’ It was by common consent her masterpiece—‘ an apocalypse of human agony not to be forgotten by anyone who ever witnessed it.’ ”

Rachel brazenly defied the proprieties ; in 1884 she bore a son to Count Walewski, who openly acknowledged the parentage. It is a prerogative of great actresses to set conventional rules at defiance, and to be absolved where sinners outside the pale of theatrical fame would be stoned. Rachel was *persona grata* with many respectable people who would have looked askance at Mary Magdalen. In 1853 she played at St. Petersburg, where the Empress of Russia gave her a pelisse of the most costly furs in the world, the Czar a diamond corsage ornament of immense value, and her Impresario 300,000 francs, as her share of the profits of the tour.

On her return to France she hastened to Eaux Bonnes, in the Pyrenees, where her sister Rebecca was dying of consumption. She continued to make flying visits to her until the end, which came quite suddenly. Rachel was chatting with some friends in another room, when the maid Rose rushed in to say that Rebecca had been seized with a paroxysm of coughing, and was in great danger. Rising from her seat with a bound, Rachel appeared to seek for some cause for this terrible blow that was falling upon her, and her eye lighted upon a rosary blessed by the Pope, which she had always worn as a bracelet since her visit to Rome. Realising now that she had attached a talismanic virtue to the beads, she tore them from her arm and dashed them to the ground, frantically exclaiming, 'It is this fatal gift that has entailed this curse upon me'! To her intense grief, Rebecca died, and on the 23rd of June her body was conveyed to Paris for interment.

We started by saying that emotionalism is a marked ingredient in the character of all the "Women of Renown" limned in the essays we are considering. Exception must be made to this generalisation in the case of George Eliot. Mr. Barnett Smith has nothing new to tell us about that strong, manly soul and its developments. His estimate of George Elliot's capacity and its exhibition in her novels strikes us as singularly at fault, when it puts the author of *Romola* and *Middlemarch* on a lower plane than Charles Dickens. Nor is he much happier in his appraisal of George Sand's work and worth. In the course of it he remarks:—"Only one person in this century has exhibited lofty genius with unparalleled fecundity, and that was Victor Hugo."

The essay on Mary Carpenter should have special interest for Indians and Anglo-Indians.

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*A Short Account of the Land Revenue and its Administration in British India ; with a Sketch of the Land Tenures.* BY B. H. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E., F.R.S.E., M.R.A.S., Late of the Bengal Civil Service ; and one of the Judges of the Chief Court of the Punjab. With Map, Oxford : At the Clarendon Press. 1894.

MR. Baden-Powell deserves the thanks of many of us for his very able *Short Account of the Land Revenue and its Administration in British India ; with a Sketch of the Land Tenures*, which is a marvel of comprehensive conciseness. Starting with the village as a primary unit, the learned ex-Judge of the Punjab Chief Court, briefly traces the history and development of our variant land tenures, exhibits their salient differentiations, and the incidences of revenue assessment and collection. The value of the book to lawyers, as a compendious synopsis of an intricate and contradictory subject, is great—not less so to law students] reading up for examinations.

Planters and commercial men interested in indigo, tea, coffee, &c., should be interested in its pages. If only Paget, M.P., and English sympathisers with National Congress bunkum would read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, the hands of the Government of India would be sensibly strengthened, since "to understand the Land Revenue system is to gain a greater knowledge of Indian Government than could be acquired in any other way." The following paras. from Mr. Baden-Powell's work regarding the origin of landlord villages are instructive :—

Landlord villages derived from three principal sources—

1. *Single founders, Grantees, Revenue farmers.*—If we first roughly and generally classify the known origins of landlord bodies, we shall observe three great sources from which some joint-villages have been derived. One is the growth, in, or over an existing village, of some one man who obtained a grant, or elevated himself by energy and wealth, or who developed a position out of a contract for revenue farming; such a grantee—or any adventurer, may also found and establish a new village in the waste, with exactly the same results.

2. *Dismemberment of ruling Chiefs' houses.*—Closely connected, with the first head, is another under which many high caste or quasi-aristocratic village-bodies, descended from a common ancestor, may be grouped. I need hardly enlarge on the fact that under the continual succession of wars, invasions, and internecine struggles, which mark the history of every province, royal, princely and chieftains' houses were always gaining the lordship of territories, and again losing it;—gathering head, founding and acquiring dominions, and, in time, losing them, while the houses lost rank and were broken up. And when any of the greater conquests, like those of the Mughal and the Maráthá powers occurred, the petty Hindu and other principalities, all over the country, would go to pieces; cadets of families would break off and assume independence; and territorial rule would be lost; but the family would contrive to cling by timely submission, and by favour of the conqueror, to relics of his possessions, no longer as *ruling chiefs* but as *landlords*. This fact is universal, and "accounts for more varieties of land-tenure in India than almost any other. We have already seen (pp. 40-1) how the Rájá, subdued under the Mughal arms, would be accepted by the Emperor as a kind of revenue-agent (though he still called himself Rájá), and thus he ended by becoming landlord where he was once ruler. The same circumstances enabled scions and cadets of noble houses, or petty chiefs whose power was destroyed, to keep a footing in the individual villages of the old territory.

Mr. Baden-Powell has convinced himself that, originally, the zamindar was not in any sense a local landowner, except as far as he had private lands, or had, as Rajah, some kind of territorial interest. His position, it is held, depended on an official warrant which ran for his life only, and that on condition of good conduct and subject to the pleasure of the ruler. The warrant contained nothing that indicated any grant of landed rights, nor was there any power of alienating any part of the area. For our part, we accept the

statement of Zamindari status set forth, as a correct one. The point made of distinction between landed rights hereditarily pertaining to the Rajahship and such as were smuggled into the claims of a lease-holder of right to collect rent, is not a novel one ; but it is put in a novel and a clearer light than by previous authorities. The same may be said of the explanation given of the workings of *bantwara*, and the constitution of those individual bodies of village landlords called in the books *Zamíndári mushtarka*. Here again is pertinent allusion to microcosms and a feudal incident—both of which many modern politicians find it convenient to forget or ignore.

The Hindu kingdoms were nearly always small ; and when we hear of great Emperors like Chandragupta and Asoka, or extensive kingdoms like Vijayanagar, it was that they took the lead as suzerain over a confederacy of smaller States, each of which was, as regards its internal affairs, practically independent. Not only was the kingdom itself of limited size, but the central feature of its constitution was a further division into 'feudal' territories: the best land for the Rájá, and the rest for the great officers (heads of clans) ; frontier and wild tracts were held by the chief selected for his special ability as *Senápati* or Commander of the forces, and by special grantees. As to the principle on which the limits of the royal and other shares were fixed, this depended largely on value, on the natural boundaries and rivers, or on distinctions of hill and plain, jungle-land and alluvial soil, &c. But we can everywhere trace a tendency in occupied country to allot by groups of villages ; we find the *chaurasí*<sup>\*</sup>, or territory of eighty-four villages, and the half of that as the *béalíst* and so forth. The Land Revenue was taken by the chief, as by the Rájá himself, each on his own tract. The Rájá took no Revenue from the chiefs, or in their estates ; though he could demand benevolences or aids in time of war, and also a fee on succession. The real bond of union was the investiture by the Rájá and the necessity of furnishing the quota of troops for the royal service, and coming in rotation for ceremonial attendance at Court.

Inside the territories thus allotted, there was again the administrative division into villages, groups of villages, and districts†. All these divisions naturally provided the basis of so many different-sized landed-estates, when the rule was lost. Speaking broadly, the Chief's territory or perhaps the whole 'Ráj' became the *Zamíndári* ; and the *pargana*, under a lesser chief, became the *Talugdárí* estate ; smaller lordships survived as single village-estates, or at most as estates consisting of groups of villages.

We shall probably, on a future occasion, have more to say about this recent issue from the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

*War Times, or the Lads of Craigross.* By SARAH TYTLER, Author of "Citoyenne Jacqueline." London : W. H. Allen and Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W., 1893.

MRS. TYTLER is a past mistress in the art of improvisation, and excels in delineation of still life and

\* As to the prevalence of this division, there are some interesting details in Beames' *Elliot's Glossary*, s. v. *chaurassi*.

† As we read in Manu of the 'lord of ten villages,' the 'lord of 100 villages' (i.e. district or *pargana*), and so on.



simple emotions. Everything in *War Times* hinges on the fortunes of the soldiers fighting England's battles in the Crimea, but the story absolutely told is that of the quiet, loving, uneventful lives of parents, sisters, sweethearts, left behind to watch and pray, and retail scandal at Craigross, while their men folk were doing manfully for Queen and country at the Alma, Balaklava, Inkerman, and the long protracted siege of Sebastopol. The presentments made of the canny out-of-the-way little Scotch town and its cliques, clannishness, jealousies, simplicities, combine in a pretty picture, in which several small plots and counterplots are sketched, and traits of Scotch character genially expressed.

*In the Cannon's Mouth* recalls to mind a disastrous incident in Anglo-Indian history. The English occupation of Kabul, when the puppet King Shah Soojah was reigning but not ruling there, and the tragedy of the retreat of the English garrison, are the pivots on which the tale turns. Mrs. Tytler is not as much at home in Afghanistan as in Scotland. As is shown when she talks of putting the pony "Alloo-baloo (wild cherry) on half a feed of attah and borussa," when she writes the pony's grasscutter down as "saces," &c., &c. Still, the story of that awful mid-winter passage of the Himalayas, that holocaust of death in one of its most awful forms, cannot but have a pathos all its own. And it is not altogether an ill wind that reminds the Englishman of to-day how Sir William Macnaghten was foully murdered, and how Afghans kept the faith they pledged to Englishman sixty years ago. In *In the Cannon's Mouth* the strong personality of Lady Sale, "the tall gaunt woman who preferred on all occasions a riding-horse and a riding-habit and was a soldier's wife, and herself every inch a soldier," is well reflected.

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*Through Turkish Arabia. A Journey from the Mediterranean to Bombay by the Euphrates and Tigris Valleys and the Persian Gulf.* By H. SWAINSON COWPER, F.S.A. London: W. H. Allen and Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W. 1894.

THIS bulky volume does not purport to be more than the plain record of a journey from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, along the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris. The excuse tendered for its publication is that the Euphrates Caravan route from Aleppo to Bagdad has been described but once in a modern book of English travels, Lady Anne Blunt's "Bedouin tribes of the Euphrates." Mr. Cowper has nothing new to tell the public, either of route or tribes. As to his guesses at population, trade, etc., they are not of as much

scientific value as those statistics and details excogitated by the Euphrates Valley Expedition 57 years ago, of which the record is still available, though for that matter any parade of "statistics" in connection with the valley of the Euphrates is puerile.\* If an Indo-European railroad ever does run along that line it may create some. Meanwhile, Mr Cowper's secondary claim, that his itineraries of the roads between Aleppo and Bagdad and Babylon may possibly be of use to future travellers, is admissible for as much as it may be worth. It was in no spirit of enthusiasm for either science or Baedeker that he embarked on his travels. Nor were they undertaken as a refuge from ennui. Sheer itch for globe-trotting drove him from his comfortable home in Bloomsbury Square to the desert, there to haggle with Arabian Jews over every piastre disbursed, to endure daily discomforts, to be half-starved (comparatively speaking) to contract an obstinate, troublesome dysentery. It is the John Bull Protestant fashion of mortifying the flesh, and leads up to manufacture of a book. *Je commence parceque je n'ai rien a faire. Je finis parceque je n'ai rien a dire.* The clear moral of "Through Turkish Arabia" is that the game isn't worth half the candle expended on it. Without stepping out of his own study door, Mr. Cowper could have found out (presuming the information to be worth finding out) that "there is no European quarter in Aleppo, and consequently there are no European shops." And if he had staid at home he would not have had to lament not finding in the heart of the desert land (at Deir) "any sort of tinned or preserved provisions." *Omne ignotum pro magnifico*, says the true proverb, and so, if he had stuck to Trafalgar Square, he would not have been disenchanted with Bagdad and the Arabian Nights, and might still have believed in the glories of the Tigris, the magnificence of the mosques and minarets on its banks, "perhaps the most disappointing feature of all." Nor would he then have known the people of Aleppo to be "rude, ill-mannered, and false;" or that east of Suez small boys of tender age "lie with a grace and facility, which can only be found in ingenuous Eastern boyhood." Distance would still have lent enchantment to his view. All that he learnt from the pages of Layard, Rawlinson, Rich, Lane, Lady Anne Blunt, he could have assimilated equally well in Bloomsbury Square, and without a month of discomfort, peevish temper, and dysentery in a temperature "above 120 Fahrenheit with thermometer in the shade." There are exceptions to every rule; and experience is not *invariably* the best of schoolmasters. But for his kodak, and a few crisp pictures that, through its instrumentality, adorn the pages of his otherwise ponderous book, Mr. Cowper's journey would have been entirely unproductive. He

did not even manage to light on a new Oriental cure for dysentery. Of the mosques at Aleppo he saw nothing but the exteriors, "as it is not customary to allow Europeans to enter." During the whole period of his stay in Bagdad his health was too bad, and he was too exhausted to be able to get about, and was cooped up at the hospitable Residency.

The room I occupied was the state bedroom of the place, and is worth a little description. It was in plan a sort of T-shape, and the walls for about half their height were whitewashed stone, above which was a stalactite dado. Round the walls were stalactite-ornamented niches, or recesses, between each of which was a small mirror, the stone about which was gracefully carved in a pattern. Above, in the cross part of the T, the walls were entirely covered with mirrors of small size arranged in panels and niches; while in the limb of the T the wall above the dado was stone, on which were picked out in mirror work, vases, stars, and scrolls. The ceiling was entirely decorated in mirror work, chiefly in diamond patterns, with a mirror stalactite border, and the front part of the room was supported next to the wall by two stone columns with capitals of the same description. The effect was striking and handsome, and had a charmingly cool appearance, admirably adapted for a climate like that of Bagdad. The house is, I believe, of no very great antiquity, but this style of decoration is very characteristic, and it would be interesting to know at what date it was first adopted. Two other features of Bagdad houses should be noticed, and both are found at the Residency. They are respectively the *serdabs* and the flat roofs. These, in this climate, are both absolute necessities. The first are living rooms built nearly underground, though they generally have windows high up which admit light, in a similar way to the area windows of a London house. From May to September the heat in Bagdad is so great that the inhabitants live by day in the subterranean apartments, while at night they sleep on the flat roof-tops. Of course, this necessitates early rising, as the moment the sun gets above the horizon it is too hot to remain there, and the sleepers have to beat a hasty retreat into the *serdabs*.

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*The Book of Good Counsels, from the Sanskrit of the "Hitopadesa."* By SIR EDWIN ARNOLD, M.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I. Of University College, Oxford. Author of "The Light of Asia," "The Light of the World," etc., etc. A New Edition with Illustrations by Gordon Browne. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W. Publishers to the India Office, 1893.

WHEN in India, thirty years ago, Sir Edwin Arnold strung together this chaplet of tale and verse culled from the *Hitopadesa*, the initial fountain spring in its earlier sources of all the world's fables. We quite agree with him that it would be a pity for all the quaint quotations from Indian poetry and all the animistic yarns it contains to be lost: the republication is welcome.

Instructive, too, as a study of Indian character and disposition, Congress-wallahs will find in it no vindication of republican principles. Birds, beasts, and fishes—all have their king, whose will is supreme law to them. The only right reserved to plebeians, is that of interminable talk. Even the wicked tigers allow their victims to orate at large before

appeasing their fierce appetites. One tiger, in a sham penitent mood confesses to having, in the days of his cubhood, when he was unregenerate, "killed cows, Brahmans, and men without number." Mark the procession in weight of guilt and remorse. It was a very little matter to have killed men without number, it was bad indeed to have taken the life of the twice-born,—but the life of a cow! Inexpiable sin. Jackals, in the Book of Good Counsels, emulate the European fame for cunning and duplicity of Reynard the fox, stupid deer taking the place of the stupid bear in the German version of the legend. Crows are quite as cunning as the fox, and, perhaps, more ingenious. Helpful, too, at a pinch to those in distress; kindly disposed to them always. The bird stories are the prettiest in the book, and sure to please children, old and young. So will Sir Edwin's gift for happy nicknames. Germ of Buddhist revolt from Brahmanism is discernible in "The winning of Friends." The monkey, strange to say, poses rather as a fool than otherwise. Oddly enough, too, the serpent figures only in two stories. Men and women are somewhat at a discount. Here is Indian notion of a too clever by half woman:—

Now it befell one day that as Jewel-bright was bestowing a kiss on the mouth of the servant, she was surprised by her husband; and, seeing him, she ran up hastily and said, "My lord, here is an impudent varlet! he eats the camphor which I procured for you; I was actually smelling it on his lips as you entered." The servant, catching her meaning, affected offence. "How can a man stay in a house where the mistress is always smelling one's lips for a little camphor?" he said; and thereat he was for going off, and was only constrained by the good man to stay, after much entreaty.

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*Sights and Shadows, being Examples of the Supernatural.*  
Collected and Arranged by FREDERICK GEORGE LEE, D.D.,  
Author of "The Other World, or Glimpses of the Supernatural," "More Glimpses of the World Unseen," "Glimpses in the Twilight," &c., &c. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited. 13, Waterloo Place, S. W., 1894.

JOHN Wesley maintained that those who deny the power of the Devil to possess men corporeally, and of his ghosts to haunt houses and play tricks with furniture, deny God and repudiate the plain teachings of the Bible. Dr. Lee, although his stand-point is Roman Catholic, is of like mind with the founder of Methodism about demonism, and has written several books in justification of his convictions. *Sights and Shadows*, the latest of the series, has just been published by Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co. It contains seven divisions, treating with—

# I. The Supernatural and its Opponents.

- II. Haunted Localities.
- III. Warnings of Danger and Death.
- IV. Apparitions.
- V. Divination.
- VI. Hypnotism.
- VII. Miracles of Healing.

The seven chapters contain curious reading,—puts the clock back two hundred years or so.

It is a pity they did not appear before Christmas, for some of the spooks they introduce to the reader beat all previous records. The chapter on Hypnotism is the one most likely to catch the eye of grown-up people. Dr. Lee's attitude towards the new scientific toy is left in no doubt. He roundly declares hypnotism to be a modern revival of the powers of ancient witchcraft. "Witchcraft in a tail coat and top-hat," and he supplies a few inconsequent 19th century instances in proof that his judgment is the only correct one. Here is one of them :—

As to the power of will of one person over another—a very crucial and important point in this practice of hypnotism—let the following, having reference to a phase of fanaticism in the village of Tolox, in the Spanish province of Malaga, be considered.

A new sect, headed by a woman reputed to be a witch, was recently set up—the members of which refused to wear any clothes. Acting at the dictation of spiritualists and mesmerists, they inflicted wounds on their bodies, howled blasphemous and outrageous songs, burnt their worldly goods, and perpetrated such other unmentionable atrocities that the Crown was compelled to interfere, when some of their leaders were put upon their trial.

As a friend who was personally conversant with this, writes : "The most interesting feature in connection with the trial has been the experiments in hypnotism which have been made on the defendants by medical 'specialists,' as they term themselves : this being the first time that hypnotism has been resorted to in Spain in the supposed interests of justice."

In nearly every case the defendants proved to be good subjects. Many of the experiments tried were of the most extraordinary character. One of the accused, for instance, when in a state of hypnotism, on being ordered to perspire, broke out almost instantly into a state of profuse perspiration ; while another, who was ordered to ascend a very high mountain, being all the while in an ordinary room, behaved as if he were actually climbing ; his breathing becoming difficult and his heart beating violently. When this man was told that he had reached the summit and might rest awhile, the symptoms of exhaustion gradually disappeared. Others were pricked with long pins,\* and gave not the smallest or slightest evidence of feeling what was being done to them."

On pages 205, 206, and 207 Mr. Gladstone is discovered assisting at a spiritualist seance. It was most improper of him, for Cardinal Bona has warned the faithful that the actual holiness of some people does not remove from them the chance and risk of diabolical illusion.

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\* In the seventeenth-century pamphlets on the subject of Witchcraft, this test is found to have been constantly applied.

*Memories of the Mutiny* ; by Col. Maude, V. C. and C.B., and J. W. Sherer, C.S.I., 2 vols. London. 1894.

THIS bulky book, filled with somewhat ill-compiled anecdotes and crude prints, is at the same time the most vivid representation that has ever been laid before the public of average European existence during the terrible year of Anglo-Indian history. The two veterans, military and civil, babble on, each in his own way ; one of authority, overthrown in the dark and restored in the cruel blaze of noon-tide battle ; the other, of heroic efforts to save the suffering and punish the perpetrators of crime ; until the whole tragic drama is reproduced to the imagination of modern readers and to the memory of the few survivors who can hardly yet realise, after the lapse of thirty-seven years, that they are still alive to think of all that they witnessed then. It was a tragic drama, yet not without those flashes of comedy which strike the mind like the quips of the grave-digger amid the horrors of Elsinore. Col Maude has humour, though it is of a grim tone, reminding one of Balzac : that of Mr. Sherer is lighter, yet more abundant than that of his coadjutor, and has at times a smack of Charles Dickens in its observation and whim

Mr. Sherer was Magistrate and Collector of Fatehpur-Haswa at the commencement of the outbreak—the place is a swampy hollow, about halfway between Cawnpore and Allahabad. Finding his position becoming untenable, something like a month after the mutinies at Meerut and Delhi, he resolved to move on Banda, where Mr. F. O. Mayne still held out, with some modicum of support from the Nawab. The Judge at Fatehpur was Mr. R. Tucker, a man of much originality and determination, who quixotically refused to share in the evacuation, and was slaughtered, next day, on the roof of his Court-house, though not until he had shot more than a dozen of his assailants. Soon after reaching Banda, the fugitives were again swept onward, Mayne accompanying them, and his assistant Cockerell perishing in an attempt to join them from Kirwi. At Mirzapur, Mr. Sherer met the Commissioner of Allahabad, under whose instructions he joined Havelock and was present in all the actions of his famous advance. On arrival at Cawnpore, he took charge of what was left of the district and remained through all the remaining vicissitudes of the year, gradually restoring order and giving help to the military authorities—services which were rewarded with the Star of India when that Order was instituted a little later. On personal topics, however, he preserves a modest reticence ; and the chief interest of his tale arises from the record of things actually witnessed in a most abnormal experience, and in the quaint touches of humour by which, as already said—the

narrative is lighted up. In the depth of the gloom they held races—the "Cawnpore Autumn Meeting"—, and we are told how they improvised a four-in-hand, and vainly strove to provide a cornet for the back-seat, although the bandsman available for the purpose was only able to furnish the inappropriate accompaniment of a flute! Bright impressionist portraits of notable men who appeared at Cawnpore from time to time, make up the rest of the show. Here we have, for example, the late Sir George Campbell; the happily still-surviving "Billy Russell" of *The Times*; Lord Canning with his tragic countenance, as of Hamlet lamenting his lot in a disjointed time; Sir H. Layard, the excavator of ancient Nineveh; and William Hodson, hastening to his fate, but pausing to justify to his old school-fellow, the slaughter of the Delhi Princes.

Col. Maude gives the more purely military side of the same campaign, ending with the relief of Lucknow in November, the withdrawal of the heroic defenders of the Residency, and the final overthrow of the Gwalior Contingent.

It is a strange retrospect. Whatever fortunes may await the British Empire in the East, it is perhaps unlikely that our rulers should ever again have to encounter perils of exactly the same description. To the men of those days were opposed a host of disciplined soldiers, with fortresses and arsenals, and countless pieces of heavy artillery, and field-guns served by devoted gunners. On their side were at first only a few hundreds of white infantry-men, with a few ill-manned field-batteries: but with them were leaders named Neil, Havelock, and Outram; staunch mutual trust, perfect discipline, and the consciousness of a good cause. With the help and co-operation of John Lawrence and his men, Delhi was taken and Lucknow relieved, in the teeth of fearful odds, before a man had come from Europe. The exact events will not be repeated; the moral lesson is not the less to be prized. And this book will help to keep it alive.

H. G. KEENE.

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*India's Princes*: Short Life Sketches of the Native Rulers of India. By M. GRIFFITH. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W., Publishers to the India Office, 1894.

SOME twenty years ago, before the Prince of Wales had inaugurated the fashion of globe-trotting through India, a Frenchman, a Monsieur Rousselet, wrote a lively account of his travels to central Indian Courts, and what he saw there, which had some vogue at the time, and the popularity of which showed that the English public *can* be interested in

Indian affairs and the conditions of a society differently arranged from the one they are used to, when the pictures of it held up to their view are vivid and picturesque. The Frenchman's book—*The India of the Rajas*, it was called, we think, is out of date now, out of print very probably ; but the courts and camps of the Princes of Hindusthan are still picturesque, and not yet altogether overwhelmed by alien civilizations and compromises with the social conventions of the West ; there is still some originality, some survival of barbaric pearl and gold, and peculiar etiquettes left them. Mrs. Griffith is not colour blind to the refreshfulness of lights and shades other than those to which English people have grown habituated. And so, unconsciously following in the wake of the Frenchman who exploited Rájas and their Courts at a period precedent to that in which they were all exalted to Maharajahships, she has produced *India's Princes : Short Life Sketches of the Native Rulers of India*. Readable sketches, courtly without being Grandisonian, informing without being tedious, and yet sufficiently ballasted with statistics, &c. The book is beautifully got up, lavishly and artistically illustrated, with portraits of reigning chiefs, views of their capital cities, &c. The accompanying letter press is excellent in its way, just what such a guide to Indian Courts ought to contain. She affords an introduction to three Punjab Chiefs (including Kashmir) to five in Rajputana, three in Central India, eight in the Bombay Presidency, three in Southern India. All her sketches are good. It seems invidious to select one rather than another as an illustration of her carefully unornate style and simple manner of treatment ; we will take an impersonal extract by way of showing her quality as a writer. It is from the first of the Rajputana group, from the story of Udaipur, the Chief of which State is highest in rank and dignity of all the Rajput Chiefs of Hindusthan, claiming descent from the elder branch of the *Surja Vansa*. His Highness Dhiraj Sir Fateh Singh Bahadur, G. C. S. I., is, we are told, lineal descendant of a triple royal line—namely, Rama, of whom he is the direct representative—the Persian Monarchs, and the Roman Emperors. "He is the first of the thirty-six royal tribes, and is termed the Sun of the Hindus." We have digressed from the impersonal extract. Here it is :—

' The history of Northern India is full of stirring incidents and rich in legendary lore ; but the bards—the historians of the past—have so embellished it with flowery metaphors and miraculous deeds, that it is difficult to separate truth from fiction. Taking, however, only the merest outlines from the annals of Rajputana, they present a picture unequalled by any other history in the world. It is impossible not to look with admiration amounting to enthusiasm upon a people, who can trace their descent in an unbroken line to about 2,500 years,



B. C., the splendour of whose courts and the depth of whose learning would have been remarkable even in this, the 19th century ; whose Kings were often mighty warriors, legislators, and high priests, a race, who struggled for centuries to maintain their independence, and defended to the death their ancient religion and liberty, and who, in spite of every temptation, have kept their noble name and lineage untarnished. Rajputana includes twenty Native States, each having its separate ruler, as well as the British district of Ajmir-Marwára. Udaipur, or Mewar stands foremost among the Rajputana States. It is under the political superintendence of the Mewar Agency, and from north to south measures 148 miles, with an average breadth from east to west of 163 miles. The total area of the State is 12,670 square miles, with a population of 1,494,220 souls, and an estimated revenue of £510,000. It has 5,722 towns and villages."

Here is an extract in another style ; it refers to the late Begum of Bhopal :—

"She was a remarkable person, and never veiled in the fashion of Muhammadan women, but administered the State in person with the utmost energy and aptitude ; a strange combination, full of generous impulses, but fierce, strong, and relentless. She kept her daughter, the present Begum, in the most abject state of submission. On one occasion, hearing that her daughter had met in the house of a relative a young man of the Royal house of Delhi, who was soliciting her hand, she imprisoned her for months in her own room, and beat her with her own hand, while the unfortunate lover was hung in an iron cage at the gate of the fortress, and was only released after some months on the persistent remonstrance of the British Political officer."

Facing page 114 there is a suggestive picture of the boy Prince, Madhoji Rao, Maharaja Scindia, ætat 8, holding his first durbar. He looks quiet, self-possessed in his prominent position, quite dignified, one is tempted to say. Mrs. Griffith writes thus of the ceremony :—

"In the month of July, 1886, a curious scene was enacted in the Moti Mahal, or Parel Palace, in Gwalior. It was the placing of a little boy of eight years, son and heir of the late Maharaja Scindia, upon the throne of one of the most important States in the whole of India. It was a very hot day, the sun shone brilliantly as if to give additional honour to the imposing and touching ceremony about to take place. The whole of Scindia's troops were drawn up in front of the palace. The grand Durbar Hall was decorated with truly regal magnificence ; here were assembled the nobles of the State in their gay costumes and many jewels ; their attendants equally gorgeous, and the officials in handsome uniforms. At five o'clock the booming of the guns from the old historic fortress—the first time for Scindia's guns to be fired there for twenty-eight years—and the music of the military bands announced the arrival of the principal actors in the scene. Preceded by a procession of heralds and followed by the State officers, came Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in full uniform, leading the little Prince by the hand, and having on either side Colonel Bannerman (Resident), Mr. Petre, and Major Kingscote. The young Maharaja, a charming little fellow, was magnificently dressed in rich brocaded yellow silk, sewn with diamonds ; a splendid diamond aigrette glittering on his forehead, and carrying under his arm a miniature general's sword. During the ceremony he was not

seated, as was customary, on a State chair, but was placed on Sir Lepel Griffin's knee, which was intended to signify that he and his possessions were confided to the Agent's care. Sir Lepel Griffin at the close of the installation ceremony, placed round the young King's neck a beautiful necklace of pearls, and seated him on the gadi; *altar* and *pān* were presented to him by the British officials and Sirdars. Salutes were again fired, the bands playing the National Anthem, and the Durbar was ended."

An appreciative note is struck with reference to the liberal mindedness and inclinations towards progress of the Chiefs of Gondal and Morvi. The liberalism of His Highness of Mysore finds more than favour at the hands of our fair author. She writes:—

"Under this able and liberal Government, female education is fast spreading, one of the most notable proofs being the success of the Maharani's Girl's School, which occupies a part of the Palace, and in which Her Highness, the Maharani, takes a keen and personal interest. Founded in 1881, with the advice and co-operation of the late Dewan, Mr. R. C. Rungacharlee, C. I. E., it started with twenty eight pupils, which now have increased to six hundred; sixty-five girls receive training in their own homes; there are fifty-five teachers in the school and twenty home instructors; seventy-nine girls receive scholarships. This model institution is under a committee of management, and is now entirely supported by the Mysore Government. Up to the present time there has been no regular system for examination, or for granting certificates to teachers, but this matter is now under consideration. The most satisfactory feature of the institution is the large attendance of young married ladies of the Brahminical caste of an age (twenty years) which in other parts of India precludes girls from resorting to public schools. It is true that in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, &c., young ladies are to be seen at schools, but they are mostly, if not entirely, non-Brahmins, who enjoy a greater latitude of freedom. Mr. A. Narasimaha Iyengar, R. B., through whose exertions, to a great extent, the school has been founded, and who devotes much time and energy to its advancement, has been appointed superintendent of all the Girls' Schools in the Province. Miss E. A. Manning, Honorary Secretary of the National Indian Association, recently visited Mysore, and thus describes the Maharani's Girls' School:—"The whole sight was very beautiful. The hall was decorated with 'auspicious' leaves and lovely flowers, and the rich dresses of the pupils, as well as some of the visitors, rendered the scene most gay and pleasing. The pupils' (mostly silk) *sarees* were not of the gaudy colours now frequently seen in India, but of the deep reds and yellows and dark blues which have such a reposeful effect. Many of the girls wear metal belts, and in their hair the small round gold plate usual in those parts, and of course, chains of gold, bracelets, armlets, clusters of pearls in the ears, and many other jewels. Several of the pupils also performed with much taste on the Hindu instrument called the 'Vina.' Cookery is practically taught; and drawing, needlework, and embroidery, the object being to give 'a healthy moral and intellectual education that would fit a girl to become a model wife and mother, rather than to merely promote a higher standard of study.' The pupils belong to the higher grade of society, and a home education system has been arranged for supplying instruction in the Zenana to married girls."

In so many words, Mrs. Griffith has done the work she set herself to do very well indeed.

*The Indian Church Quarterly Review.* Edited by the Rev. A. SAUNDERS DYER, M.A., F.S.A. January, 1894.

PROVERBIAL philosophy teaches us that mistakes will happen in the best regulated families, and so, in noticing the January number of the *I. C. Q. R.* received towards the end of March, it is only needful, in that respect, to say that the Rev. A. Saunders Dyer has returned from furlough, and hopes to evolve order out of chaos.

We wish he had returned in time to prevent the insertion of Mr. Sharrock's acrimonious article on *Caste and Christianity*. Whatever the merits or demerits of a cause may be, nothing can be gained on either side by importation into it of personal strifes and jealousies. They become inevitably text-books for scandal mongers, needs must be offensive, specially so when aired in the pages of a Missionary organ, the keynote of which should be peace and good-will. Thereanent—is the etiquette of official dinners, &c. matter of such vital concern to the church as to be worth squabbling over? The Rev. A. T. Wirgman thinks it is, and in an article entitled, *Title of Archbishop in India*, writes indignantly:—

But this question of precedence is not to be lightly passed over.

We know of a Colonial Metropolitan, who was invited to an official dinner at Government House, in a certain Colony, and the Roman Bishop was given distinct precedence before him. We have seen Cardinals in England and in the Colonies given places of precedence before our own Prelates.

"*Spartam nactus es, hanc orna*" should be our true motto in the face of these encroachments. We have no business to acquiesce in this public acknowledgment of Roman claims.

The Rev. R. L. Page, Superior General, S. S. J. E., advocates monasticism, asceticism, as a more excellent way of converting Indian peoples to Christianity than those that have hitherto obtained. No impartial minded man who has lived long in India, *among the people*, and gauged their bias (however Protestantly-minded he may be), will, off hand, condemn or contemn this advice, knowing, as he knows, how great is the sanctity imputed, the influence allowed, by popular acclaim, to mortifiers of the flesh and observers of self-denying ordinances.

The Archdeacon of Bombay speaks a word in season—a warning word to Young India on *Liberty: Ethical and Political*. He defines liberty as "the power to obey the laws, and to do what is right from unselfish motives."

It is a definition that neither Herbert Spencer, nor Mr. Labouchere, nor the fractious Indian Baboo is likely to accept as satisfying his yearnings. But it is as good as ninety-eight

definitions out of a hundred ; better than these by just as much as one can conceive the heart to be a more worthy and trustworthy guide to duty towards one's neighbour than the head.

To the lay mind Mr. Trons' scholarly *Sketch on Church Music* will probably appear the most interesting paper in this issue of the Review.

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*Rulers of India. Sir Thomas Munro and the British Settlement of the Madras Presidency.* BY JOHN BRADSHAW, M.A., LL.D., Inspector of Schools, Madras. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press: 1894.

THE story of *Sir Thomas Munro and the British Settlement of the Madras Presidency* creditably maintains the reputation of the Clarendon Press, for appreciation of worthy life stories and the fitting in of them to the world's history of what was going on concurrently in other spheres. Possibly the most salient point of interest for the modern reader in connection with Munro's Governorship, is the change in its economical conditions effected by railways, telegraphs, and so forth. Munro was a reformer by instinct, and could claim merit of belief in the efficacy of the reforms he advocated. He was enthusiastic enough to believe it possible for an educated, cultured, well-meaning man to get uneducated, uncultured, foudzaree inclining men to sympathise and co-operate with his transcendentalisms.

He was disappointed of course. But of such disappointments good sometimes comes. We are apt to lay so much stress on the dogma that the sins of the fathers are visited on their children, that we forget correlatives, ignore the discipline necessary to formation of character, avoid useful comparisons.

SIR THOMAS MUNRO'S life and work in India may be divided into four periods. The first, from 1780 to 1792, was purely military, and during most of these twelve years he was on active service in the wars with Haidar All and Tipú Sultan. In the second, 1792-1807, he was employed in the civil administration of the country: from 1792 to 1799 in the Baramahal, which had been ceded by Tipú; in 1799-1800 in Kánara, and from 1800 to 1807 in the Districts still known as the Ceded Districts, acquired by treaty with the Nizám in 1800. The third period, 1814-1818, after an interval of six years in Europe, was spent partly in civil and partly in military duty. He was sent out by the Court of Directors in 1814 as 'Principal Commissioner for the revision of the internal administration of the Madras territories'—judicial and financial; and during 1817-1818, he was in command of a division of the army in the last Maráthá War. The fourth period, after a short visit to England in 1819, was that of his Governorship of Madras, from June 8, 1820, until his death on July 6, 1827.

In so many words Sir Thomas Munro commenced his Indian career with the commencement of the war for supremacy in Southern India with Haidar All. Haidar had French officers in his pay: their knowledge of the art of war was as

great as that of their adversaries, though in strategy they tailed off. Sir Hector Munro commanding at the time was out-generaled. His complete discomfiture was effected by the rout of Baillie's detachment at Perambakam, in September 1780.

Our author thinks "it was surprising that Haidar, after raising the siege of Vellore, did not hasten to engage the English army before it was re-inforced. Haidar knew better. Although he did not shirk pitched engagements when they were forced on him, he much preferred the chances of guerilla warfare. General Munro's military unsuccessful justification of which is, in the book before us, attempted, was so patent, that only the mists of history can excuse its repetition.

General Munro's line was not conduct of a successful campaign, but conduct of peaceful administrative measures.

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## VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

*Hindutva*.—By Babu Chandra Nath Basu, M.A., B.L., printed at the Valmiki Press, 100-1, Machua Bazar Road, and published by Babu Gurudas Chatterjee, 201, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

THIS is evidently a work of Hindu revival, and therefore it is desirable to give some idea of this movement, which is liable to so many misinterpretations. Was Hinduism actually dead in Bengal, that a resuscitation became necessary? Not so. The learned Brahmans of Bengal, and the entire mass of men who had not received the benefit of English education, *were*, are, and will remain, staunch Hindus, and these men will always consider the phrase Hindu revival as a misnomer. But the hold of Hinduism on people who had received English education was rather feeble. The first generation of educated Bengalis thought, with their master De Rozio, that the whole mass of Arabic and Oriental literature contained but a few grains of sense. Some of these men became Christians, others violent Anglicists. A change came over the spirit of young Bengal in the next generation. The patriotic teachings of European history and the preachings of Raja Ram Mohan Ray, turned their minds from Christianity, but they remained as violent Anglicists as their predecessors, admiring everything English, and hating everything Indian. This was the period of Brahmo activity. But a second change came over the spirit of young Bengal. With the spread of education, old orthodox families began to study English without acquiring the tinge of Anglicism. These thought that the excellences of Hinduism as a religious, social, moral and domestic organisation should be pointed out to young Bengal, so that they might not be betrayed into an antagonism to the institutions of their own country; and thus the work of revival began. It is confined to young men receiving English education, or education under European methods.

Within the last ten years the Bengal Press has been deluged with works written solely with this object, all the distinguished writers contributing their quota. Excellent works have been written to point out the innate worth of Hindu domestic, social and religious organisations. Babu Chandra Nath's is the first work which treats of the Hindu articles of faith. It aims at being an exposition of the deepest and abstrusest doctrines of Hinduism, not in a spirit of apology, not in a spirit of bombast, but in a calm and dispassionate spirit. The work is a

very difficult one. The Hindus are notorious for the diversity of their transcendental doctrines, every individual school having a complete set of doctrines of its own. Babu Chandra Nath has selected the noblest doctrines of Hinduism, but he has not followed any one of the ancient schools. Yet he does not aim at establishing a school of doctrine himself. His sole object is to compare, so far as lies in his power, the leading doctrines of Hindu faith with those of other religions, which, in the present case, mean Brahmaism and Christianity.

The first doctrine treated of in this work is the identity of the Godhead with the Universe. This is the celebrated non-dual theory of the *Upanishads*. The Hindu idea of Divinity differs from the Semitic idea, which makes God so totally different from everything created by Him, that to represent him by any created thing is the gravest sin. Next comes the aim of human life—Why are we born? The Semitic would say—for His pleasure, for His glorification. But the answer of the Hindu is different. He says we are born that we may be ultimately absorbed in Him.

But how is this absorption to come about? Not by doing good work, which will be weighed on the day of judgment, but by doing good to others, from a sense of duty, without any regard to its consequences in the shape of reward. It is thus that the human soul ceases to receive any colouring from mundane affairs and becomes fit for the final absorption. To attain this final object, to turn the mind away from all consideration of reward, the hardest struggle is necessary, and the Hindus are prepared to burn themselves in a slow fire, the highest form of austerity known as a punishment for transgression. Then comes the question of transgression—the question of *Karma*. The Hindu is absolutely responsible for his own actions. He does not believe in a Mediator, who, out of benevolence, takes his sins on himself. For the least thing the Hindu does he must suffer the consequence, a strict reckoning being kept of all his acts. *Karma* to him is inexorable, inevitable, and all powerful. But men do not suffer the consequence of their works in this life, and so they must do so in the next and next. This leads to the theory of continual transmigration of the soul. The only escape from *Karma* is by *Jñāna*, or true knowledge, which leads to *Karma* for *Karma's* sake.

These are the principal points in Chandra Babu's book. He has deduced from these—the Love of Infinity which actuates the Hindu mind, one phase of which is the Hindu's strong desire to leave a progeny behind. Babu Chandra Nath regards the domestic sacraments of the Hindus, such as marriage, &c., as leading to spiritual advancement. In fact the whole Hindu domestic economy is based, not on considerations of temporal welfare, but

on considerations of spiritual advancement. The Hindu finds no fault in the worship of images or in the belief in the existence of thirty-three crores of gods, because, according to him, God is everything.

Many of them think that a belief in the lower forms of God is necessary in the earlier stages of spiritual training, as it gradually leads to higher and higher conceptions, till the whole Universe appears identified with the Deity.

Born of an orthodox Hindu family, Babu Chandranath received the highest English education available in his day. He early felt the influence of Anglicism, the power of which was simply irresistible. But he and his friends felt the denationalising spirit of Anglicism and tried to shake it off. They not only succeeded in this, but also succeeded in bringing about the Hindu revival movement, which is likely to save thousands from the baneful consequences of aping European manners and adopting European modes of thought.

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*Shukh Yuddher Itihās and Mahārāj Dhaleep Singh.* Printed at 79-3, Cornwallis Street, Newton Press. Printed by Jogendra-Nath Mallik, and published by Baradākānta Mitra, 120, Grey Street, Calcutta.

THE work begins with the death of Ranajit Sing, the Lion of the Punjab, and ends with the death of his youngest son, Dhaleep Sing. It naturally divides itself into two parts—(1) The History of the First and Second Sikh Wars (2) The History of Dhaleep Sing. The whole work is painful to read. The first part shows how absolutely the power of governing others had left the people of India. As soon as the strong hand which held the Punjab Chiefs together, was removed, weakness and incapacity reigned supreme, assassination followed assassination. Neo Nehal Sing, the worthiest of the descendants of Ranajit, was the first victim of assassination at a moment when he was expecting coronation as King on the death of his father. Then followed Sher Sing, Pratap Sing, Dhyana Sing, Hírá Sing and Jawahir Sing—all, in the course of two or three years after Ranajit's death, fell victims to the assassin's knife. Indeed, in 1845, it was found that there was none in the Lahore durbar who could keep the army in check and govern the country properly. The army, the splendid army, the result of 200 years of stubborn resistance to Mahomedan oppression and fanaticism, the glorious result of Guru Govinda's martial training and military organization, the army that was inspired by the sole desire of establishing a Hindu empire in the Land of the Five Rivers, and in the fulfilment of which it had achieved wonderful success, looked at the incapacity, sensuality, irresolution and stupidity of the Chiefs of the



Punjab durbar with scorn. The Chiefs tried to conciliate them by increasing their pay, but they could not conceal from themselves that the army was the supreme power in the State. The Chiefs in concert concocted the excellent plan of making the army fight with the English, so that whether they conquered, or perished, the Chiefs might be all safe at Lahore. This was the mean and dastardly motive with which the army was allowed to invade British India. The story of the two Sikh wars is already too well-known to require repetition. The author has told it in an attractive form, and the mass of papers and records and books he has gone through has given a special value to all he has said. As a historian he has not spared any wrongdoer, however highly placed, and no good or gracious act has been recorded without a worthy meed of praise. The writer seems to bring no prejudice into his work. He gets his colouring from the records he reads. These records, fortunately, are too recent and too voluminous to bear any dubious interpretation. The information brought together and arranged in the work is truly wonderful for a vernacular historical work. The Historical Literature of Bengal contains a number of school histories only, a few caste genealogies and a few short histories of the Zemindar families of Bengal. Under such circumstances a work of this nature is certainly welcome as a valuable contribution. The second part of the work deals with the biography of Dhaleep Sing. Many would be curious to know how the young Hindu lad, deprived of his large kingdom at the early age of eleven, passed his days ; and the work gives full information on the subject. The story of Dhaleep will, certainly, as told in this work, excite popular sympathy with him in his sufferings, but no one will sympathise with him in his wild excesses while in Russia.

The list of authorities consulted in the compilation of this work does not contain the name of Mahamad I., an excellent history of the Punjab, a perusal of which might have given the author a deeper insight into the character and capabilities of the Sikh nation. The spirit which animated the Sikhs, from the very establishment of their fraternity, was to throw off the Mahomedan yoke, and to keep the Mahomedans at arm's length. The history of the struggle of the Afghans and the Sikhs in the Punjab during the whole of the 18th century, and the history of the violence, rapine, fanaticism and sacrilege which accompanied it, show that the Sikhs were an excellent power for destruction. There was only one man among them who was gifted with a lofty constructive genius, and that was Ranjeet Singh.

But Runjit, too, failed to construct an empire, or a kingdom. He simply constructed a military despotism. All went on well

so long as he was there at the head. On his death the national character appeared in its full vigour. The empire showed evident signs of dismemberment. The only thing which could keep it together was the Khalsa army. The Sirdars were all seeking their own interests, but the interests of the army and of Ranjeet's descendants were identical. The army kept the Sirdars in awe, and so the Sirdars could not commence the work of destruction as speedily as they wished. But the army must have something to destroy. There was nothing in the whole of the Punjab which could form a worthy object for the destruction by the army, and so they wanted to destroy the British Power. They expected that their Sirdars would lead them, and they were under the illusion that they were actually leading them, but in fact, the Sirdars simply betrayed them.

English politicians had been for a long time scrutinising and examining the national character of the Sikhs. They were fully convinced that the Khalsa army constituted a great danger to the British Empire, but they were from the very beginning prepared for the worst. The result of the struggle between the Khalsa army and the English could not have been other than it was. The stupidity of the Sirdars simply hastened the consummation and made it easy. In the natural course of events the English would have been called upon to govern the Punjab ten years, or say, twenty years later, for the historian of the Punjab says there was no nation in the whole of India which could give peace and prosperity to any of its provinces, and it was the veritable decree of Providence that a foreign nation should come and establish that universal peace in India which she so much needed after the struggle of centuries.

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*Ravan-badha Kavya.* Part I. By Haragovinda Laskar. Printed by Mahendranath Banerji, 81, Mukhtaram Baboo's Street, Calcutta.

THIS is an epic poem, and it threatens to come out in volumes. The present part contains the first three whole cantos and a few lines of the fourth. The author begins his preface with the statement, that a poem on the fall of Ravan is likely to illuminate the Bengali language as a supplement to the *Meghnadha Badha*, by Michael M. Dutt; and he offers himself as such illuminator. But evil-minded people will probably express doubts as to the nature of the light he will shed. Some say it has only made "darkness visible." The author plumes himself upon being the originator of a new metrical system in Bengali, and it is a hard metrical study indeed. He has invented verses in imitation of the inimitable songs of Jai-deva; and these add to the beauty of his work. In reading the book one

is sure to lose his patience, for one is so amused with the absurd versification, that he has scarcely time to think of the language, much less of the sense: In first class poets the speeches of different characters are so well marked, that the reader can easily distinguish and enjoy them. Our author has invented a novel method of distinguishing his characters. It is neither the thought, nor the tone, nor the sentiment, but the versification which distinguishes the characters. Each character has a peculiar verse assigned to him, and when the author speaks, he also speaks in a peculiar verse. Whether the character speaks of love or war, pleasure or pain, sorrow or enjoyment, he must speak in the same measured language. In fact, every attempt at the introduction of Sanskrit versification into Bengali, even when made by gifted men like Bharat Chundra, has failed. And the failure of Babu Baladev Palit, of Patna, in the same rash attempt, many people thought, would be a lesson to future poets. But every theory has its martyrs, and Babu Haragovinda Laskar has become the second martyr, because he did not pay any heed to the fate of the first.

*Bimāṭā-nā-Rākshasi* (Step-mother or the Female Monster).

Printed by Anukul Chandra Chakravarti, at the Kālikā Press, 23, Jugal Kissors Dass' lane, Calcutta, and published by Sarat Chandra Chakravarti.

**T**HIS is a small novel describing one of the most disastrous effects of polygamy, namely, the neglect and torment which the step-child suffers at the hand of the step-mother. The present work describes this evil with considerable power. The step-child, Bhupāl is wholly neglected. The first scene opens with Bhupāl, a child of five years, sleeping up to 3 o'clock in the night in an open garden without being noticed. The step-mother *Mānini* had so much influence over her hen-pecked and infatuated husband, that he did not dare to do anything to relieve the poor boy. *Mānini* beats Bhupāl, deprives him of wholesome food, tries to poison him, gets all her husband's property transferred to herself, but is still not satisfied. On a false and absurd charge of theft, she hands him over to the Police, bribes the Sub-Inspector and the witnesses, and succeeds at last in getting him put into jail; her husband remaining all the while a silent spectator and tacit approver of all her proceedings. The book is likely to be popular, as it is written in an attractive style and on a familiar subject.

*Bijnāna, Science.* A Monthly Paper, printed and published at 34-1, Calutolla Street, by Kēbalrāma Chatterji.

**W**E hail with delight the first appearance of a purely scientific journal in Bengali. It was a great desideratum.

tum. We have enough of journals of medicine, art and religion, but scientific journal we have had none. The Indian Industrial Association have, therefore, earned the thanks of the community by their endeavour to start a popular scientific monthly journal. The articles will be interesting and useful to all classes of Bengalis, and they are written in a clear, simple and engaging style. The first number, which has been lying on our table for the last two months, contains an account of Cuvier, the comparative anatomist, of the air we inhale, of pearl fisheries, of bacilli and their remedies, the *Bāsak*, of food and the digestive organs, of flies, of cotton, of country coal, of saltpetre as a manure, and so on. It is a very interesting paper, and the name of Mr. T. N. Mukerji as one of the managers, is a guarantee that it will be well conducted and will be useful if it gets that amount of support from the public which is required for the success of a journal of this nature.

*Mui Hyandu*.—(I am a Hindu) by Beharilall Chatterji, printed by U. C. Basu & Co, 6, Bhim Ghose's Lane, and published by Manmathanath Chatterji, 17, Tarak Chatterji's Lane, Calcutta. Price 4 annas.

IT was in an evil hour that Babu Amritlal Basu published his beautiful comedietta, the *Bivaha Bivrat*, in 1886. Since then Bengal has been deluged with wretched imitations of it. None of these imitations even distantly approach the sparkling wit and overpowering humour of the original. They are all coarse and vulgar. Though no court of law is likely to hold them as obscene publications, still they are doing an immense mischief to the country by vitiating the tastes of young students and zenana ladies, among whom they find a large number of readers. *Abalā Byarāk*, *Rukmini ranga*, *Svadhin Zenana*, *Saptamite Bisarjan*, *Bejāya dyoydj* &c., are works which deserve to be burnt by the public hangman. There are people who justify the coarseness and abusive tone of these works by referring to the wildness and rabidness of the anglicism and go-a-headism which they are intended to check. They say that where argument and advice fail, keen satire often succeeds. This may be true, but it is not the satires that we condemn; it is the coarseness, the bad taste, and the indelicacy of the satires that we complain of. The present work, *Mui Hyandu*, belongs to the category of these wretched imitations. It is a satire in which the want of a point is more than supplied by coarse language and indelicate thought.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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